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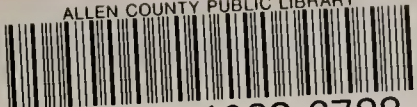
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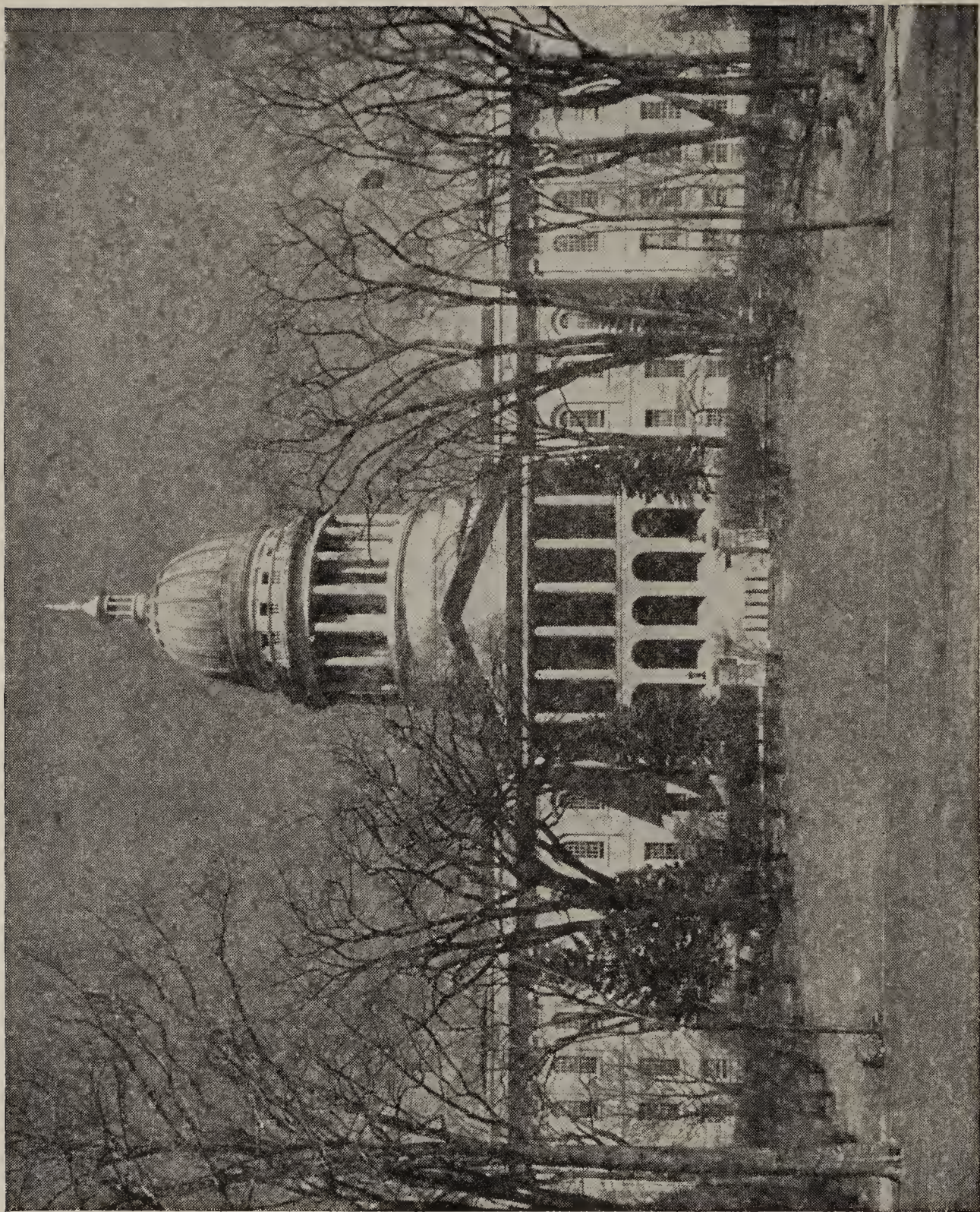




# MODERN MAINE

ITS HISTORIC BACKGROUND  
PEOPLE AND RESOURCES





*Maine State Capitol, Augusta*



# MODERN MAINE

ITS HISTORIC BACKGROUND  
PEOPLE AND RESOURCES

*by*

RICHARD A. HEBERT



Volume I

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## Foreword

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**A**LTHOUGH several notable histories, many descriptive texts and a sizable amount of literature have been produced concerning Maine during the 300-plus years since its earliest settlements, this work represents the most comprehensive compilation on the Pine Tree State ever gathered together in unified form.

A "spare-time" occupation of the editor for more than three years, during which his responsibilities as Editorial Manager of the Maine Publicity Bureau have increased constantly, the task, always arduous, also has been extremely pleasant and hopeful, sustained by his unbounded enthusiasm for the people, resources, history and potentialities of his native Pine Tree State.

During the preparation of this work, the editor has drawn upon hundreds of sources, never failing to meet with the utmost cooperation from his fellow citizens and the important repositories of knowledge about Maine. First and foremost, we wish to express our heartfelt thanks to the Chairman of the Advisory Board for this work, Guy P. Butler, Executive Manager of the Maine Publicity Bureau. His never-failing sound advice, his always considerate understanding of the problems presented by a work of this magnitude and his insistence that other and more pressing responsibilities connected with regular duties should not be neglected have been a source of constant inspiration.

We wish also to thank the members of the Advisory Board for many suggestions and unfailing good counsel, as well as, in some cases, valuable assistance. Their names are appended at the conclusion of this foreword.

It would be difficult to single out even a few of the hundreds of Maine people and authorities to whom we are indebted, in small measure or large, for their help as this work progressed. Some even may have been unaware of the exact import of their contributions to the work, but all have cooperated with the author in the spirit of service to the State of Maine. We particularly mention, however, those who have been closest to the preparation of the project, such as our associates on the staff of the Maine Publicity Bureau, especially William A. Hatch, the Bureau's staff photographer, to whom we are indebted for nearly all of the photographs used in these volumes; more than a score of State officials, headed by Governor Frederick G. Payne and former Governor Horace A. Hildreth, who gave us their active interest and assistance; the publishers and their several representatives, notably Bruce M. Lewis, Dr. Winfield Scott Downs, William H. Clark, and Floyd McKnight, who have borne with us through many delays occasioned by extraordinary activity connected with regular duties, despite the pressure of rapid developments in their field and the international scene; and, most vitally connected with the entire undertaking, the advance subscribers to this limited edition, whose patronage has made this permanent historical record of Modern Maine physically possible.

From the hundreds of original source materials consulted, we have leaned heavily for dates, measurements and other physical statistics and data about Maine on two principal standard reference works: *The Length and Breadth of Maine*, published privately in 1946 by Stanley Bearce Attwood, news editor of the *Lewiston Sun*; and the *Maine Register, State Year-Book and Legislative Manual*, published annually by the Fred L. Tower Companies of Portland. In many instances, minor variations in dates and other figures were found in these and other volumes and, unless these variations could be checked independently, which was not always possible within a reasonable time, we have preferred to follow Attwood's work, with his kind permission, as representing later and more adequate research.

Our one major regret, as we go to press after these three busy and fruitful years, is that limitations of time and inordinate expense have precluded the preparation of an elaborate series of maps to illustrate all three major parts of this work—the chronological history, the topical resumé and the descriptive compendium. As a freely available substitute, we refer the reader to any standard map of Maine, particularly to the annual official State Highway Map distributed free by the Maine State Highway Commission and available at all information offices. We hope that the selection of outstanding photographs contained herein, used through courtesy of the Maine Publicity Bureau, unless otherwise credited, will go far toward making up for the lack of comprehensive maps in this historical record.

To the people of Maine, whose achievements and historical projects we have attempted to delineate against the background of their magnificent Pine Tree State, and especially to M. D. G. and N. B. M., we respectfully dedicate this work.

RICHARD A. HEBERT

February 25, 1951



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# Contents

## *Volume I*

### PART I

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	MAINE'S PHYSICAL FEATURES.	1
II	THE INDIANS OF MAINE.	15
III	EARLY DAYS.	23
IV	WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.	58
V	BETWEEN TWO WARS — THE REVOLUTION AND 1812.	73
VI	FIRST FORTY YEARS OF STATEHOOD.	119
VII	THE CIVIL WAR AND ITS AFTERMATHS.	212
VIII	THE TWENTIETH CENTURY AND WORLD WAR I.	266
IX	INTO THE PRESENT.	316

### PART II

I	THE STATE GOVERNMENT.	335
II	EDUCATION.	363
III	RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT.	403
IV	INDUSTRY.	425
V	HYDROELECTRIC POWER.	456
VI	AGRICULTURE.	472
VII	FORESTRY.	497
VIII	COMMERCIAL FISHERIES.	526
IX	VACATION-TRAVEL INDUSTRY.	553
X	TRANSPORTATION.	579

## *Volume II*

XI	BANKING.	1
XII	MAINE'S NEWSPAPERS.	34
XIII	BENCH AND BAR.	44
XIV	MEDICINE, PUBLIC HEALTH AND HOSPITALS.	59
XV	STATE-WIDE ORGANIZATIONS.	80
XVI	MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT AND THE TAX PROBLEM.	91
XVII	LITERATURE AND LIBRARY DEVELOPMENT.	99
XVIII	MUSIC, ART, ARCHITECTURE AND HANDICRAFTS.	121
XIX	LABOR AND INDUSTRY.	141

### PART III

ANDROSCOGGIN COUNTY.	157
AROOSTOOK COUNTY.	169
CUMBERLAND COUNTY.	209
FRANKLIN COUNTY.	250

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
HANCOCK COUNTY.	281
KENNEBEC COUNTY.	343
KNOX COUNTY.	380
LINCOLN COUNTY.	403
OXFORD COUNTY.	421
PENOBSCOT COUNTY.	454
PISCATAQUIS COUNTY.	484
SAGADAHOC COUNTY.	502
SOMERSET COUNTY.	514
WALDO COUNTY.	535
WASHINGTON COUNTY.	552
YORK COUNTY.	578



# Illustrations

## Volume I

### PART I

	PAGE
STATE CAPITOL, AUGUSTA . . . . .	Frontispiece
SEBAGO LAKE, NORTH SEBAGO . . . . .	4
ROCKY SHORE, BIDDEFORD POOL . . . . .	11
PORTLAND HEAD LIGHT, CAPE ELIZABETH . . . . .	19
BACK COVE, EAST BOOTHBAY . . . . .	27
COUNTRYSIDE WEST FROM PARIS HILL, OXFORD COUNTY . . . . .	34
WEST POND, PARSONSFIELD . . . . .	40
MT. MEGUNTICOOK AND MT. BATTIE FROM CAMDEN HARBOR . . . . .	46
HALFWAY ROCK LIGHT, CASCO BAY . . . . .	54
OLD FORT EDGECOMB, WISCASSET . . . . .	61
MT. KATAHDIN FROM TOGUE POND . . . . .	68
NORTH ANSON COUNTRYSIDE . . . . .	75
KENNEBEC RIVER, SOLON . . . . .	84
APPROACHING MOOSEHEAD LAKE AND GREENVILLE . . . . .	92
SCENES IN BAXTER STATE PARK . . . . .	100
SALMON FALLS GORGE, SACO RIVER . . . . .	109
JOHN HOLMES MANSION, ALFRED, BUILT IN 1802. ONE OF MAINE HOUSES PHOTOGRAPHED FOR FEDERAL ARCHIVES . . . . .	124
JEWETT HOUSE, SOUTH BERWICK . . . . .	131
OTIS HOUSE, BELFAST . . . . .	141
BLAISDELL MANSION, BELFAST . . . . .	156
REVEL WILLIAMIS HOUSE, AUGUSTA . . . . .	168
PENOBSCOT RIVER BRIDGE, BUCKSPORT . . . . .	178
MARIE ANTOINETTE HOUSE, EDGECOMB . . . . .	193
CUSTOM HOUSE AND POST OFFICE, BELFAST . . . . .	218
SACO RIVER, FRYEBURG . . . . .	229
PANNING GOLD, COOS CANYON, BYRON . . . . .	240
LONG LAKE, NAPLES . . . . .	252
PORTLAND HARBOR . . . . .	268
PART OF VILLAGE OF ORLAND . . . . .	280
RIPOGENUS DAM, KOKADJO . . . . .	291
MAINE PUBLICITY BUREAU, PORTLAND . . . . .	318

### PART II

MAINE MARITIME ACADEMY, CASTINE . . . . .	366
CROSBY HIGH SCHOOL, BELFAST . . . . .	370
HIGH SCHOOL, CORNISH . . . . .	378
HUSE SCHOOL AT BATH . . . . .	380
THE FAMILIAR TWIN SPIRES OF BOWDOIN COLLEGE CHAPEL FRONT OF MASSACHUSETTS HALL, THE ORIGINAL COLLEGE BUILDING, ERECTED IN 1802 . . . . .	385

	PAGE
WALKER ART MEMORIAL BUILDING AT BOWDOIN COLLEGE . . . . .	388
UNIVERSITY OF MAINE, ORONO, DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION . . . . .	397
LABORATORY SCENE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MAINE'S DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION . . . . .	399
FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, KENNEBUNK, 1774 UNITARIAN PARISH . . . . .	407
FIRST CHURCH, CONGREGATIONAL, BELFAST . . . . .	414
PULPWOOD, INTERNATIONAL PAPER COMPANY, LIVERMORE FALLS . . . . .	426
S. D. WARREN COMPANY PLANT, WESTBROOK . . . . .	429
RUMFORD AND THE OXFORD PAPER COMPANY . . . . .	430
KEZAR FALLS WOOLEN MILL, KEZAR FALLS . . . . .	434
BASS SHOE FACTORY, WILTON . . . . .	439
THE BAXTER CANNING AND DEHYDRATION PLANT AT HARTLAND, LARGEST IN NEW ENGLAND . . . . .	441
BURNHAM AND MORRILL PLANT, PORTLAND . . . . .	442
GOUDY AND STEVENS SHIPYARD, EAST BOOTHBAY . . . . .	446
WYMAN DAM, BINGHAM . . . . .	460
SKELTON STATION, SACO RIVER . . . . .	463
AZISCOOS DAM, NORTHERN OXFORD COUNTY . . . . .	467
FOUR-H CLUB BOYS WRESTLE WITH LIVELY HEREFORD CALVES AT FRYEBURG FAIR . . . . .	479
DAVID LUCE OF FARMINGTON HOLDS ONE OF HIS PRIZE SHEEP . . . . .	481
BORDER OF THE POTATO EMPIRE . . . . .	483
TYPICAL AROOSTOOK COUNTY POTATO FARM . . . . .	484
DUSTING POTATOES BY HELICOPTER IN AROOSTOOK COUNTY . . . . .	484
DIGGING POTATOES IN AROOSTOOK COUNTY . . . . .	486
CHECKING THE YIELD ON A POTATO FARM, AROOSTOOK COUNTY . . . . .	486
DISPLAY OF MAINE FRUIT PRODUCERS, INC., AT KEZAR FALLS . . . . .	491
WILLIAM HATHAWAY'S LONG LUMBER MILL IN THE HEART OF COLUMBIA FALLS . . . . .	506
MAINE PINE LOG BEFORE PROCESSING, THE PINE TREE PRODUCTS COMPANY AT BELFAST . . . . .	511
PART OF HATHAWAY BROTHERS MILL, COLUMBIA FALLS . . . . .	518
MAPLE SYRUP TIME IN MAINE . . . . .	524
BRINGING IN THE SARDINES ON THE "CONTINENTAL," SEABOARD PACKING COMPANY BOAT, LUBEC . . . . .	527
MACKEREL AND LOBSTER FLEET, CAPE PORPOISE . . . . .	530
TIDES AND STORMS UNDERMINE FISH AND LOBSTER HOUSES . . . . .	534
RAKING SEA MOSS . . . . .	545
DRYING SEA MOSS AT CAPE SMALL POINT . . . . .	546
TUNA, BAILEY ISLAND . . . . .	550
RANGELEY WATER CARNIVAL CROWD . . . . .	554
POLAND SPRING HOUSE . . . . .	557
LUTHER GULICK CAMPS, SOUTH CASCO . . . . .	558
GOVERNOR PAYNE PRESENTING THE BOOST MAINE MESSAGE OF MAINE PUBLICITY BUREAU IN PORTLAND . . . . .	560
SKIING, RANGELEY . . . . .	563
MAINE WILDLIFE . . . . .	566
SMELT-DIPPING AT NIGHT, A TRADITIONAL SPRING PASTIME IN MAINE . . . . .	569
SKY LODGE AT JACKMAN . . . . .	572
OLD ORCHARD BEACH . . . . .	575
CRUISE SCHOONERS, BOOTHBAY HARBOR . . . . .	583

# ILLUSTRATIONS

xiii

	PAGE
OLD CUMBERLAND OXFORD CANAL, WINDHAM . . . . .	589
"THE KENNEBEC," BOSTON AND MAINE RAILROAD, EASTBOUND AT SCARBORO . . . . .	591
MAINE CENTRAL RAILROAD WESTBOUND FREIGHT AT FAIRFIELD . . . . .	592
BELFAST AND MOOSEHEAD LAKE RAILROAD DAILY TRAIN . . . . .	594
TRANSPORT OF PULP WOOD TO FEED MAINE PAPER MILLS IS A MAJOR INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY OF THE MAINE RAILROADS . . . . .	598
BANGOR AND AROOSTOOK RAILROAD, LARGEST POTATO CARRIER IN THE UNITED STATES . . . . .	599
PORTLAND MUNICIPAL AIRPORT . . . . .	612

## Volume II

FORT HALIFAX BLOCKHOUSE, WINSLOW . . . . .	Frontispiece
NORTHERN NATIONAL BANK OF PRESQUE ISLE . . . . .	11
VICTORIA MANSION, PORTLAND . . . . .	20
C. OWEN SMITH (LEFT), EDITOR, IN PRESSROOM OF THE MAINE COAST FISHERMAN, BELFAST . . . . .	35
OUTLINE MAP OF MAINE, SHOWING BOUNDARIES OF DISTRICT HEALTH AREAS	67
MAIN ENTRANCE AND ORIGINAL BUILDING OF THE MAINE GENERAL HOSPITAL ON WESTERN PROMENADE, PORTLAND . . . . .	72
MATERNITY SERVICES AND INFANT CARE . . . . .	72
"ENGLISH LIT" AL FRESCO UNDER THE BOWDOIN ELMS WITH PROFESSOR ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN . . . . .	100
WALKER MEMORIAL LIBRARY, WESTBROOK . . . . .	106
PARSONS MEMORIAL LIBRARY, ALFRED . . . . .	117
THE NORDICA HOMESTEAD IN FARMINGTON . . . . .	126
NEW ENGLAND MUSIC CAMP, SIDNEY . . . . .	127
"FIRE AT EAST ORRINGTON," BY WALDO PEIRCE . . . . .	131
PRODUCT OF THE WARD LOG CABIN COMPANY OF PRESQUE ISLE . . . . .	134
A CORNER OF THE MAINE COAST CRAFTSMEN'S EXHIBIT AT A HOBBY AND CRAFT SHOW OF THE BELFAST BRANCH . . . . .	136
A HOOKED RUG DISPLAY . . . . .	137
FLORENCE IVES GOOKINS IN HER NOTED WEAVING SHOP AT OGUNQUIT . . . . .	138
MAINE GEMS . . . . .	140
MAINE SHIPBUILDING AND SHIPYARDS . . . . .	142
EMPLOYMENT SECURITY FUND . . . . .	148

## PART III

INSPECTION AT THE GAGNON-HASKELL PAINT MANUFACTURING PLANT, AUBURN	159
FIR BALSAM PRODUCTS OF THE PAINE INCENSE COMPANY, LEWISTON . . . . .	161
SCENE IN THE RECORD FOUNDRY AND MACHINE COMPANY, LIVERMORE FALLS	164
DESK TOPS, ONE OF THE WOOD PRODUCT SPECIALTIES OF NELSON PAGE & SON, INC., MECHANIC FALLS . . . . .	165
FLEET OF POTATO TRUCKS, CARIBOU . . . . .	171
POTATO HOUSE, AROOSTOOK COUNTY . . . . .	172
AROOSTOOK POTATOES BEING LOADED INTO BOXCAR FROM THE NOUCHARD STOREHOUSES, CARIBOU . . . . .	173
TYPICAL AROOSTOOK FARM BUILDINGS NEAR PRESQUE ISLE . . . . .	176
SPUDLAND R.R., CARIBOU . . . . .	180



	PAGE
CARIBOU BUSINESS CENTER . . . . .	181
AROOSTOOK COUNTY COURTHOUSE, HOULTON . . . . .	188
SCENE IN HOULTON PLANT OF THE ATLAS PLYWOOD CORPORATION . . . . .	189
HARVESTING THE AROOSTOOK COUNTY CROP . . . . .	194
AROOSTOOK COUNTY POTATO FIELD . . . . .	200
ON CHEBEAGUE ISLAND, CASCO BAY . . . . .	210
MONUMENT SQUARE, PORTLAND . . . . .	212
COBWORK GRANITE BRIDGE, ORR'S ISLAND . . . . .	213
HIGH ALTITUDE VIEW OF PORTLAND AND ENVIRONS . . . . .	216
TROUT FLIES BEING FINISHED AT PERCY TACKLE COMPANY, PORTLAND . . . . .	217
MUNICIPAL GOLF COURSE, PORTLAND . . . . .	218
VICTORIA MANSION, PORTLAND . . . . .	222
THE PARLOR, VICTORIA MANSION, PORTLAND . . . . .	224
BLOSSOMS AT LONG LAKE, NAPLES . . . . .	240
WINTER SCENE ON CUPSUPTIC STREAM, RANGELEY SECTION . . . . .	252
AIR VIEW OF FARMINGTON, LOOKING NORTH . . . . .	258
IVY-CLAD MAIN ENTRANCE TO FARMINGTON STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE . . . . .	259
SKIING AT RANGELEY . . . . .	265
ARROW WOODS PRODUCTS PLANT, WILTON . . . . .	269
JORDAN POND, MOUNT DESERT ISLAND, WITH "THE BUBBLES" AND PEMETIC IN THE BACKGROUND . . . . .	282
WOOD ITEMS TURNED BY THE K. O. FREDERIC COMPANY OF ELLSWORTH . . . . .	287
BAR HARBOR MAIN STREET, TOWN TOTALLY UNAFFECTED BY THE OCTOBER, 1947, FIRES . . . . .	291
THE FAMOUS SUMMER RESORT OF NORTHEAST HARBOR . . . . .	296
CASTINE HARBOR . . . . .	306
DEER ISLE-SEDGWICK BRIDGE . . . . .	309
A 34' 2" SOU'WESTER AT THE HENRY R. HINCKLEY & COMPANY BOATYARD, SOUTHWEST HARBOR . . . . .	321
FORT WESTERN, AUGUSTA . . . . .	350
ON COLBY'S NEW CAMPUS . . . . .	362
AN AMPHIBIAN ON THE SHORE OF ONE OF THE BELGRADE LAKES AT OAKLAND . . . . .	370
OAK GROVE SCHOOL, VASSALBORO . . . . .	375
MAINE LOBSTER AND SEAFOOD FESTIVAL, ROCKLAND . . . . .	381
AERIAL VIEW OF A SECTION OF ROCKLAND'S BUSY WATERFRONT . . . . .	384
EXTERIOR VIEW OF THE FARNSWORTH LIBRARY AND ART MUSEUM . . . . .	389
MOONLIGHT ON THE MAINE COAST . . . . .	403
GATHERING ALEWIVES AT DAMARISCOTTA DURING THE ANNUAL SPRING RUN . . . . .	405
FORT WILLIAM HENRY, PERMIAQUID . . . . .	407
SUMMER THEATER, BOOTHBAY . . . . .	409
RICE BROS.' ALUMINUM CANOE, EAST BOOTHBAY . . . . .	410
VIEW OF LITTLE HARBOR AT DAMARISCOTTA . . . . .	412
CHRISTMAS COVE, SOUTH BRISTOL . . . . .	415
FINE "PEARL" APPAREL BUTTONS, MADE AT THE PARAGON BUTTON CORPORATION, WALDOBORO . . . . .	416
PERRY GREEN AND HIS CHINOOKS . . . . .	417
SKIING ON STARKS HILL, FRYEBURG . . . . .	421
SUNDAY RIVER, WHITECAP MOUNTAIN, NEWRY . . . . .	422
ROBERT HORTON, OF OTISFIELD, IN HIS NEW BALLISTICS LABORATORY AND TESTING RANGE IN WATERFORD . . . . .	424

	PAGE
THE FIR FOREST FROM AZISCOOS MOUNTAIN IN LINCOLN PLANTATION, ELEVATION 3,215 FEET . . . . .	426
ROBERT SWAIN DOWEL MILL AT EAST ANDOVER . . . . .	431
BRUSHES MADE AT THE C. WITHINGTON & SON BRUSH COMPANY, BUCKFIELD	433
TROTTING AT FRYEBURG FAIR . . . . .	435
PART OF THE HERD OF BABY BEEF AT A FRYEBURG FAIR AUCTION . . . . .	436
C. B. CUMMINGS & SON DOWEL MILL, NORWAY . . . . .	440
MAKING A MOUNTAIN ASH RACING SULKY AT TURF CRAFT SULKY COMPANY, NORWAY . . . . .	441
NEW HIGH PRESSURE STEAM POWER PLANT AT OXFORD . . . . .	442
SKI DEPARTMENT OF THE PARIS MANUFACTURING COMPANY AT SOUTH PARIS	443
TOWN HALL AND POST OFFICE, RUMFORD . . . . .	445
HOTEL HARRIS, RUMFORD . . . . .	446
RUMFORD COMMUNITY HOSPITAL . . . . .	447
MICA MINE, NORTH WATERFORD . . . . .	450
AIR VIEW OF EASTERN CORPORATION PLANT, BREWER . . . . .	454
HARDWOOD TURNED AND SHAPED PRODUCTS OF THE BREWER MANUFACTURING COMPANY OF OLD TOWN . . . . .	457
RIVER DRIVE MEMORIAL, BANGOR . . . . .	460
EASTERN CORPORATION PLANT, BREWER . . . . .	464
OLD TOWN CANOE COMPANY'S 18-FOOT GUIDE MODEL IN MANUFACTURE . . . . .	465
MT. KATAHDIN, FROM BAXTER STATE PARK . . . . .	484
CABLE BRIDGE ON THE PENOBSCOT WEST BRANCH . . . . .	500
A MAINE SEA MOSS PROCESSING PLANT LAYOUT . . . . .	502
HYDE MEMORIAL HOME, BATH . . . . .	506
WEST POINT HARBOR, SAGADAHOC COUNTY . . . . .	508
THE WHITNEY HOME, AT GOOD WILL . . . . .	515
THE CANADA ROAD FROM BINGHAM TO JACKMAN . . . . .	516
MOODY MEMORIAL CHAPEL . . . . .	522
AVERILL HIGH SCHOOL AT GOOD WILL, HINCKLEY . . . . .	523
ARTIST'S CONCEPTION OF THE DEAD RIVER HATCHERY . . . . .	531
FORT KNOX, PROSPECT . . . . .	536
THE SWIMMING POOL IN BELFAST'S WATERFRONT PARK . . . . .	539
PENOBSCOT MARINE MUSEUM, SEARSPORT . . . . .	548
SUNSET ON A MAINE BEACH . . . . .	554
MAINE CRAFTSMANSHIP . . . . .	570
YORK NUBBLE LIGHT, YORK BEACH . . . . .	582
THE PARSONS MEMORIAL LIBRARY AT ALFRED . . . . .	585
GREENWOOD'S PORTRAIT OF SALLY BROOKS HOLMES . . . . .	585
WEDDING CAKE HOUSE, KENNEBUNK . . . . .	590
FARM BUILDINGS, KENNEBUNKPORT . . . . .	591
HISTORICAL MARKER, KITTERY . . . . .	593
SAMPLES OF PLAIN AND HAND-PAINTED PRODUCTS OF THE DOWNEY AND THOMPSON SALAD BOWL FACTORY AT KITTERY . . . . .	594





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PART I

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## CHAPTER I

### *Maine's Physical Features*

#### BOUNDARIES AND PHYSIOGRAPHY

THE State of Maine comprises nearly one-half the total area of New England. It occupies the south central section of the great northeastern peninsula formed by the Appalachian Range upthrust of the North American continental mass. This northern Appalachian Peninsula is formed by the St. Lawrence Gulf and River on the north and the Atlantic Ocean on the northeast and south. The Hudson River and Lake Champlain are inlets cutting into the base of the peninsula from the south and north, respectively.

The area of Maine occupies, roughly, one-fourth of this great continental peninsula, embracing an area computed by the Maine State Planning Board and accepted by the U. S. Geological Survey as 32,562 square miles, or 20,839,680 acres, by quadrilateral measurement. The summation of area by civil divisions is 31,857 square miles, or 20,388,260 acres, the difference of 705 square miles being accepted as the probable areas of rivers and tidewater not included in the civil divisions.

Boundary extremes of the State extend from Cedar Island in the Isles of Shoals (KITTEBY) at 42 degrees, 58 minutes and 40 seconds to the St. Francis River on the Canadian border at 47 degrees 27 minutes and 33 seconds, North Latitude; and from the eastern boundary of LUBEC at 66 degrees, 56 minutes and 48 seconds to the western boundary of LEBANON at 71 degrees, 6 minutes and 41 seconds, West Longitude. Maine thus is bounded on the north by the Canadian provinces of Quebec and New Brunswick; on the east by New Brunswick; on the south by the Atlantic Ocean; and on the west by the State of New Hampshire and Quebec. It is the only State of the Union on the border of only one other State. Maine's coast on the Atlantic forms the principal shore of the vast bay of the Atlantic known as the Gulf of Maine, formed within Cape Sable, Nova Scotia, and Cape Cod, Massachusetts.

Three distinctive physiographic divisions are noted within the State of Maine. First is the Coastal Region, extending in a belt of roughly 15 to 50 miles inland from the Piscataqua River on the southwest, to the St. Croix River on the northeast; second, the Uplands Region, extending northeastward from the Western York County Hills to Northern Washington County, then circling north and west around Northern Penobscot County to embrace all of Aroostook County and the northern areas of Piscataquis and Somerset Counties, the latter area in the headwaters of the Aroostook, Allagash and St. John Rivers; and, third, the Northern Appalachian, or White Mountain, Region extending from the Oxford County Hills to north of Mt. Katahdin and thence westward to the mountainous areas near the Quebec border, which divide the headwaters of the St. John, Penobscot and Kennebec Rivers.



## WATER BASINS AND RIVERS

Seven major river systems range from border to border of the State of Maine. From southwest to north and east these are: The Salmon Falls-Piscataqua system on the southwest border with New Hampshire; the Saco River system, from the White Mountains of New Hampshire through Oxford and York Counties in southwestern Maine; the Androscoggin River, from northwestern Maine in Oxford and Franklin Counties southeast through Androscoggin and Sagadahoc Counties; the Kennebec River, from northern Franklin, Somerset and the Moosehead Lake Region of Piscataquis Counties to Kennebec, Lincoln and Sagadahoc Counties; the Penobscot River, from northern Somerset, Piscataquis and Penobscot Counties to Penobscot Bay, largest indentation on the Maine coast; the St. John River, from northern Somerset, Piscataquis and Aroostook Counties to the northeastern tip of Maine; and the St. Croix River, on the eastern boundary with New Brunswick from the Chiputneticook Lakes to Passamaquoddy Bay.

These river systems drain all three major physiographic regions of the State. The Coastal Region, in addition, has more than a score of lesser river systems draining directly into various bays and coves. On the courses of all these river systems are no less than 2,465 lakes and ponds from the smallest appreciable size up to Moosehead Lake, covering 117 square miles and said to be the largest natural lake in the Nation wholly within the confines of one State. Brook and stream tributaries of these lakes, ponds and river systems total more than 5,000.

The following statistics on the major river systems were compiled by the Water Resources Division of the Maine Public Utilities Commission:

The St. John River from its source in St. John Pond to the point where it leaves the Maine boundary is 211 miles in length. It drains an area of 8,765 square miles, of which 4,670 square miles are in Maine. In its Maine drainage basin are 227 rivers and streams and 344 lakes and ponds.

The St. Croix River from its source to tidewater at Calais is 105 miles in length. It drains an area of 1,470 square miles, of which 986 square miles are in Maine. Tributaries in Maine: 43 rivers and streams, 72 lakes and ponds.

The Penobscot River from its extreme headwaters in Northern Somerset County to the sea is 260 miles in length. It drains an area of 8,940 square miles. It has 322 rivers and streams, 625 lakes and ponds.

The Kennebec River from the remotest source of Moose River to the sea is 250 miles in length. It drains an area of 6,190 square miles. It has 258 rivers and streams, 442 lakes and ponds.

The Androscoggin River from the remotest source of the Magalloway River to tidewater at Brunswick is 210 miles in length. It drains an area of 3,430 square miles, of which 2,730 square miles are in Maine. It has 56 miles of length in New Hampshire. It has 185 rivers and streams, 198 lakes and ponds.

The Saco River from its source to the sea is about 120 miles in length, of which 81 miles are in Maine. It drains an area of 1,680 square miles, of which 900 square miles are in Maine. It has 82 rivers and streams, 86 lakes and ponds.

#### COASTLINE AND ISLANDS

Due to the indentations of the coastline, which extends for approximately 220 miles in a southwest-northeast direct line, the high tide mainland shoreline is estimated at nearly 2,500 miles, which is nearly one-half the entire Atlantic coastline of the United States from Maine to Florida. Off shore are nearly 1,300 islands, ranging in size from rocky nubbles to 107.7 square-mile Mount Desert Island. Scores of large and small peninsulas thrust their rocky headlands into the Atlantic Ocean from the mainland, ranging up to more than 20 miles long. Hundreds of harbors and coves, many with beaches of varying size, provide shelter for fishing and coastal vessels, while the largest harbors and bays, protected by island fringes, can anchor the largest ships afloat. Ten of Maine's 16 counties are on tide water or accessible to ocean-going transportation by navigable rivers. A 40-mile stretch of the southwestern Maine coast, from Kittery to Cape Elizabeth, is marked mostly by white sand beach areas, interspersed with rocky peninsulas. These beaches range up to five miles in length at Old Orchard Beach, and up to 200 yards wide.

Maine's broken coastline trends in a general northeast to southwest direction, conforming to the "strike", or direction of rock strata found throughout the State. The many peninsulas thus provide protection from the sweep of the Atlantic and safe anchorage for boats and ships in hundreds of harbors and coves. Major coastal indentations from Kittery to Calais include:

The mouth of the Piscataqua, York Harbor, mouth of the Kennebunk, mouth of the Saco, Casco Bay, Winnegance Bay, mouth of the Kennebec, Sheepscot Bay, Boothbay Harbor, mouth of the Damariscotta, Johns Bay, Muscongus Bay, Georges Bay, Penobscot Bay, Blue Hill Bay, Union River Bay, Frenchman Bay, Gouldsboro Bay, Dyer Bay, Pigeon Hill Bay, Narraguagus Bay, Pleasant Bay, Chandler Bay, Englishman Bay, Little Kennebec Bay, Machias Bay, Little Machias Bay, Cobscook Bay and Passamaquoddy Bay.

#### UPLAND REGIONS

Rolling hills, worn down mountains and much level farmland, interlaced with hundreds of lakes, ponds, streams and rivers mark the Upland Region terrain, the same features also extending into the Coastal Region. A northeastern spur of the Appalachian Region thrusts into northern Penobscot and northeastern Aroostook Counties, from Mount Katahdin to the western highlands of the St. John River valley. In a northeasterly line from Mount Katahdin these summits would include Mount Chase (2440); Howe Brook Mountain (1110); Oak Hill (1096); No. 9 Mountain (1638); Squa Pan Mountain (1460); and Quoggy Joe Mountain (1213) at Presque Isle. These summits





*Sebago Lake, North Sebago*



and scores of other lesser elevations rise occasionally from the farm, forest and lake expanses of the Upland Region, which embraces more than half the total area of the State.

The Appalachian Region, which includes the entire northwestern section of the State, marks the northeastern limits of the Great Appalachian, or Alleghany, chain of mountains, which begins in northern Georgia and enters Maine as the White Mountains of New Hampshire. Baxter Peak, Mount Katahdin (5267), highest peak in Maine and the first spot in the United States to be touched by the morning sun, is the last high northeast peak of the chain, although lesser mountains also must be included, as noted above.

This chain, or system of mountains in Maine has many interruptions or breaks, as river valleys of the Kennebec and Penobscot systems separate the peaks on their eastward and southward courses to the Atlantic Ocean. North of the Appalachian Region in the northern Upland Region, there are no well-defined and connected ranges of mountains, although occasional peaks rise from the heavily-forested, lake-dotted plain sloping gradually to the St. John River Valley on the northern boundary of the State. Prominent among these are Allagash, Soper, Beetle, Clear Lake (1855) and Priestly (1900) Mountains, all in northern Piscataquis County; and Horse-shoe (2052), Round (2147), Musquacook (1500), Carr Pond (1390), Hedgehog (1594), Three Brooks (1578), Depot (1300), Rocky (1400) and De Boulie (1981) Mountains, all in Aroostook County.

Altogether, but mostly in its Appalachian Region, Maine has some 1,000 named mountains, two peaks more than 5,000 feet high and sixteen more than 4,000 feet high. Nearly 100 of Maine's mountains are between 3,000 and 4,000 feet high. In addition to Mt. Katahdin's ten highest peaks (Baxter, 5,267; South, 5,240; Pamola, 4,902; Hamlin, 4,751; North, 4,734; Howe, 4,734 and 4,612; Gateway, 4,200; North Brother, 4,143; and South Traveler, 4,000), the next highest mountains in Maine are: Sugarloaf, 4,237; Old Speck, 4,180; Crocker, 4,168; Bigelow, 4,150 and 4,088; Saddleback, 4,116; Mount Abraham, 4,049; and The Horn (Saddleback), 4,023.

Baxter and South Peaks, rising from a base elevation of 593 feet, also have the highest net heights of any mountains in Maine, 4,674 and 4,647 feet, respectively, giving them net heights comparable to many peaks of the Rocky Mountains, where the base altitude is much higher.

All of Maine's mountains, with the exception of the upper reaches of the highest peaks, are heavily forested and still are yielding large annual cuts of lumber and pulpwood as modern techniques and roads give access to previously inaccessible wilderness. Of Maine's total land area, an estimated 84.5 per cent is covered by timber and wood lots, the highest percentage by far of any State, except New Hampshire, which is 83.1 per cent forested. Maine's annual cut of lumber is currently at the rate of about 500,000,000 board feet annually and its annual pulpwood cut is approximately 1,300,000 cords. Principal commercial tree species are: Spruce and fir, white and Norway pine, hemlock, birch, maple, beech, aspen and oak.



## CLIMATE

Maine's climate is generally classified as "moderate" and characteristic of the North Temperate Zone, although considerable variance occurs between the Coastal, Upland and Mountain Regions. Along the coast, winters are generally milder than in the Upland and Mountain Regions and considerably milder than in corresponding latitudes of interior States. This is due to the tempering effect of the Atlantic Ocean—Maine is on the western side of the Gulf Stream—and also to the mountain barriers in the western and northwestern sections of the State. The White Mountain Range of New Hampshire has an appreciable effect upon the climate of the southwestern section of the State, forcing frontal systems to rise aloft and pass over the coastal area. Thus, true cold fronts seldom occur in this section. In Central and Eastern Maine, the mountains to the west produce similar results, but in the northwest and north, fewer mountain masses occur to impede frontal systems, especially those which sweep along the St. Lawrence River valley.

Annual precipitation in Maine ranges from 35 to 46 inches, with snowfall ranging from a normal of 72 inches along the coast to 140 inches in the northern Upland Region from northwestern Maine to the Aroostook County boundary with New Brunswick. Maximum summer temperatures occur with westerly winds, these also being tempered by passage over the mountain, lake and forest regions. Summer winds from the south and east blow over Maine directly from the Atlantic Ocean, where the Labrador Current streams southward on the western side of the Gulf Stream. Sea fogs are most common on such south and east winds, although these usually are quickly dissipated with wind shifts to the southwest, or backing to north. Gentle variability of wind shifts is a characteristic common to the Maine climate. The 1940-1950 decade has been marked in Maine by winters generally milder and with less total snowfall than has occurred in a belt extending from the Eastern Seaboard south of New England to the Great Lakes.

## SOILS

Maine's moderate climate, plus its variety of soil types, permits an unusual diversity in agricultural production. The crop growing season, between frosts, ranges from 120 to 150 days in the southern part of the State, to between 110 and 120 days in the northern sections. Average mean temperature throughout the State is 58 degrees from April to October, rising to 67 degrees during June, July and August. Long, warm days and short cool nights during the growing season, especially during the intense growing weather of the summer months, make for an ideal North Temperate Zone agriculture. Weather Bureau statistics show that Maine has more hours of sunshine during May, June, July, August and September than weather stations in Florida.

Maine soils range in texture from sand to clay, from poorly to well-drained, and in depth from none on top of mountain peaks to many feet in the river valleys. These soils also vary greatly in their

chemical and physical properties, having been formed from a wide variety of parent rock materials. The clay soils are located principally in the valleys of the rivers and larger streams of eastern and southern Maine. Some of these clay soils are well drained, while others are imperfectly to poorly drained and are best suited to hay production and pasturage. Large areas of sandy soil are located in York, Cumberland, Hancock and Washington Counties, with smaller areas in the Central Maine river valleys. Sweet corn, market garden crops and berries are their principal products. Loams and sandy loam soils of varying depth, drainage and stoniness occupy most of Maine's cultivated farm lands, yielding potatoes, apples, canning crops, hay and pasturage. Most Maine soils are somewhat acid and require lime and fertilizers for profitable yields. Rolling to steep topography marks most of the terrain, with flatlands occurring principally in intervale and small plateau locations.

Nearly 60 per cent of Maine's population lives in rural communities and some form of agriculture is practiced in every city, town and plantation, and in many unorganized or wildland townships. The total of subsistence and livelihood farms is more than 42,000 and a far greater number of town and city dwellers have vegetable gardens. Total value of all Maine farms in 1949 was approximately \$220,000,000 and total farm income in 1950 was estimated at \$154,000,000. Maine raises one-seventh of the Nation's potatoes and 75 per cent of its blueberries, with 90 per cent of the Nation's canned or frozen pack. Potatoes, dairying, poultry, hay, farm woodlot products, apples, sweet corn, livestock, and truck crops are the principal agricultural products, in approximately that order.

#### GEOLOGICAL HISTORY

The evolution of Maine soils and topography is described by Dr. Edward H. Perkins of Colby College in the First Annual Report on the Geology of the State of Maine (Augusta, 1930), from which the following account is adapted:

At the time known to the geologist as the mid-Paleozoic Era, North America already was ages old and landscape after landscape had developed and passed away. At this time the appearance of North America was quite different from today. Over Maine stretched a shallow sea. To the southwest the sea extended over what is now the interior of the Continent, while to the east the waves washed the shores of the lost land of Appalachia, which extended several hundred miles out into what is now the Atlantic Ocean. All through the early stages of earth history, this continent had stood along the border of what is now North America.

Sometimes it appears to have been a low plains region, over which rivers meandered, bringing little sediment to the western sea. At other times it rose into mountains whose tops reached the limit of ice and snow and whose mountain torrents washed coarse gravels and sandstones out to the sea margin. But through the ages, whether it stood high or low, Appalachia contributed its waste to the sea. The bottom



of this sea slowly sank beneath the increasing load of sediment so that the upper layers always remained at or near sea level.

Finally, when the forested swamps of the coal age built out westward from the shore of Appalachia, the sediments had become forty thousand feet thick. For some time the border land had been becoming unstable. Signs of uplift appeared in the sediments, while volcanoes developed along the western side of Appalachia, now the eastern coast of Maine. The unrest cumulated in the Appalachian Revolution, which closed the Paleozoic Era. Tremendous compression developed in the earth's crust and the thick masses of sediments were folded and faulted into mountains. Before and during the revolution, great masses of molten rock material, known as magmas, worked their way up into the roots of the growing mountains. Today the upturned strata, folded and sheared over each other, tell the story of the great compression, while the granite masses represent the intruded magmas.

The reign of the mountains was short, geologically speaking. Their very height contributed to their decay, for as they rose higher the forces of erosion, winds, ice, snow, rains and mountain torrents became more efficient. As long as the uplift was in excess of destruction, the mountains grew, but with the decline of the internal forces erosion gained the upper hand and the ranges slowly wasted away. We can, therefore, picture the ancient Appalachian Mountains as young rugged peaks, snow topped, with torrents rushing down narrow gorges to the plains below. As time went on, the peaks became rounded in form and the gorges became broad open valleys through which enlarged rivers flowed to the sea. This topography was not much different from that of New England today. The end was not yet, however, for the streams continued their work. The rounded hills became still more rounded and lower, the valleys broader and flatter, until a great plain spread over the roots of the ancient mountains.

Once more the earth's crust became unstable and once more mountains lifted their crusts to the clouds. These new peaks, however, were different from those which had preceded; for, instead of folding, the crust broke into great blocks, some of which were tilted up to form uplands, while others dropped to form basins, until a topography developed very similar to the basin and range topography of the southwest at the present time. One great basin is represented by the Connecticut Valley, while another was located in the region of the Bay of Fundy. Maine was probably an upland block between the two basins. Like the previous ones, the new mountains were subject to erosion and once more a great peneplain stretched over New England. It was on this plain that the present New England scenery first took form.

This plain of the Cretaceous time was a rolling surface carved across the folded and faulted roots of the old mountains. Where the granite magmas had crystallized, these more resistant formations had not been entirely reduced to the level of the weaker sediments about them and therefore rose as low hills on the plain. The White Mountains, Mount Katahdin and the other high mountains of Maine are good examples of such residual masses. On the Cretaceous peneplain



they had nowhere near their present elevation, which has been gained mostly by later uplift. The great plain sloped southeastward toward the Atlantic Ocean and down this slope flowed the ancestral New England rivers. As drainage of this type is a consequence of the slope of the land, such streams are known as consequent streams and are the first to develop in a newly exposed region. These streams flowed over the beveled rock structure, crossing weak and resistant beds alike.

It was long supposed that the even skyline which is such a characteristic feature of central and southern Maine was the profile of the old peneplain now uplifted and eroded into hills and valleys. Recent study has shown, however, that the skyline is really a composite of plains at various elevations, the uppermost now only preserved in the resistant rocks of the interior representing the Cretaceous plain. The lower plains were formed during halts in later uplifts, either by river erosion, or landward planing of the ocean. Each of the plains is well developed in the valley floors of the central part of the State and widens out seaward until it forms a broad terrace top facing the sea. On the landward side of the flat, the hills rise rapidly to the next level above, while on the seaward side there is a similar sudden drop to a lower plain. The supporters of the marine erosion theory look on these terrace tops as wave cut benches and the rise on the landward margin as an old sea cliff now altered by subaerial erosion.

Whatever may have been the details of its subsequent history, early in the Tertiary Period the plain was lifted and tilted to the southeast, which revived the streams and caused them to intrench their valleys toward the new base level. The rocks over which the stream flowed were the planed off roots of the old mountain ranges. Folding and faulting along northeast-southwest lines had brought rocks of unequal resistance to the surface, forming northeast-southwest belts of varying resistance. As soon as the revived consequent streams began to cut downward, they were at once affected by the resistance of the rocks they discovered in their beds and so erosion went on at varying rates. Streams which were working in the weaker beds had an advantage over those which were compelled to cut across the stronger strata and by headward erosion cut back and captured the headwaters of the later streams.

These processes were revived with each successive uplift, until before the glacial period most of the streams had become adjusted to the weaker beds and only a few major streams held their course across the resistant beds which now rose as ridges between valleys carved in the less resistant material. Thus a former consequent was transposed into a subsequent adjusted drainage. This adjustment was more nearly complete in the central and southern part of the State, where the northeast-southwest trend of the valleys is very pronounced. In the interior of the State, however, adjustment was much less complete and the major valleys still open to the southeast still followed the old consequent course. Good examples of such valleys are those now occupied by the southern half of Moosehead Lake and by Pemadumcook, Chesuncook and Chamberlain Lakes. Valleys of

the subsequent are represented by the present Kennebec and Androscoggin valleys of southwestern Maine.

#### PRESENT TOPOGRAPHY

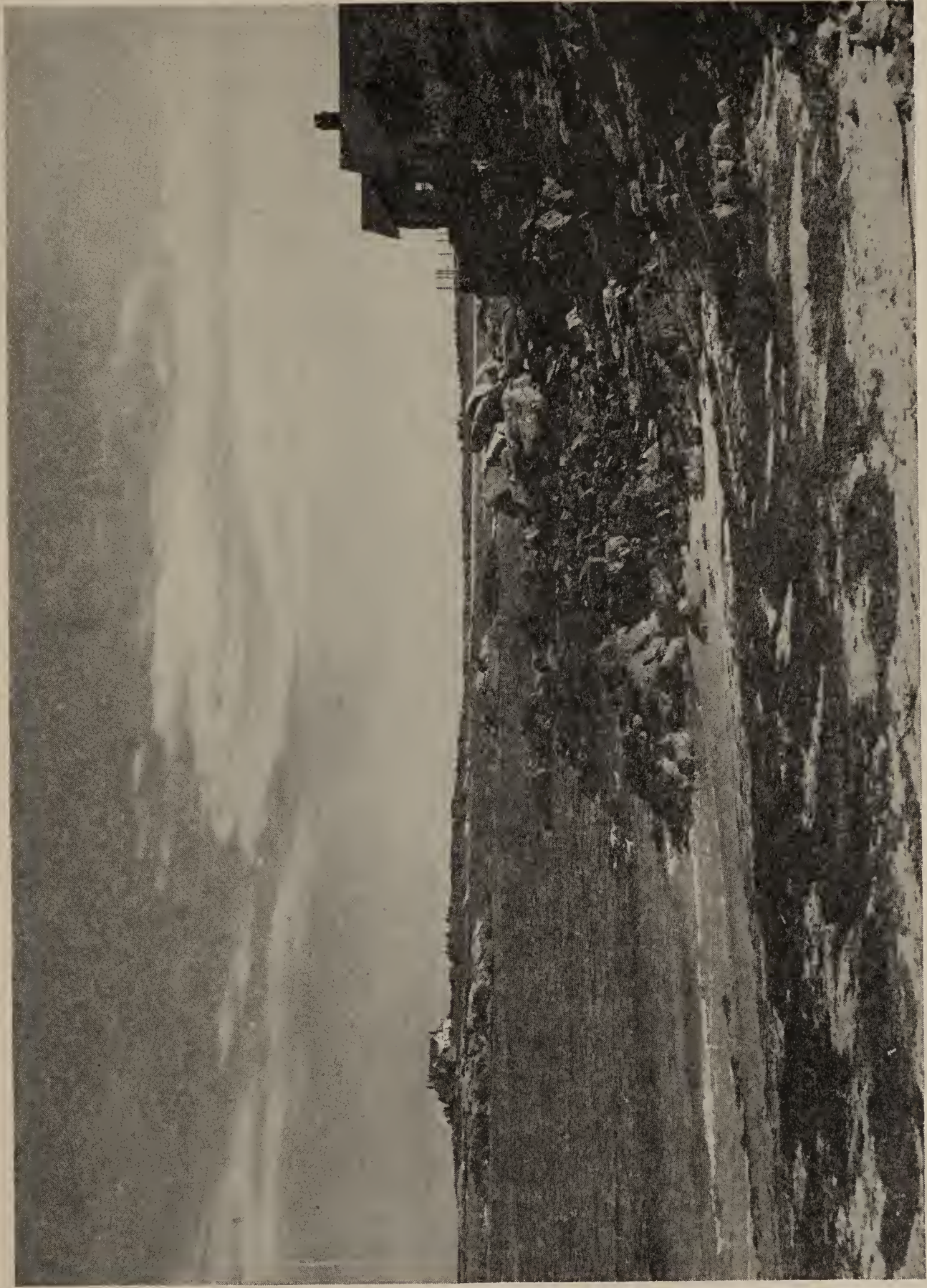
By the beginning of the Glacial Period, the country had reached the stage of maturity. The hills were low and rolling, save where masses of granite or other resistant rocks formed isolated elevations. The various plains formed during halts in the uplift were indicated by hill tops and valley terraces. In general the topography was that of today, all the major mountains and valleys having their present form. The land, however, was higher and the rolling hill country extended far east of the present shore line. But, although the general plan of the topography was the same as today, the details were very different. Probably hardly a lake or waterfall existed in the State.

The valleys were broad and open and occupied by streams which flowed with gentle gradients toward the sea. The rivers in some cases followed courses very different from those followed today. For example, the headwaters of the Androscoggin flowed westward to the Connecticut River, instead of eastward to Maine. The Kennebec River system probably shows as great changes as any in the State. To the east of the present Kennebec, the ancient China River carried the drainage which now reaches the Kennebec from the east. To the west a stream probably rose northwest of Moosehead Lake and flowed south, occupying parts of the valleys of the present Spencer Stream and the Dead, Carrabassett, Sandy and Androscoggin Rivers. The pre-glacial Kennebec was left with a small drainage area passing through the present Belgrade Lakes.

The warm climate of the Tertiary Period gave place to the cold of the Glacial Period and great ice sheets spread over New England until the highest mountains were overtopped. The glaciers probably came not only once, but several times, separated by interglacial epochs at least as long as the time since the retreat of the last ice sheet. For a time after the melting of the lowland ice, valley glaciers persisted in the mountains, forming the great basins or cirques of Katahdin and the Presidential Range. Probably the ice did not recede northwest across Maine leaving a definite front, but melted in place as a mass of stagnant ice riddled by tunnels and caves. In these tunnels and caves, about the irregular edge of the ice and about the detached ice blocks, the waters from the melting ice piled sediments of various types making the eskers, kames and irregular gravel deposits which mantle the present surface.

As the ice melted away, the sea took its place and spread a layer of marine sand and clay over the glacial deposits. When the land finally rose from the sea, the rivers found themselves faced with conditions very different from those which preceded the ice age. The once open valleys were now choked by marine and glacial deposits and the streams were forced to seek new courses through and over these. As a result, the valleys became the site of Maine's many lakes, some of which fill depressions left by melting ice blocks, while others were dammed behind eskers, deltas, or deposits so irregular that no name has been applied to them. The outlets of





*Rocky Shore, Biddeford Pool*



these lakes would overflow the basin rims at the lowest point, which may or may not have coincided with the preglacial valley. In these new courses, the streams often found themselves superimposed over ridges of bedrock and the falls which resulted give Maine its abundant waterpower.

In the course of the upper Androscoggin a gravel dam threw the waters of the river eastward into Maine. The old China River valley was dammed repeatedly and converted into a series of lakes which flow northward and westward into the Kennebec. The old Kennebec river to the west was broken into the sections now known as the Moose, Dead, Carrabassett and Sandy Rivers, all of which flow into the present Kennebec, which therefore has become much larger than its preglacial ancestor.

Thus, the present Maine topography gains its valleys, ridges and mountains from the folded roots of the ancient Appalachian Mountains; its level plains from the long periods of erosion which followed the mountain uplifts; and its lakes and waterfalls from the deposits of the ice age. Twice at least in the history of New England two great mountain ranges have been worn down to lowland plains. If, in spite of their resistant rock masses, these mountains passed away, it will be seen that the present topography, so far as it is based on unconsolidated glacial gravels, cannot long endure. We may look forward to a time when the valleys will be cleaned of their glacial fillings, when the lakes and waterfalls will pass away and the country will return to its former mature conditions. Then if no uplift intervenes and the glaciers do not return, this mature topography will give place once more to great rolling plains, over which the lazily flowing rivers await a new period of uplift, or mountain-making, to start a new cycle of erosion and the evolution of new scenery and new landscapes.

In a preliminary Geologic Map of Maine published in 1932, the following principal rock formations are charted:

#### ROCKS AND MINERALS

IGNEOUS—(1) Biotite granite, light or dark gray, massive or porphyritic, including some associated bodies of diorite, syenite, etc. Mainly of Carboniferous age, but with some Devonian granite in southeastern Maine and some of pre-Cambrian age in southwestern Maine. (2) Red, gray and black rhyolite, with some trachyte and andesite in northeastern Maine; of Devonian age. (3) Rhyolite breccia, tuff, and slate; of Devonian age. (4) Diabase and amygdaloid altered to epidote-chlorite schist ("greenstone"); mainly of Silurian age, but some of Devonian age.

SEDIMENTARY—(1) Pennsylvania—upper part mainly dark slate and phyllite; lower part mainly gray quartzite; beds of limestone and a little altered diabase in the middle part of the series. (2) Mississippian—red sandstone, shale, conglomerate. (3) Devonian, lower and middle—gray slate, shale, brown sandstone, white quartzite, conglomerate of volcanic rocks. (4) Silurian, middle and upper—black, gray and red slates, thin gray sandstone and quartzite layers, mas-

sive argillite, limestone beds in upper part. (5) Ordovician and Cambrian—gray quartzite and grit, gray argillite, with interbedded black and gray slates. (6) Pre-Cambrian—banded mica gneisses and schists, cut by much pegmatite; includes some schistose granites.

Commercial mining and quarrying in Maine today is principally for sand and gravels, crushed rock, limestone, granite, feldspar, clays and mica. Some 25 per cent of all feldspar used in the United States is mined in Maine, going to pottery manufacturers in West Virginia, New Jersey and Ohio. Granite, roofing slate and limestone quarrying once were important industries in Maine. Asbestos deposits in north-western Maine and low-grade manganese deposits in Aroostook currently are being investigated. Large pyrrhotite deposits have been located and worked in several sections of the state. Rare earth metals in varying concentrations and combinations also have been found, including uranium, radium, lithium, caesium, rubidium, beryllium, columbium and others. Gold has been found in more than 30 locations. Semi-precious stones form the basis for a growing Maine jewelry industry. These include tourmaline, herderite, garnet, rose quartz, smoky quartz, beryl, aquamarine, amethyst and topaz. Most of these are by-products of feldspar mining and have been found in greatest quantity in Oxford County. The largest single crystal of beryl (an ore of the mineral used in connection with atomic fission) ever found in the world was taken from the Bumpus Mine at Albany, Oxford County. It measured 22 feet long and six and one-half feet thick and was of aquamarine color. Many other crystals of approximately two-thirds this size also were found there in association with high grade orthoclase. Limited mining operations also have occurred in widely separated sections of the State for copper, lead, zinc, silver and mercury.

A partial list of principal minerals found in Maine includes: Acmite, albite, allanite, amblygonite, amphibole, analcite, andalusite, anorthite, apatite, argentite, arsenopyrite, asbestos, autunite, azurite, barite, bertrandite, beryl, biotite, bismuth, bornite, calcite, cancrinite, cassiterite, chalcopyrite, chrysoberyl, chrysolite, cimolite, cobalt, coumbite, copper, corundum, cyanite, dolomite, eosphorite, epidote, feldspar, fluorite, galenite, garnet, gold, graphite, gypsum, hematite, herderite, hornblende, idocrase, iron, kalinite, kaolinite, labradorite, laumonite, lepidolite, limonite, magnetite, malachite, manganite, marcasite, melanterite, mica, molybdenite, muscovite.

Nickel, orthoclase, attrelite, petalite, phlogopite, platinum, polucite, prehnite, psilomelane, purpurite, pyrite, pyrolusite, pyromorphite, pyroxene, pyrrhotite, quartz (white, amethyst, basanite, blue, chalcedony, rose and smoky), reddingite, rhodochrosite, rutile, serpentine, siderite, sillimanite, silver, sodalite, sphalerite, spodumene, staurolite, stibnite, talc, tantalite, tetrahedrite, titanite, topaz, torbernite, tourmaline, triphylite, uraninite, vesuvianite, vivianite, wernerite, yttrocerite and zircon.

Peat bogs are found in all 16 Maine counties, but operations have been conducted thus far only in Hancock, Washington and Aroostook County locations.



## STATE STATISTICS

Maine's population as of April 1, 1950, was 910,456, according to the preliminary count of the Decennial Census of Population. This figure represents a gain of 63,230, or 7.5 per cent over the 847,226 inhabitants of the State enumerated in the 1940 Census. By approximate direct line measurement, Maine is 320 miles long and 210 miles wide. The state has 16 counties, 21 cities, 422 towns, 65 plantations and 386 unorganized townships.

Maine's primary economic activities are based on manufacturing, agriculture, vacation-travel and commercial fisheries. This economic diversity, based upon the state's varied natural resources, provides an important element of balance to the total economy, with the result that the state has never experienced the extreme highs and lows of the modern economic cycle, but has registered steady progress in all lines of activity since the days of permanent settlement.

Maine's official State Seal, as adopted by the Legislature of 1820 is described thus in the language of heraldry:

"A shield, argent, charged with a Pine Tree; a Moose Deer, at the foot of it, recumbent. Supporters: on the dexter side an Husbandman, resting on a scythe; on the sinister side, a Seaman, resting on an anchor. In the foreground representing sea and land, and under the shield, the name of the state in large Roman Capitals. The whole surmounted by a Crest, the North Star. The motto, in small Roman Capitals, in a label interposed between the Shield and the Crest, viz.: 'Dirigo'."

The State Motto, "Dirigo," is a Latin word, translated: "I direct or guide."

The State Bird is the Chickadee (*Parus Atricapillus*), adopted by the Legislature of 1927.

The State Flag presents the coat of arms (similar to the State Seal) of the State of Maine on a blue field of the shade of the blue field in the flag of the United States. It was adopted by the Maine Legislature of 1909.

The State Floral Emblem is the white pine cone and tassel (*Pinus Strobus*, Linneaus). It was adopted by the Legislature of 1895.

Words and music of the official State of Maine Song were written by Roger Vinton Snow of Portland. The words follow (tempo di marcia):

"Oh Pine Tree State, Your woods, fields and hills,  
Your lakes, streams and rock-bound coast  
Will ever fill our hearts with thrills.  
And though we seek far and wide,  
Our search will be in vain,  
To find a fairer spot on earth,  
Than Maine! Maine! Maine!"



## CHAPTER II

### *The Indians of Maine*

LINGUISTICALLY speaking, Maine's Indians are of that stock characterized as "Algonquin," a division embracing a larger area than any other Indian group in North America. The Algonquin tribes ranged from the east coast of Newfoundland westward to the Rocky Mountains, and from far north in Canada down to the Carolina coast and beyond. In the whole of what is now eastern United States they were separated only by an area inhabited by Iroquoian tribes.

Modern researches indicate the possibility that these Algonquin tribes were preceded by an earlier "Pre-Algonquin" family, sometimes called the "Red Paint People," so named because each of their ancient graves contains brilliant ochre in quantities ranging from less than two quarts up to a bushel. Usually the ochre was red. Sometimes it was yellow or brown. Their ancient graves also contained stone implements differing markedly from the implements ordinarily associated with Indians. Since the European settlement on this side of the Atlantic, many such graves have been found in Maine. Many of the graves were inadvertently destroyed when opened, but scientific records have been made of about thirty "Red Paint People" cemeteries in the Kennebec, Georges, Penobscot and Union river valleys, as well as along the central-eastern Maine coast.

Shell-heaps estimated to be between 1,000 and 5,000 years old suggest countless "shore dinners" consumed by the ancient tribes, and arrowheads and other implements are distinct. Although today's Indians are mainly of the so-called Penobscot and Passamaquoddy tribes, many other groupings were represented at an earlier period. The first European settlers found both Abnakis and Etchemins, as the two major divisions of the Algonquin Indians came to be known. The Abnakis usually camped west of the Penobscot River; the Etchemins, east of it.

The Abnaki Indians were of four principal bands, according to some authorities on the subject: (1) the Saco (otherwise spelled Sokokis, Sekokis or Sokwakiaks) Indians, living in the Saco River valley, and having their own dialect; (2) the Anasagunticook Indians, occupying the Androscoggin River valley and speaking the Abnaki tongue; (3) the Kennebec (or Canibas) Indians, ranging the Kennebec valley and using the Abnaki language; and (4) the Wawenock Indians, also speaking Abnaki and camping along the coast between the Kennebec and St. George's rivers. The unwritten Abnaki language was a subject of study by the French Jesuit missionaries.

The Etchemins (the word signifies "the men") were seafaring folk, of three principal bands: (1) Penobscot Indians of the upper Penobscot River valley and the Old Town area; (2) Pentagoet Indians, along the eastern shore of Penobscot Bay from Castine to Naskeag Point, Brooklin; and (3) the Passamaquoddy Indians, of Machias and the St. Croix River valley (the name was sometimes written "Pestumokadyik," meaning "people who spear pollock).



The Maine tribes had been involved in a furious civil war at the time when the white men first arrived from Europe. Their war had started in 1615, and had nearly annihilated some of the tribes. A disease plague followed. The Indians who remained were not wholly unfriendly to the first European settlers, who were both French and English. Puritan records even indicate that Indians often saved the lives of white men by gifts of food. They were particularly friendly with the French, with whom they joined at an early period to drive off the English settlers from what became the Maine coast. Not until the collapse of French power in America did peace come about between the Maine Indians and the English. At that time many tribes who had not been destroyed by war and disease made off to Canada because of the inroads of the English. The Penobscots and the Passamaquoddies alone remained.

The Penobscots made peace with the English in 1748, when boundaries were fixed after more than three-quarters of a century of intermittent fighting. Actual warfare dated from about 1675, by which year there were about 6,000 English settlers in Maine, principally in Kittery, Wells, York, Scarborough, Saco, Cape Porpoise, Falmouth, Pejepscot, Sagadahoc, Pemaquid, Sheepscot and Monhegan. There were six "Indian wars," two of which lasted ten years each, while each of the other four lasted for varying lengths of time up to six years. The first three wars, of Indian aggressive origin, played havoc with the fur, fishing and lumber trade of the new settlers, but exhausted the strength of the Indians. From 1722 onward, the last three wars consisted mainly of vigorous English raids upon Indian villages and camps. At all times the French and the Indians were open allies. But when the French joined the English colonists in the Revolution, the Maine Indians became friendly with all the white settlers and so remained.

Before the Revolution, while Maine was still a Province of Massachusetts, several treaties between Massachusetts and the two remaining tribes established the Penobscots and the Passamaquoddies as "nations" within the state, allowing to each tribe certain lands—the Penobscots at Indian Island (Old Town), and the Passamaquoddies at Pleasant Point (Eastport) and Peter Dana's Point (Princeton).—assignments which are the basis of the three great Maine Indian reservations of today. The same treaties also guaranteed an annual delivery of specified items of arms, cloth and food.

When Maine was separated from Massachusetts in 1820, the new state became the guardian of the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy tribes. The Indian population of the state today is estimated to total about 1,200—the sole remnants, within the confines of Maine, of the once powerful confederacy of eastern Indians. Their story is a sad and dismal one. For one reason or another—whether through natural decadence of a race driven into the background by the European settlers, or through a more recent paternalism lavished upon them by these same white settlers' descendants,—Maine's Indians remain unenterprising and detached. Perhaps the white man shoulders his responsibility in misguided ways. Perhaps the Indian cannot adapt his traditionally free way of living to the hard-and-fast



rules by which the white man governs men's relationships to property, commerce, agriculture and employment.

Still, many members of the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot tribes are gainfully employed. Many served in the Revolution, the Civil War, World War I and World War II. They are recognized as citizens of the United States, although they cannot be citizens of the State of Maine without relinquishing their treaty rights as a "nation." The Penobscots still excel in basket-weaving, sewing and the designing of patterns with dyed quills. Although basket making is also a skill of the Passamaquoddies, they devote more attention to fishing and hunting. Carving and painting are arts frequently practiced by the present-day survivors of the ancient tribes. English is the common language, but children still learn their native Indian tongue. Dress is in no way unique, except at special periods when ceremonial costumes are a feature of tribal celebrations. Perhaps the white Americans of more recent date merely expect too much in believing that the Indians should adopt practices and customs too nearly like their own.

Be that as it may, long bickering between the ancient and modern inhabitants of this state has not yet settled the many problems which the white man took over when he assumed control. Official policies governing these relationships lie buried in a mass of documents in the halls of the government at Augusta, but bickering and misunderstanding continue despite the honest efforts of many to straighten out what is technically called "Indian affairs." The present Indian agent, Hiram Hall, has his headquarters at Robbinston, and personally visits the Old Town reservation every two weeks. His work comes under the supervision of the State Department of Health and Welfare, which supervises and directs his activities within the framework provided by law.

To understand present governmental arrangements concerning "Indian affairs," it is necessary to examine them in the light of history. Attacking the problem on a nation-wide scale, the framers of the Constitution of the United States wrote Article I, Section 8, of that document as follows: "Congress shall have the power . . . to regulate Commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian Tribes." The Treaty with Great Britain, dated November 19, 1794, provided that "it shall at all times be free to His Majesty's subjects, and to citizens of the United States, and also to Indians dwelling on either side of the said boundary line freely to pass and repass by land or inland navigation, into the respective territories and countries of the two parties on the continent of America. No duty of entry shall ever be levied by either party on peltries brought by land or inland navigation into said territories respectively nor shall Indians passing or repassing with their own proper goods and effects of whatever nature, pay for the same any impost or duty whatever. But goods in bales, or other large packages unusual among Indians, shall not be considered as goods belonging bona fide to Indians."

The Treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814, provided that the United States of America should, immediately upon ratification of that



document, put an end to hostilities with all Indian tribes or nations and restore to them all rights they might have enjoyed as of the year 1811—provided, of course, that these tribes desist from hostilities with the United States.

The Act of Separation creating Maine as a separate political entity from Massachusetts, among other provisions, stated that Maine should assume all obligations toward the Indians within the confines of the new state. When Maine actually assumed these obligations, she was to receive from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts a payment of \$30,000 to effectuate this aim, and a year later Maine definitely assumed her obligations in accordance with that agreement. The payment, received from Massachusetts in 1824, furnished the start of an Indian program within the boundaries of the new state. Subsequent acts provided for the purchase of certain lands from the Indians.

An agreement between the Penobscots and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, on August 8, 1796, had provided the basis of the Old Town Indian Reservation. By that agreement the Penobscots relinquished to the Commonwealth all lands on both sides of the Penobscot River, lying near Colonel Jonathan Eddy's dwelling house at Nichol's Rock so-called, and extending up the said river thirty miles on a direct line according to the general course of said river on each side thereof, *excepting, however, and reserving to the said tribe all the islands in said river above Old Town, including said Old Town Island within the limits of the said thirty miles, for which an annual consideration was to be paid said tribe.* Sale of those lands was authorized March 2, 1799. In 1805 the Land Agent sold nine small islands, including Shad Island, to Joseph Treat; but the Commonwealth repurchased three of the islands when the Indians complained of interference with their fishing rights. By terms of the articles of separation, these islands became the undivided property of both states.

A treaty of June 29, 1818, between Massachusetts and the Penobscots granted to Massachusetts all lands above the thirty-mile tract conveyed in 1796, on both sides of the river and its branches, excepting and reserving from sale "for the perpetual use of said tribe of Indians, four townships of land six miles square each." Massachusetts agreed to pay them \$400 by the commissioners; to deliver within ninety days certain cannon, cloth, ribbon, etc.; and "every year, so long as they shall remain a nation, to deliver certain amounts of corn, flour, pork, molasses, broadcloth, blankets, gunpowder, shot, chocolate, tobacco and fifty dollars in silver." At that time Massachusetts obtained release from any claims in consequence of the Treaty of 1796, and agreed that the Penobscots should have the four townships requested, as well as all the islands in the river above Old Town, including Old Town Island.

"All the islands" thus ceded totaled 4,482 acres of land. Twenty-six of these islands were within the limits of Old Town, and amounted to 1,949 acres. One-half of the remaining islands were within a radius of ten miles from Old Town. Old Town Island itself consisted of 293 acres; and Orson Island, 1,438 acres, 224 acres of





*Portland Head Light, Cape Elizabeth*



which belonged to the Public Farm from 1835 to 1872. Through later developments, three of the islands were sold at auction on October 11, 1835, for \$7,550. In 1829 the Penobscots were authorized to sell Smith Island, and in 1831 they had been authorized to sell Pine Island. In 1833 Maine bought some Penobscot lands, crediting \$50,000 to a Penobscot Indian Fund.

These agreements laid the basis of the present Penobscot reservation centered on Old Town Island. Most of the settlement is huddled at the end of the island nearest Old Town, thus being concentrated on what is practically one-fourth of the island. The remaining three-quarters of Old Town Island are largely overgrown, and much tillable land is unused. Orson Island has become scarcely more than a wood lot. Penobscots living on the reservation were recorded as totaling 584 in 1942, although 60 of them were reported as "off reservation." A few had camps on an adjacent island. Paved roads were installed in 1933 by the Public Works Administration, and other conveniences on the used end of Old Town Island include city water and lights, some sidewalks and street lights and a sewage system. A two-room school, in fair condition, is taught by three Catholic Sisters of Mercy, and is maintained out of state funds. Students completing the eight elementary grades there may continue in Old Town proper at high school; or younger children may attend the Old Town graded schools if they so choose, as one small Baptist group has done. In 1942, 53 Penobscot children were recorded as attending Old Town elementary and high schools.

At Old Town, the tribe has its own government. It elects a Governor, a Lieutenant Governor and a representative to the Legislature. Ferry tolls and dog licenses provide some funds from local sources.

As early as September 29, 1794, in a treaty with Massachusetts, the Passamaquoddy Indians relinquished their rights, title and interest in lands lying within Massachusetts and agreed to follow a peaceful course, while Massachusetts agreed in return to set off for these Indians certain lands. These included "all those islands lying . . . in Schoodic river (St. Croix) between the falls at the head of the tide, and the falls below the forks of said river where the north branch and the west branch parts; being fifteen in number, containing one hundred acres more or less; also township No. 2 in the first range containing about twenty-three thousand acres, also Lues island lying in front of said township containing ten acres; together with one hundred acres of land lying on Nemcass point adjoining the west side of said township; also Pine Island lying to the westward of said Nemcass point containing one hundred and fifty acres." The Indians were also assigned fishing privileges on both branches of the river, and ten acres of land at Pleasant Point were set off for them, to be purchased for them by the Commonwealth from John Frost. The same document allowed a payment of \$200 to Mr. Frost for 100 acres of land, the remaining 90 of which the treasurer was empowered to lease.

The Passamaquoddies actually never received the St. Croix River islands. In 1855 the Indian agent reported conflicting claims

to the islands, and the Governor directed an investigation of the matter. Evidently the Indians had occupied the islands part of the time, and the white claimants likewise. No record of any final settlement of the dispute seems to exist; and the Indians frequently make accusations that they have been deprived of their lands and their rights unjustly.

A Passamaquoddy Indian Fund was established in 1856, however, by deposit of \$22,500 for a fifteen-year lease of timber, grass and water power rights. The trend of the white man's policy has been, whenever any Indian lands become run down or unused, to sell the lands and apply the purchase price to a fund that will benefit the Indians as "wards of the state." Whenever such sales have taken place, the Indians have complained of unjust deprivation of their properties. When relief funds have been granted them, they have objected to the term "relief," insisting that they were only receiving funds to which they themselves were legally entitled. It is questionable how well they have received either relief or other paternalistic help from outside their reservations.

The Passamaquoddies at Pleasant Point have good roads, artesian wells and some "faucet houses," as they are called, but no sewage system. Most houses are in a good state of repair. Some have cellars. Members of the tribe seem to have more initiative and energy than elsewhere. The three-room school here is taught by Catholic Sisters, while high school students are taken by bus to Eastport. A 1942 census reported 368 Indians at Pleasant Point.

At Princeton and Peter Dana's Point, 188 others live along a lake front. Conditions at Peter Dana's Point are similar to those at Pleasant Point. Peter Dana's Point settlement is in the woods and remote from the outside world. Conditions are perhaps poorer than at the other reservations. A fair Public Works Administration road provides access to the colony, but no electric lights have been installed farther than the church and the school, which are served by a home generating plant. Water comes from two rock wells, and there is no sewage system.

In 1822 Maine listed 277 Penobscots and 379 Passamaquoddies as its total Indian population—656 in all. The 1942 figure had mounted to 584 Penobscots and 616 Passamaquoddies—1,200 in all. The period of greatest increase was between 1932 and 1942—the increase in that decade being from 1,014 to 1,200, or 18.3 per cent. Annual expenditures on the two tribes in 1950 totaled more than \$125,000.

There have been some inter-marriages with white people and a few with Canadian Indians. By law, the child of such a mixed marriage is still an "Indian," entitled to all the privileges of the tribes, although with a ratio of Indian blood that diminishes with each generation. Different revisions of the legal code have been offered to deprive children of such marriages of the privileges of tribal membership, so that they may become directly citizens of the state; but for a variety of complicated reasons no action has been taken to this effect.



Many interested persons have sought to establish a long-term policy toward the Indians of Maine, but the obstacles to a solution of the problem are of long standing and sometimes formidable. Some thinkers favor breaking up the reservation system entirely by providing vocational training for Indian youths and finding jobs for them away from the reservations; by sponsoring business on the basis of Indian handicraft work to provide for those unable to take advantage of such vocational training; to encourage agriculture by direct help and supervision, with ownership of land for individuals working on it; and restriction of state aid to apply only to those unable to take part in such a revised program.

Problems which destiny has created sometimes have to be solved by destiny; and perhaps the Indian problem in Maine, as throughout the United States, is a case in point.

## CHAPTER III

### *Early Days*

#### DISCOVERY

PROPERLY, the history of Maine should be established as beginning with its "discovery"; that is, its first visit by an explorer of European origin. This cannot be done. Some scholars would fix the beginning of Maine at about the year 1000 when the Norsemen are believed to have sailed along the coast and, just possibly, attempted settlement. Other historians deny the validity of such claims and fix the beginning of Maine some 500 years later when properly accredited explorers did come into Maine.

The tradition of the Norsemen has always fascinated historians because nothing definite is known about their visit or visits; nor indeed, is ever likely to be established.

The Norsemen, or Northmen, or Vikings as they are variously named, were sea rovers. Magnificent seamen and, after the fashion of the times, blood-thirsty pirates, they sailed the seas boldly in their tiny dragon ships with a careless disdain of peril and hardship. These Scandinavians ravaged the coast of Britain, established themselves as masters of much of western France and, this accomplished by 850, spent the next few centuries, until their blood diluted, in hewing out individual fortunes in Italy, Egypt, Constantinople and various other regions until they reached their climax in the conquest of England in 1066.

Meanwhile, they ventured westward also. They colonized Iceland in 860 and Greenland in 890. The climate then was evidently warmer in those islands than now and for a time settlements actually prospered. This much is definite history. Then, and here tradition and literature begin, in 1000, almost 500 years before Columbus sailed from Spain, a ship under the command of Leif Ericson was sent out by King Olaf of Norway to establish Christianity in Greenland.

A northerly gale caught the little vessel between Iceland and Greenland and, despite the best efforts of Leif to make westing, he was driven far to the south. After many days of bitter cold and wet, instead of making a landfall on Greenland, Leif raised the black and forbidding crags of Labrador, a forsaken land lifting up out of the green Arctic waters. Instead of putting about and running north as soon as the wind served, Leif coasted on to the southward, passing the treacherous sands of Nova Scotia and entering New England waters.

Just how far south the dragon ship voyaged, no one knows. The saga relates that they came to a fair and pleasant land, covered with noble forests and rich with purple grapes. This might have been Maine. It may have been Massachusetts. Despite the difficulty of such a ship weathering Cape Cod, some historians think it was Rhode Island. Recently, claims have been made that it was still further south—even Delaware Bay or Chesapeake Bay. No one really knows. The fact that purple grapes were abundant is not a good clue for the



two common wild species, still abundant today, both range northward fairly well. The Fox Grape, *Vitis labrusca* L., thrives from New England down to Georgia, while the other species, the Frost Grape, *Vitis vulpina* L., is found abundantly near water from New Brunswick to Virginia.

Anyhow, when Leif returned to Norway, his stories of the beauty, warmth and fertility of the new land excited much interest. Other voyages were organized and several were probably made, although there is no clear record. Bishop Thorlack, the historian of Iceland, believes that a settlement was made in New England, possibly on the shore of Mt. Hope Bay.

For some unknown reason, the Norse settlement, or settlements, for there may have been more than one, did not prosper. Possibly the Indians were one reason since these first settlers did not have gunpowder, but were forced to match the Indians' bows and arrows with their swords and spears. Again, the Norsemen were a difficult people to manage; they fought among themselves at the least opportunity. About the only "fact" of interest today about the alleged settlement in New England is that, according to Bishop Thorlack, Gudrida, wife of the leader of the settlement, gave birth to a son named Snorre. If this is correct, then Snorre was the first white child born in America. Perhaps there was such a person, for both the good Bishop and the Danish sculptor, Bertle Thorwaldsen, claimed this first American as their ancestor.

The round tower now standing in Newport, Rhode Island, has been cited as proof that the Norsemen colonized the area. No one knows who built this stone tower, but it is hardly likely that colonists who lived there but a few years, if at all, would rear such a structure. It would have required too much time and energy. Instead, it is more probable that the tower was built as the base of a windmill for grinding corn by some English settler in the 17th century.

In any event, the Norsemen came and vanished. Their story may be found in the *Prose Edda*, the Icelandic saga, for what it is worth. The Norsemen did not give the latitude or longitude of their settlement and so it is completely vanished, if it ever existed. That they did visit New England at about 1000 A. D. is very probable, for it is natural enough that one of their dragon ships, powered by oars and with but a single square sail, could be driven by northerly gales across the Atlantic to the area described. Similar legends by the Irish and Welsh writers of long ago indicate that their legendary heroes visited the New World at about the same time. These tales cannot be proven—but neither can they be denied.

Thus it is likely that the history of Maine must begin with the recorded explanation of voyages by sailors representing the nations of Europe who actually settled New England and made it their own. It should be pointed out, however, that, possibly Columbus aside, these explorers did not accidentally find New England. They knew before they left England and France that there was land there to be "found." Actually, the voyages were made for the purpose of establishing legal claim to the territory—although, of course, information about the new lands was needed also. The truth seems to be that

sailors and, particularly, fishermen, knew about the area and the wealth of fish and timber to be found there. Often, an official explorer could visit the seaside taverns in his port of departure and, by talking with the sailors frequently there, could learn much of the winds, currents and hazards of navigation he would encounter. Indeed, it was common practice for the gentlemen explorers to engage fishermen to go along to show the way.

Possibly the first voyage was a strict adventure into the unknown. This was the trip of John Cabot. Every schoolboy knows that Columbus had trouble finding a sponsor for his projected voyage to China and the Indies via the westward route. While he was busy in Spain persuading Ferdinand and Isabella to finance him, he sent his brother, Bartholomew, to work on Henry VII of England. Henry was not interested but many of the fishermen along the west coast were concerned. The port of Bristol in particular was enthused, for this port had for years been the home of many daring and active fishermen and sailors who had fished the northern seas for cod—which was in those days very much more of a staple of diet than is the case today.

Thus, when the news of Columbus' success became known, Bristol was stocked with well-trained sailors who were itching for venture into the unknown West also. It happened that, about 1490, an Italian with the Anglicized name of John Cabot was living at Bristol. A native of Genoa, and at one time a citizen of Venice, he was a capable seafarer and when he petitioned King Henry for leave to sail in search of new lands, Henry graciously assented, taking for his patronage merely a fifth of the receipts and the sovereignty of all lands discovered. In May of 1497, a very bad time of year to sail the Western Ocean, Cabot left Bristol in a very small ship with a crew of only 18 men, most of whom were sailors of Bristol. The voyage was completed safely and an island, probably near Cape Breton, was discovered. The following year, Cabot made a second voyage and sailed somewhat to the south of the first landfall. Thus it is likely that John Cabot and his men were the first Englishmen to sight the coast of Maine.

This was the basis of English claims to the area but it was many years before any attempt to further exploration, let alone settlement, was made. The reason seems to have been that the success of Spain and Portugal in developing the riches of the tropical Americas and the East Indies via Panama proved of much more promising interest. English sailors found it far more profitable to snatch the gold and precious cargos Spain was ferrying home than any fishing and lumbering in New England could have been. Thus the northern coast of America, and New England in particular, was long neglected. It is true that fishermen did come to harvest the teeming cod more and more. These stalwarts left home in the spring, built a rude fishing station on some sheltered island offshore, or at mainland points with harbors, and leaving men ashore to make barrels and to dry and salt the fish, caught cod all summer by repeated short trips offshore. In the fall, before the heavy gales set in, the dried fish would be laden aboard and everyone returned home to spend the winter at ease,



enjoying themselves by entertaining stay-at-homes with wild tales of the wonders of the New World.

Then, too, voyages by Englishmen were not endorsed by the Spanish crown and since England and Spain were officially allies during much of the sixteenth century, the English authorities were compelled to frown upon such trips to the westward. Piracy was well enough since it was not official, but explorations had to be under the sponsorship of the Crown and that was forbidden. However, the number of English fishermen taking annual trips to the New England and Newfoundland banks by 1550 was so large and the trade so important that exploration could not be restrained.

Despite protest by the Spanish Ambassador to England, John Hawkins sailed along the coast of what is now the United States. In 1565 and in 1567 he led an expedition into the Gulf of Mexico. Following disaster at Vera Cruz, three of his crew—David Ingram, Richard Brown and Richard Twide—made their way northward to the Great Lakes and then turning eastward, according to Hakluyt, crossed into New York State and reached the New England shoreline by traversing Maine. They had the good fortune of finding a French ship along shore and so reached England at last, after making an epic if almost unknown trip across a complete wilderness. These three men, of whom practically nothing is known, were probably the first Englishmen to visit the interior of North America, let alone being the first to visit inland Maine. Had these men been educated the description of their travels would be one of the great documents of our nation.

By 1578, exploration could not be denied, particularly since Queen Elizabeth had lost her fear of the Spaniards, and so she granted a patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Walter Raleigh's half-brother, such lands as he might discover in the New World. His first expedition failed to cross the Atlantic, but on his second he took formal possession of Newfoundland for the Queen. However, on the voyage home, his flagship was lost and after this disaster, for years once more English interest in the northeast coast flagged. Raleigh continued his explorations but he was interested in the Virginia area only.

However, in 1602, New England did enter the limelight, for that year the ship *Concord*, commanded by Bartholomew Gosnold, made a real trading voyage to New England. The ship made a landfall somewhere along the southern coast of Maine, probably Cape Porpoise, and from thence coasted southward and, rounding Cape Cod, established a center on the Elizabeth Islands. Gosnold is said to have given Cape Cod its name. He planned a settlement on the Islands and actually built houses for a few members of his crew who said they would be willing to abide there until Gosnold returned the following year. The crew of the ship spent the summer months trading with the Indians for furs and for the bark of the sassafras tree, then very abundant. This bark was highly valued in Europe at the time as a medicine and hence very profitable. By the time autumn came and the ship was laden with a really valuable cargo, the settlers had lost their enthusiasm and so every one returned home to share in the rich profits of the first genuine trading voyage to New England.





*Back Cove, East Boothbay*



Gosnold's success attracted wide attention and the next year, 1603, Captain Martin Pring came over to collect furs and sassafras too. After an easy voyage, Pring reached the mouth of the Penobscot. Failing to find sassafras there, he turned southward and in turn visited the harbors of what were to be Kennebunkport, York and Portsmouth. Still only partially successful in trading, he continued on and finally reached Nantucket Sound where he found plenty of the bark and an abundance of furs. Within six months from the day he left, Pring was back in England with a profitable cargo.

Naturally, two rewarding voyages in as many years attracted wide attention and, in 1605, a third voyage was made to New England under Captain George Weymouth. The patrons of this trip were the Earl of Arundel and the Earl of Southampton. Big men were becoming interested now that profits had been obtained from New England. Weymouth, who had previously explored Labrador, skirted the Maine coast and, after visiting Monhegan, sailed up St. George's River. His voyage is of historical interest chiefly in that he kidnapped five Maine Indians and took them home to Plymouth where they were taught English and questioned concerning the wealth and resources of the country. Although there is some question about the accuracy of the Indians' statements, the English authorities chose to accept the reports as being of a very encouraging nature. According to Sir Ferdinando Gorges of Plymouth, the future Lord Proprietor of Maine, the reports were "the means under God of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations."

#### EARLY SETTLEMENTS

The period of discovery can be concluded at this time and the period of settlement opened because as these trading voyages proved successful, the politicians became interested and in 1606, King James I, the Scotchman who had united Scotland and England under one crown, gave two companies of "adventurers" twelve degrees of latitude along the American coast from about Virginia to Halifax. One of these companies, chiefly of the nobility, centered about London and became known as the London Company. The other company, composed chiefly of sturdy citizens of Bristol and Plymouth, was the Plymouth Company. By arrangement, the London Company took over the southern part of the grant, between 34 and 41 degrees of latitude; and the Plymouth Company, the northern, between 38 and 45 degrees. That the two territories overlapped was characteristic of the times and of no importance. Obviously the lands would belong to the companies that first colonized them.

With characteristic energy, the Plymouth Company lost no time in taking firm hold of its property. A settlement would cinch the gift so a settlement there must be at once. In 1606 Sir John Popham and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the active heads of the Plymouth Company, sent a ship out to explore the lands. This ship was driven far to the south of its course by adverse winds and fell prey to the Spanish. A second ship, this one under the command of Captain Martin Pring, was immediately dispatched and he carefully explored

the land between the Kennebec and the St. George's rivers. His glowing report gave the Plymouth Company much pleasure.

Immediately, a colony of a hundred was organized and shortly the number was increased sixscore. Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, was one of the most active leaders of the Company. He contributed liberally to the expenses and persuaded several of his friends to join with solid financial backing. On May 13, 1607, the expedition set sail in two vessels: the *Mary and John*, commanded by Raleigh Gilbert, a son of Sir Humphrey, and the *Gift of God*, commanded by George Popham, a nephew of the Chief Justice. The size of the two ships is unknown, although being small they must have been crowded with about 120 colonists, their crews, provisions, guns, ammunition, tools and so on.

On Sunday, August 9th, the vessels hove to in the present St. George's Harbor and held what was probably the first service of the Church of England in Maine. On the following Wednesday the expedition sailed into the Kennebec (then known as the Sagadahoc) and after some exploration, picked as a site for the settlement the peninsula of Sabino (Popham Beach). The council of government of the colony, appointed previously, was sworn into office and George Popham was elected the president.

While members of the party went on exploration trips and contacted the Indians, the rest of the colonists busied themselves in building a fort, storehouse and several dwellings. Early in October the *Mary and John* returned to England with the news that the colony was well established. However, as the cold weather set in, it became evident that many of the colonists were not well chosen; they were unfit for the work of founding a new town in the wilderness. Consequently, factions arose within the body and to these internal tribulations, the bitterness of an early and severe winter added even greater difficulties. Thus, when in December the *Gift of God* also returned to England, all but 45 of the colonists sailed home.

Misfortune continued to plague the colony. In February, President Popham died and was succeeded by Raleigh Gilbert. Just about this time, the storehouse was destroyed by fire and, probably, some of the houses. With most of the stores gone and the weather still bad, the colony was in bad shape; but with the spring conditions improved as two vessels arrived from England with stores and the promise of a third and larger ship with more colonists during the summer.

The colonists busied themselves in developing the colony and actually built themselves a small vessel, a pinnace named the *Virginia*, with which to trade up and down the coast. This vessel is described as being "a faire pinnace of 30 tons." She was probably about 30 feet long, fifteen feet wide and seven feet deep. Open decked and clumsy, she was the first commercial ship built in English America. Despite her small size, she proved very successful, sailing up and down the coast as far as Chesapeake Bay and actually crossing the Atlantic to Plymouth with a cargo of furs and salt fish. With this ship, the American merchant marine had its beginnings; the great development of sailing ships in which the Maine coast towns played such an important share.



The third vessel from England did not arrive until toward the end of summer and, while it did bring additional supplies, it also brought the news that the chief patron of the colony, Sir John Popham, was dead. Also, the ship brought word of the death of the elder brother of President Raleigh Gilbert. Since Gilbert had to return to England to claim his brother's estate, the colony was left without either a patron or a leader. Consequently, the enterprise was abandoned; all the guns, all the useful supplies and all the colonists were crowded aboard the ships and sail was set for Plymouth.

The reasons for the failure of the Kennebec settlement were varied. The enterprise was well financed and patronized by strong and vigorous leaders at home. However, a series of misfortunes, like the burning of the storehouse and the death of Sir John Popham and the loss of George Popham, the first president, made success very difficult. Then the winter weather proved very severe, much more so than had been anticipated and this disheartened the colonists greatly. Probably, however, the basic cause of failure was the character of the colonists themselves, particularly the lack of a real leader. The Pilgrims at Plymouth and the Puritans at Boston had a hard time, too, but the colonists there were supported by fervent religious faith that supported them in the lean years. At Jamestown, despite the poor quality of the bulk of the settlers, the Virginia colony had great leaders, like Smith and Dale, to carry the burden. In Maine, however, leadership and character were lacking. The majority of the colonists were vagrant, lazy and dissolute and there was no leader with sufficient strength of character to compel respect and obedience. Popham was a "discreet, careful man," ready to give his life for the service of God and the honour of England, but he was advanced in years, feeble in health, ". . . timorously fearful to offend or contest with others that will or do oppose him." Gilbert was reported to be "desirous of supremacy and rule, a loose life . . . little zeal in religion, humorous (whimsical or 'cranky'), headstrong and of small judgment and experience, otherwise valiant enough."

Undoubtedly, the returning colonists put the best face possible upon their failure and enlarged upon the alleged extreme severity of the winters, the barrenness of the sandy and rocky country and the inhospitable character of the Indians. Since at the same time another essay by the Plymouth Colony to establish a settlement in Nova Scotia had failed, the Plymouth proprietors lost much of their enthusiasm. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who had laid out some twenty thousand pounds, a very considerable sum for the times, met with Captain John Mason, another proprietor who had expended a like sum, and they agreed, "it was advisable to give over their designs, and put up with their loss, for the time being at least."

#### FRENCH SETTLEMENTS

The withdrawal of the Plymouth Company left the gates open to the French for the occupation of Maine. However, before considering French activities, it must be remembered that under their authority, fishing and trading continued and grew in importance in

the New England area—although most of the fishermen resented the Plymouth Company's authority and sailed where and when they pleased and gave no reckoning to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his associates.

The French had a claim to the New England area equally as good as that of the English. The English "rights" were based upon the voyage of Cabot. In 1524 an Italian of French extraction, named Verrazano, sailed under a commission from Francis I and visited the Atlantic coast surely enough. In 1534 Jacques Cartier had ascended the St. Lawrence and two unsuccessful attempts were made to establish a settlement at Quebec in 1541 and on the Sable Islands in the Bay of Fundy in 1598.

Then, in 1603, France's Henry IV granted to the Sieur de Monts all the land between the 40th and the 46th parallel of north latitude, that is, between Philadelphia and St. John's Newfoundland. English rights were of course ignored. To lay claim to his empire, de Monts sailed across the Atlantic in 1604, taking along his geographer, Samuel de Champlain, and a gentleman, the Sieur de Poutrincourt. The party explored the Bay of Fundy, the Annapolis Basin (Port Royal) and Passamaquoddy Bay.

While a settlement was made on St. Croix Island in the St. Croix River, Champlain set out on a voyage of exploration. A very large and beautiful island, whose mountain top was bare, he named Isle des Monts Deserts and going on, he sailed up the Penobscot, which he knew as Pentagoet and as Norumbegue, to about where Bangor is today. Near Bangor, Champlain had a friendly meeting with Bashebe, the great Indian chief of the region. After a visit to the Kennebec, which he called the Quinibeque, he found the autumn weather became severe and so he returned to St. Croix to spend the winter.

The season proved to be a very bad one and nearly half of the colonists died of scurvy. By summer-time, fresh supplies had arrived and de Monts and Champlain continued exploring, sailing south along the Maine coast as far as Cape Cod. Returning once again to St. Croix, the two leaders found the colonists very discouraged and so the colony was abandoned and the colonists removed to Nova Scotia. de Monts returned to France to try to gain financial support for a new and larger venture, but his men were completely discouraged and soon followed him home. Like the Popham colonists, the Passamaquoddy colonists of de Monts were not of the stuff of which pioneers are made.

The Sieur de Poutrincourt, who accompanied de Monts, gained a grant from his friend to settle a colony at Port Royal and he planted a small settlement there, in 1610. In 1611, he was joined by two Jesuits, Fathers Pierre Biard and Enemond Masse. Potrin-court's son, Biencourt, accompanied by Father Biard, explored down the coast. On an island in the Kennebec, near Bath, the Jesuit celebrated mass and soon after the party returned to Port Royal.

The winter, as did most winters in the early days of most settlements, proved very severe and Biencourt and the Jesuits experienced considerable friction. It happened that a pious lady of rank, the Marchioness de Guecherville, who had assisted in sending the



two Jesuits to Port Royal, had hit upon the idea of sending out a new expedition to take the two priests away from Biencourt and to found a new colony, in a more suitable place. She obtained from de Monts a grant of territory and this she wisely fortified with an additional grant from the King.

She obtained financial backing, appointed a Captain Saussaye to head her expedition and put a seaman named Flory in office as captain of her ship. Another Jesuit priest was attached to the expedition and a lay brother, Gilbert du Thet as well. At Port Royal, the two Jesuits, Biard and Masse were taken on board the ship and the expedition went southward for the Penobscot. However, in fog and storm, Captain Flory lost his position and when the weather cleared, the ship was found to be off Mount Desert. A very beautiful harbor, which they named Saint Sauveur (now in Southwest Harbor), offered itself and they landed. Once ashore the sailors asserted that their contract for transport had been met and they were going back to France; so the expedition looked around the island and selected the lovely area now known as Fernald's Point as the site of the new colony. Father Biard reports that "the chiefs of the enterprise" were anxious to begin work on a fort and houses immediately but that the leader of the expedition, Saussaye, persisted in amusing himself with agriculture."

Unfortunately for the French, the Virginians were at the time accustomed to voyage northward each summer to trade for fish and furs and it happened that about this time, Captain Samuel Argall was in Maine waters. He had direct orders from England to expel any intruders, namely French, he might find within the limits of King James' grants. So learning from the Indians that a French party was settling on Mount Desert, he sailed into the harbor with colours flying, his drum beating and his ship stripped for action.

Most of the French were ashore and evidently they thought it wise to stay there. The French ship was not ready for action; indeed, it could neither fight nor fly. Father Biard reports (Jesuit Relations) "The first volley from the English was terrible, the whole ship being enveloped in fire and smoke. On our side they responded coldly, and the artillery was altogether silent. Captain Flory cried, 'Fire the cannon! Fire!' but the cannoneer was not there. Now Gilbert du Thet, who all his life had not felt fear or shown himself a coward, hearing this command and seeing no one to obey it, took a match and made us speak as loudly as the enemy. Unfortunately he did not take aim; if he had, perhaps there might have been something worse than noise."

After the first volley, largely harmless despite its noise, the English ship drew away, came about and came in again, pouring volleys of musket-fire into the French ship. Gilbert du Thet was slain and Captain Flory and two other men were wounded. Two young men leaped overboard, seeking safety on shore, but they drowned. Upon this the French ship surrendered. Two days later, Captain Saussaye led the French who had been ashore out of the woods and surrendered, too. Argall plundered the settlement and cast Saussaye, Father Masse and thirteen others adrift in an open boat.

They made their way to Nova Scotia, whence a trading vessel took them back to France. Father Biard and fourteen others were taken by Argall back to Virginia. Father Biard later was taken to England and then sent back to France. His accounts of these adventures are found in the "Jesuit Relations."

It may seem that the Saint Sauveur skirmish, in which three men were killed and three wounded, is unworthy of mention. Actually however, it marked the beginning of the long contest between France and Great Britain for the North American continent. The little fight drove the French out of Maine and thus deprived the French of a bastion in the future state. Had France held firmly to Mount Desert, it is likely that few if any English settlements would have been made in New England and thus France would have held a very strategic position. As it was, the fight was carried by the British into Canada for the most part and for one hundred and fifty years the struggle continued, ending only with the cession of Canada by the French at Paris in 1763.

Argall's decisive action left the settlement of Maine open once more to the English but for a time nothing was done. A spurt of activity came from Captain John Smith, who in 1614 returned to England after exploring the New England Coast. Although in the service of Virginia, he had undertaken a personal trading venture up along the coast of Maine. With eight men, in a very small boat, he covered the shore up to the Penobscot and, by trading as he explored, the sagacious fighter amassed a comfortable fortune for himself in eleven thousand beaver skins, one hundred marten skins and one hundred otter skins. Upon his return to England he sold these skins for a handsome price.

Astute as well as brave, Smith had carefully drawn a map of New England as he voyaged along, making what is considered to be the best early chart of the section. Incidentally, he is the first to have given the name New England to the section. Other explorers had simply referred to it as the northern part of Virginia.

So, when the Plymouth Company heard of the fortune Smith had made with his one trading venture into their territory, and when they learned that he had a good map of their possessions, they offered him great rewards, on paper, if he would forsake the London Company and enter their service. He at once agreed to do so although no sooner did the word get around than the London Company sent a fleet of four ships on a trading expedition into New England.

Probably no other venture into New England suffered more adversity than the one which was shortly embarked upon by the Plymouth Company. They promised Smith four ships but early in 1616 he had to leave with but two; one a ship of 200 tons burden, the other a bark of but fifty. No sooner had he taken his departure than a storm dismasted his large ship and he had to put back. There he was compelled to accept a new ship of only sixty tons.

No sooner did he get safely to sea once more than he was overhauled by a pirate. The pirate greatly outgunned Smith's little vessel but Smith resolved to fight as long as one plank remained afloat. The astonished pirates discovered who the daring commander



was and, since they were nearly all former shipmates of Smith's, they cheered him roundly and sent him on his way. However, Smith's crew did not relish their captain's spirit and so, when a French warship overhauled him, his men refused to fight. Smith managed to elude the single Frenchman but the next morning he was captured by an entire fleet of French warships. He could not fight or run his way out of a fleet but he could talk his way out. He went aboard the flagship of the French admiral and won that worthy's approval and freedom for his ship and his men.



*Countryside West from Paris Hill, Oxford County*

Smith ordered his ship prepared to sail and went back to the admiral to say adieu. His men, mutinous, seized the opportunity and fled home. Smith necessarily remained aboard the Frenchman and cruised with the French for months until they put into Rochelle. Not knowing just what to do with Smith, the French arrested him but, before they could put him into irons, he jumped overboard and made his way to an island the ship was passing at the moment. Oddly enough, in the violent weather then raging, the Frenchman went aground at the harbor entrance and nearly everyone aboard was lost.

Smith managed to make his way home to Plymouth and found his mutineers had arrived home and were busy besmirching his character. Smith had them jailed and punished but this did not advance the fortunes of the Plymouth Company much. Smith continued to try to persuade the Plymouth Company of the wealth of New England and upon their failure to send him out again, he toured England seeking financial support for an independent trading voyage



to the region. He lauded the resources of New England in the most extravagant terms and managed to carry on a propaganda campaign which did much to influence the people of England in support of their possessions overseas. Doubtless much of the subsequent colonization of the section was influenced by Smith's ardor and praise.

Probably the greatest immediate effect of Smith's missionary work was the renewed political activity on the home front for enlarged possessions in the New World. The London Company had been granted a new and more valuable patent. This together with such statements as Smith's ". . . the delights of the new land, where Nature and *liberty* afford luxuries for nothing which in England are obtainable at great cost . . . (Speaking of fishing) is it not a pretty sport to pull up twopence, sixpence and twelvecence as fast as you can haul and shift a line? He is a very bad fisher who cannot take one, two or three hundred cod a day, which dressed and dried, even if sold upon the coast at ten shillings the hundred, one half the price they will bring in England, both the colonist and the merchant may well be contented with their respective gains. And what sport yields a more pleasing content than angling with a hook, and crossing the sweet air, from isle to isle, over the silent streams of a calm sea?"—these inflamed the popular imagination as well as the cupidity of the proprietors of the Plymouth Company.

So, the Plymouth Company hied itself to the King, and despite the vehement opposition of merchants and others who wanted to preserve the freedom of New England waters and the fishing, emerged in 1620 with a new charter. This grant really was a re-incorporation of the old Plymouth Company with the difference that it gave them, at the scratch of the pen of a Scotch king, an empire of many millions of acres. In the essence, the Company received all the land between the Atlantic and the Pacific from the 40th to the 48th degree of north latitude "for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England in America." The "forty-eight patentees, thirteen of whom were peers of realm, and all men of distinction" were given very extensive powers and "rights," among which was the exclusive monopoly of fishing in the seas adjoining their grant. However, such a storm of protest arose at this "right" that the Company was compelled to surrender it forthwith.

Even so, this new grant, although of tremendous importance in the future, did not lead to the first permanent establishment of the English people in New England. Just a week after King James affixed his signature to the document, a band of religious refugees, the Pilgrims, arrived at Provincetown and then went on to Plymouth. New England was permanently occupied at last and religion had accomplished what fishing, trading and politics had failed to do.

While the Pilgrims were enduring hunger, sickness and financial troubles, the Plymouth Company at home was still busy organizing its affairs in New England. On August 10, 1622, the Council for New England, the governing body of the Plymouth Company, gave to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason jointly, the land between the Merrimac and the Sagadahoc rivers, which grant, the document states, they "with the consent of the Council intend to name



the Province of Maine." It is very probable that this is the first use of the name Maine in any printed document. This may be taken as the actual beginning of Maine as such—although, due to the Puritan settlement at Boston, and their strong and hearty development of the Massachusetts Bay colony, it was to be nearly two hundred years before Maine actually became an independent state.

#### SETTLEMENT OF MAINE

Following the Gorges and Mason grant, the Council for New England continued to give other grants away. In 1623, it gave six thousand acres of land to Christopher Levett of York at about the site of what is now the City of Portland. Levett sent over an expedition and ten men appear to have established a settlement somewhere on the shores of Portland harbor. Their history is very vague for the little colony simply vanished so far as records go. At about the same time, although perhaps somewhat later, private enterprise made several settlements along the Maine coast at various points. It should be remembered that fishermen had for years been in the habit of establishing summer fishing stations at convenient points along the New England coast where men were landed to make barrels and to dry fish while the balance of the crew spent the summer season in fishing in a series of offshore trips. There is no reason to think that these fishing stations as the years went along did not attain a semi-permanent status, although of course the fishermen kept no records and, indeed, wanted none for, in a sense, they were trespassers upon the property of the Plymouth Company.

One of these permanent settlements made by private individuals was that of July 15, 1625, when two Indian chiefs gave to John Brown of New Harbor, a piece of land including "most of the town of Bristol, all of the towns of Nobleborough and Jefferson, also part of the town of Newcastle." The price was "fifty skins." This "deed" is considered to be the first transfer of Maine soil on the spot. It is alleged further that by 1630, there were eighty-four families "on the St. George's river and at Sheepscot."

That same year, 1630, the Council for New England also executed two indefinite patents concerning Maine lands; these were the Ligonias or the Plough Patent, and the Waldo or Muscongus Patent. The first was so named because the land so granted was to be called the Province of Ligonias in order to honor Gorges' mother, whose maiden name had been Lygon. The second name came about because the first settlers to arrive on the land came over on a ship called the *Plough*. These were a rather different type of settler for, instead of designating themselves as adventurers or instead of being driven by religious compulsions, they were content to describe themselves as "husbandmen." The second patent was so named, first, because the Indian name, Muscongus, was mentioned in the patent, and second because of the association with Samuel Waldo. In the eighteenth century, Waldo became owner of much of the patent and did much towards its settlement.

And the same year, 1630, the Council for New England made a very important grant, important because of its later effects, to the

then Governor of Plymouth, William Bradford, who obtained the deed as an agent of the Plymouth Colony. Doubtless, the Council had no fear of the little handful of Pilgrims but events subsequently proved this short-sighted.

It seems that the Pilgrims in order to finance their trip to America, had been compelled to borrow money, or rather to assign a share in their colony, to certain London merchants. Very soon, these merchants, not unjustly, began to press the Pilgrims for a return on the investment. Things were not too prosperous at the new Plymouth Colony and so the Pilgrims adjusted their debt with the merchants by agreeing to pay over a total of 1,800 pounds at the rate of 200 pounds a year, beginning in 1628. It should be borne in mind that while these sums are insignificant today, in 1625 they were a back-breaking burden for the Pilgrims.

The only clear way the Pilgrims could see to obtain the money was to trade with the Indians for fur, so, in 1625 Edward Winslow ventured up into Maine; and along the banks of the Kennebec found the Indians pleased to give him "seven hundred pounds of good beaver and some other furs" for "a shallop's load of corn." It was clear to the Pilgrims that here was the gold mine that would discharge their debt but the good trade values could only be continued if they could gain a monopoly in the area. So, in 1630, as before mentioned, the Pilgrims, who were finding themselves to be very good business men indeed, obtained from the Council for New England a grant on the Kennebec river "from Gardiner to falls in the river about half-way between Augusta and Waterville" and a strip of land on either bank between these points fifteen miles in width. This was wilderness, remember, and the Council was doubtless pleased to have honest and dependable persons like the Pilgrims active in the development of their territory.

The Pilgrims built a trading post at Augusta (Cushenoc it was called then) since it marked the fall line of the river, the point to which they could sail their little ships upriver conveniently. The innocent Indians found the Pilgrims the only buyers of their furs and so the trade prospered exceedingly from the point of view of the men from new Plymouth. Indeed such quantities of furs were obtained at such advantageous prices, mostly in corn which the Pilgrims grew easily in the light, sandy soil of Plymouth, that by 1633, three years before the final payment was due, the Pilgrims had discharged their entire indebtedness and new Plymouth was free and clear.

The Plymouth Colony retained their rights to the Kennebec grant until 1661, when they sold out to four individuals—Antipas Boies, Edward Tyng, Thomas Brattle and John Winslow. The fur trade was the reason for this establishment and for almost a century it remained nothing but a trading post and no effort was made to settle the area. The heirs of the four men who acquired the grant, together with other persons who bought in as time went along, formed a corporation they called "The Proprietors of the Kennebec Purchase from the late Colony of New Plymouth." This organization remained active until 1816 and played a prominent part in the settlement of Maine.



By the sixteen thirties, the Council for New England, having failed to gain any of the fabulous profits Captain John Smith had indicated would ensue, became moribund. So, on February 13, 1635, it more or less went out of business and, ignorant of the mighty tract of territory it really held in the entire width of North America, calmly proceeded to divide the land between the Kennebec coast and the Hudson river into eight parts. Each of the eight members of the Council received one of these eighths and, in addition, each part, save for the two easternmost, was given ten thousand acres east of the Kennebec. These shares were of course very indefinite since no one knew much of the area so carelessly divided.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges' share was the land already owned by him between the Piscataqua and the Kennebec, which he promptly named New Somersetshire. Gorges, an energetic person, in 1636 attempted to fix his hold on this "New Somersetshire" more firmly by establishing a government in the area and so, in 1636, he sent over his nephew, William, to be Governor, doubtless with a pocket brimmed with specific instructions. William arrived and began by establishing a court of "seven commissioners" for the trial of offenses, a court which duly opened for business on March 21, 1636. This is "the first authorized organization attempted in the province." It amounted to little, however, for Governor William returned to England within the year and New Somersetshire was left to its own devices.

Gorges was far from being checked and, in 1639, he obtained from the Crown a new charter which confirmed him as proprietor of his New Somersetshire holdings but directed "that Gorges' portion of the mainland should forever after be called and named the Province of Maine, and not by any other name or names whatsoever." Gorges was given very extensive powers with the very interesting exception that he was allowed to make laws for the government of Maine only with the consent of freeholders "when there shall be any." At once Gorges instituted a council of seven members to govern Maine with the body's first member to be Deputy Governor to administer the Province and to act as a court. He dispatched a cousin, Thomas, overseas to rule the area. Burrage in *Beginnings of Colonial Maine* says of Thomas, "From first to last he had the respect of all law-abiding citizens. . . . The three years he spent here, from 1640 to 1643, were passed in a way not only exceedingly creditable to himself, but helpful to the settlers in their desires to secure better conditions: and his name deserves to be accorded high honor for the services he rendered at an important period in the beginning of colonial Maine. It is not too much to say of Thomas Gorges that his was by far the one conspicuously attractive personality in the province in all its early history."

Sir Ferdinando Gorges, busy with development, concluded he needed a city in Maine so he forthwith elaborated, on paper, the little settlement at Agamenticus into a city with an elaborate government while changing its name to Gorgeana. However, scarcely had he begun to organize his province seriously than he was deprived of almost the whole of it.

It seems that, on December 1, 1631, the Council of New England, had granted to Robert Trelawney and Moses Goodyear, of England a large amount of land on Casco Bay. Neither of these gentlemen ever visited New England but they were wealthy and important Plymouth merchants. They paid little attention to their property until after the death of Goodyear when Trelawney inherited the entire holding. They had sent over a manager, Thomas Winter, and about 1637, Trelawney instructed Winter to press the Casco claims with vigor and determination.

Now, about 1630, an Englishman, George Cleeve or Cleaves, from Plymouth, England, had privately settled himself on the Spurwink, in the present Falmouth. Winter of course, warned Cleeve off as a trespasser on Trelawney's land so Cleeve removed himself to the present site of Portland. Winter, following his instructions, tried to evict Cleeve again. Cleeve refused to move again and the dispute continued for a number of years until, in 1642, Cleeve, weary of argument, took himself home to England to press his case.

Cleeve interested Colonel Alexander Rigby, a Puritan member of Parliament, and induced him to purchase the old Ligonias or Plough Patent from the uninterested surviving heirs. Present-day Portland was within the Plough patent limits and thus Colonel Rigby would be able to confirm Cleeve's rights. This plan was carried through and Cleeve arrived back in Maine to confront Winter not only with a legal title but also with the office of deputy-president of Ligonias—which office Rigby had given Cleeve.

This was too much for Winter but Gorges' deputy, Richard Vines, resident at Saco, became interested and refused to recognize Cleeve's authority. The stalemate thus established continued until 1647 when the Earl of Warwick and the Commissioners of Foreign Plantations were induced to consider the tangle. Eventually, they found in favor of Colonel Rigby, giving him all the land between the Kennebec and the Kennebunk. This left to Gorges only a relatively small area between the Kennebunk and the Piscataqua—the south-east corner of present Maine.

Of course, this victory was really only a paper affair. The opponents of Cleeve necessarily made a show of obedience to his authority and he responded, as indeed he had to do, naming them to various offices in their respective areas. Then, in May of 1647, Sir Ferdinando Gorges died; depriving Maine of the one great character who more than any other had shaped the early days. Two years later, it was clear that something would have to be done to re-establish order in the section—for no one had any real authority and no word was received from those back in England who did have authority.

So the inhabitants of Maine, that is those who cared to do so, assembled at Gorgeana, and formed themselves into a "body politic until further order, power and authority shall come out of England." The meeting elected magistrates and Edward Godfrey, representing the Gorges family, was elected Governor "and thus became the first Governor elected by the people in what is now the State of Maine." Cleeve naturally did not like the situation and, when in 1650 Colonel



Rigby died, he returned to England to try to persuade Parliament to confirm the original judgment in favor of Rigby's heirs. Parliament, too busy with other more important matters, did not act until, finally, Cleeve returned to Maine in disgust to find that a new and much more powerful claimant to a part of Maine had appeared, the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

It may be fashionable to deride the theocratic government of Boston but the fact remains that the Puritan fathers did establish



*West Pond, Parsonsfield*

a firm and yet a just government. Naturally, they did not view with pleasure a state of approximate anarchy to the north and east of their expanding territory and so, after annexing the New Hampshire settlements "because of the condition of government into which they had fallen" the General Court of Massachusetts (the governing body) moved to annex Maine, acting under the colour of a claim that the Massachusetts Bay Colony Charter included all the territory now occupied by the settlements in Maine and in Ligonian.

The worthy Bostonians were not slow to move and in July of 1652 a commission from the General Court appeared at Kittery and conferred with Governor Godfrey and other persons exercising authority within the Province of Maine. Naturally, since this was merely a preliminary move, neither side did more than talk. But, in November, the Commissioners appeared once again and, assembling all the inhabitants, set forth firmly the claims of Massachusetts to Maine. After four days of talk, forty-one of the inhabitants of the

section, probably a good majority of the "freemen" of Kittery and vicinity, agreed to submit to the General Court of Massachusetts.

In return, the freemen gained various privileges. The territory beyond the Piscataqua was to form a separate county of Massachusetts to be known as Yorkshire and no man within Yorkshire was to be called to any general training of the militia except by his express consent. Then no taxes were to be levied by Massachusetts in Yorkshire except for moneys to be used within the County. Still more important (and this marks a real concession on the part of the General Court) all freemen of Kittery were to be freemen of Massachusetts, whether or not members of the church, and they were to be represented in the General Court at Boston.

This accomplished, the Commissioners proceeded on to Gorgeana and shortly obtained the submission of the inhabitants there. Governor Godfrey refused to vote but once the fact was accomplished, he graciously gave his consent to what had been done. The proud "city" of Gorgeana was forthwith restored to the common status of a town (the governmental unit of all Massachusetts) and its name was changed to York.

It may be said that Massachusetts had always scorned Gorgeana and did not invite the people there to join in the confederation of other New England colonies. Governor John Winthrop wrote, in his *Journal* of York ". . . because they ran a different course from us both in their ministry and civil administration, for they had lately made Acomenticus (a poor village) a corporation, and had made a tailor their mayor, and had entertained one Hull, an excommunicated person, and very contentious, for their minister."

The following year, 1653, Commissioners from the General Court repeated their success at Kittery and York at Wells, Cape Porpoise and Saco. At what is now Portland and vicinity, the inhabitants proved stiff-necked and the Commissioners wisely withdrew, confident that the obdurate would see the light. Indeed, there was no question about it at all, for Massachusetts' rule was worth having and in 1658, all of those in and around the Portland area accepted the General Court. George Cleeve signed—and so did Robert Jordan, the then holder of the Trelawney property.

But even Massachusetts was not to rest easy in the holding of turbulent Maine. Back in England Charles II had been called back to the throne and Massachusetts with its strong support in the Commonwealth's Parliament, was no longer in favor. Indeed, the future Bay State was not only threatened with the loss of New Hampshire and of Maine but her own charter was seriously in danger. After much difficulty, Charles did confirm the Massachusetts Charter but after a committee of Parliament found that the claims of Mason and Gorges heirs were well founded, Massachusetts was obliged to surrender New Hampshire. Nonetheless, Massachusetts held tenaciously to Maine, despite the waxing unrest and dissatisfaction developing. In 1662, Maine did not send a single representative to Boston to sit in the General Court but the following years, Massachusetts asserted her authority and accordingly three representatives from Maine were sent to the Court.



Then in 1665, four commissioners from London appeared at Boston with power from the King to settle the difficulties between Massachusetts and Maine. Boston roundly snubbed these royal representatives and so they departed for New Hampshire and Maine, being accompanied by an agent of Ferdinando Gorges, a grandson of Sir Ferdinando. This gentleman bore a letter from King Charles commanding the people of Maine to restore the government of the province of Gorges or without delay to show cause to the contrary. Massachusetts had been shown the letter, but they asserted it was invalid since it was not addressed to them, but to the government of Maine. The Commissioners investigated, deliberated and at last came up with a decision that the alleged rights of Gorges were too great for even one of His Majesty's favored subjects, which they asserted Mr. Gorges was, to have and to hold as an individual and therefore they were proclaiming and receiving "all his Majesty's good subjects, living within the Province of Maine, under his immediate protection and government." This, in effect, made Maine a separate Crown Colony and so the Commissioners appointed certain persons justices of the peace to order the affairs of the province "until the appointment of another government by the Crown." The Commissioners also forbade the judges sent into Maine by the General Court of Massachusetts to remain there and the worthies deemed it expedient to withdraw.

Once the Commissioners had sailed back home to England and so withdrawn the grim shadow of the Crown, the justices they had appointed found they had no real authority at all—and disorders once again broke out. Since, further, the legality of the whole business was questionable, once more the wish to enter the firm yet mild government of Massachusetts appeared. In response to this development, in 1668, the General Court issued a proclamation calling upon the people of Maine to submit themselves to the laws and government of Massachusetts and the Court dispatched a Commission to hold court at York. Since these Commissioners were escorted by an armed troop, the justices appointed to govern Maine, though they protested valiantly in court, made no real effort to defend their appointments, and Massachusetts took over Maine once more. This time the arrangement stuck; for it was not upset for a century and a half until Maine, with the consent of Massachusetts, became a State of the Union.

#### MASSACHUSETTS' TITLE

However, Massachusetts title to Maine was, to say the least, cloudy, and it was not until 1677 that the General Court cleared the record. A committee of the Privy Council, petitioned to restore Maine to Gorges' heirs, had found against Massachusetts but they also discouraged any further attempt by the family to regain title. To settle the matter, once and for all, Gorges, through an unauthorized representative of Boston, sold the family interest in Maine to Massachusetts for 1,250 pounds. The General Court, informed of the act of its agent, hesitated but eventually accepted the sale and that closed the chapter finally.

The General Court of Massachusetts found itself in difficulty in organizing the government of Maine. The original intent had been simply to make Maine a part of the future Commonwealth, with the same duties and privileges as freemen in its own towns enjoyed. However, since the Privy Council had found against Massachusetts, and since Massachusetts now held title by right of purchase from the Gorges, it followed that the government should be based and so govern Maine as Gorges should have done. This was considered to be an arrangement such as William Penn had developed for ruling Pennsylvania and as Lord Baltimore had set up in Maryland. Accordingly Maine was made virtually independent save that annually the Governor's Council of Massachusetts (then known as the Board of Assistants) appointed a Governor for Maine to represent the authority of the General Court. In the Governor's absence, a Deputy who was also the President of the House of Deputies for Maine, a group annually elected by the Maine towns, would sit in his place. This scheme worked very well. Maine was practically self-governing and the Governor first appointed, Thomas Danforth of Cambridge, Massachusetts, proved so efficient and popular, that he was re-elected year after year and Maine's government ran very smoothly. Danforth did visit Maine once a year and then very wisely left affairs in the hands of the Deputy President.

It is important to realize that all this time, the Province of Maine extended only to the Kennebec and, even so, was hardly more than a few small towns alongshore, save for settlements of a kind up the larger streams. East of the Kennebec, a district usually then known as the Sagadahoc Territory, not only were the French active but such English settlement as was attempted all but constantly changed ownership and government. The Plymouth Colony had attempted a settlement on the Castine peninsula, a trading post more or less, which they named Castine. The French promptly drove the Pilgrims away. Then Richard Vines of Saco and a Mr. Allerton of Plymouth built another trading post at Machias but this too the French razed.

#### FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS

It should be made clear that France claimed all the territory in North America in the New England area at least as far south as the Kennebec. Very likely, the French would have compromised with the English, with the Penobscot as the boundary line, but no effort was ever made to compromise the situation. Of course, the real difficulties between France and England were on the Continent and the murder and massacre in New England during the French and Indian Wars were merely an aside to the main drama taking place in Europe.

The French might easily have settled their share of Maine during the long period when Massachusetts was slowly pushing up the coast but the fact is the French were mostly interested in flowing their power up the St. Lawrence and in trading in to the Great Lakes and on, eventually, down the Mississippi to New Orleans. Hence France, too, more or less ignored the little corner of forested land and granite-buttressed seashore which was northeast Maine.



What French did come into what is now Maine spent much of their energy in fighting amongst themselves—as indeed did the English. The difference was mostly in that the English quarrels were political and financial, whereas the French resorted to open combat. For example, for some twelve years, open war existed between Charles de la Tour, commandant at St. John, and Aulnay, the commandant on the Penobscot. The war ended after the capture of St. John by Aulnay after a gallant defense. Contrary to Aulnay's promise upon St. John's capitulation, he hanged every man in the garrison, save one. La Tour was not at St. John at the time but his wife was and she had been the fort's defending spirit. Aulnay could not very well hang a woman but he did place her on the scaffold with a halter on her neck while her fellows of the garrison were hanged. Madame La Tour died of shame and grief. Aulnay remained in control of St. John until his death in 1651 whereupon La Tour regained St. John and, within the year, married the widow of his former rival!

Trouble began in 1654 between the French and English in New England when Cromwell, disregarding the treaty of 1632, which had restored Acadia to France, ordered the recapture of Nova Scotia—a job forthwith accomplished by Major Sedgwick of Charlestown without resistance. Acadia was the name the French used for Nova Scotia, the present New Brunswick and such part of Maine as they could hold. Cromwell appointed Colonel Thomas Temple to be Governor of Nova Scotia and gave him to rule all of Acadia down into Maine as far as the St. George's River. Then, in 1677, Charles II, by the Treaty of Breda, gave Nova Scotia back to France, ceding the whole of Acadia with special mention of the "Pentagoet" or Penobscot River.

It is at this time that a man who was influential in the north-east of Maine appears. Before the Treaty of Breda, a French Army regiment, the "Carignan Salieres" had been stationed at Quebec. After the peace, its colonel, Jean Vincent de l'Abadie, Sieur de St. Castin, left the army and plunged into the wilderness. Probably he found his way down the Kennebec, for that is a natural way from Canada into Maine, shortly turned up on the Penobscot sometime after the surrender of the fort at Pentagoet by Captain Richard Walker to the Chevalier de Grand-Fontaine—according to the terms of the treaty. From the Penobscot, Castin went on into the locality which he gave his name—the name it bears to this day. There he lived for some thirty years, watching over the interests of France along the border, trading alike with the Indians and the French. He is a mighty figure in the annals of the period and place, perhaps because so little is actually known about him, despite the many romantic tales that have been related.

Certainly, he lived a life which many a modern, harassed by business and difficulties, might enjoy. M. de Denonville, in a report to the Minister of France, dated November 10, 1686, described Castin as a gentlemanly officer, daring and enterprising, loyal, the ruler of the savages, "quite solicitous of honor" and as having lately come into an income of 5,000 French francs. "It is true that he has

been addicted in the past to libertinism . . . but he has very much reformed and has very good sentiments." Another investigator, M. de Menneval, December 1, 1687, wrote, "The Sieur de St. Castin is absolute master of the savages, the Canibas (the Kennebec Indians) and all of their business, being in the forest with them since 1655, and with him two daughters of the chief of the savages, by whom he has many children." On the 10th of September, 1688, de Menneval reported again, "I have induced the Sieur de Castin to live a more regular life. He has quitted his traffic with the English, his debauchery with the savages, he is married, and has promised me to labor to make a settlement in this country." In 1693, a French census reports him at Pentagoet, aged fifty-seven, with wife and one child. This wife was Mathilde, the youngest daughter of Madockawando, with whose daughters he had previously consorted. A contemporary English story reports that he had three or four Indian wives. Anyhow, Anselm, his son by Mathilde, married Charlotte l'Amours of Port Royal in 1707, and Anastasie, his daughter by Mathilde, married at the same time the Baron of Belle Isle. It is said that another daughter of his, by another Indian woman, was married to an Indian at Port Royal; while a second acknowledged son, Joseph Dabadis, or Robardie, was also prominent. The Penobscot Chief Orono, traced his descent back to St. Castin, and the Aitteons are reputed to have the same ancestry.

Of the last years of Baron Castin, little is known with certainty. It appears that in 1701 he went back to Oleron, France, taking his Indian wife with him, to answer a charge of illegal trading with the English. Nothing is recorded of this. Parkman adds that he knew of the existence of a plan Castin made for the capture of Boston by the French in 1702, so it may be that he was called back to France to aid in a planned expedition to capture all of New England. Be all that as it may, Castin remains a vivid figure in the early history of Maine, one in the great tradition.

During these years while Castin was holding the border for his French King, various events had been taking place in English Maine.

In 1664, Charles II gave to his brother, the Duke of York, the as yet uncaptured Dutch-held settlement at New York, then, of course, New Netherlands. As a sort of postscript to the grant, Charles carelessly added French-held lands between the Penobscot and the St. Croix. This region was named the County of Cornwall and slight if any attention was paid to it until all New York and New England were united under the rule of Andros.

As has been related, the Treaty of Breda gave half of Cornwall to France; and Massachusetts, fearing she would lose more of what she claimed in Maine, ordered a survey of her northern and eastern limits. The surveyor, after the manner of such persons, found that Massachusetts was indeed correct in her fears and that the boundary claimed was indeed too far south and that the true line would cross the Kennebec near Bath and terminate at Penobscot Bay, thus including Pemaquid, Monhegan and other then important places. Massachusetts lost no time but sent Commissioners to its



new-found territory and summoned the settlers to swear allegiance to Boston. The new lands were established and organized into a county called Devonshire.

For twelve years Massachusetts ruled all of English Maine as Lord Proprietor, as has been related. Then, in 1684, her charter was forfeited by the Court of the King's Bench and, with all the rest of New England, proud Boston went under the authority of Andros. But, in 1689, James II was deposed to the delight of Boston and the mild William of Orange took over the throne by invitation.



*Mt. Megunticook and Mt. Battie from Camden Harbor*

At the first news of William's arrival in England, Boston rose, clapped Andros into jail, restoring all the officers available under the previous charter. Boston hoped that the old charter would be forthwith reinstated but opposition developed in London to having Boston practically an independent nation. Although William was well disposed toward Boston, he yielded to London pressure and Massachusetts' new charter was far from being what had been expected. In effect, it made the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, the Province of Massachusetts. For practical purposes, Boston no longer elected its governor but was compelled to accept a Governor appointed and removed by the Crown.

Maine and Sagadahoc were made a part of Massachusetts instead of being dependencies and no lands east of the Kennebec could be granted without the previous approval of the King. Three of the Massachusetts Governor's Council of twenty-eight members, a powerful body, had to be residents or landowners of Maine and one of Sagadahoc.



Maine also came into prominence in a very big way when it was learned that King William, in order to soften the blow to Boston's pride had named as the first Royal Governor, Sir William Phipps, a native of Maine. Phipps is really a most remarkable character. Born the son of a farmer living near the mouth of the Kennebec, he was one of twenty-six children and the first person born in what is now the United States to receive a title from the British Crown.

Of him, Parkman writes:

"His parents were ignorant and poor, and till eighteen years of age he was employed in keeping sheep. Such a life ill-suited his active and ambitious nature. To better his condition, he learned the trade of ship-carpenter, and in the exercise of it came to Boston, where he married a widow (also a native of Maine), beyond him in years and much above him in station. About this time, he learned to read and write (sic) . . . . Still aspiring to better things, he promised his wife that he would one day command a King's ship and own a fair brick house in the Green Lane of North Boston, a quarter (of the town) then occupied by citizens of the better class. He kept his word at both points."

This "first great Yankee" never troubled to conceal the humbleness of his origin. Indeed, he was proud of it and frequently boasted of being the architect of his own fortune. However, it was only after many ups and downs that he came into high place. For years he was unfortunate: venture after venture failed or at the best succeeded only enough to give him courage and funds to continue. Finally, and this is true, he determined to gain fortune at one stroke. He heard of a Spanish treasure galleon sunk in the West Indies some fifty years previously. Armed with a map he sailed to London and actually talked the Lords of the Admiralty into giving him a frigate with which to hunt the treasure. He failed—but even in failure he demonstrated the stuff of which he was made for he quelled two mutinies on the expedition.

Parkman says:

"The crew, tired of a vain and toilsome search, came to the quarter-deck, armed with cutlasses, and demanded of the captain (Phipps) that he should turn pirate with them (a not uncommon pastime in those spacious days). Phipps, a tall and powerful man, instantly fell upon them with his fists, knocked down the ringleaders, and awed the crew into submission. Not long after, there was a more formidable mutiny; but with great courage and address, he quelled it for a time, and held his crew to their duty till he brought the ship into Jamaica, and exchanged them for better men.

"Though the leaky condition of the frigate compelled him to abandon the search, it was not until he gained information which he thought would lead to success; at his return he inspired such confidence that the Duke of Albermarle and other noblemen and gentlemen, gave him a fresh outfit and



dispatched him again on his quixotic errand. This time he succeeded; found the wreck, and took from it gold, silver and jewels to the value of three hundred thousand pounds sterling. The crew now leagued together to seize the ship and divide the prize; and Phipps, pushed to extremity, was compelled to promise that every man of them would have a share in the treasure, even if he paid it himself. On reaching England, he kept his pledge so well that, after redeeming it, only sixteen thousand pounds was left as his portion, which however was an ample fortune in New England of that day. He gained, too, what he valued almost as much, the honor of knighthood. Tempting offers were made him of employment in the royal service; but he had an ardent love for his own country, and thither he presently returned."

Phipps' affection for New England was particularly focused upon his native village on the Kennebec and he remained throughout his life a Maine man. He was characterized by a very quick temper and reacted frequently to opposition by the free use of his fists—although he was always a man of his word and characteristically magnanimous to those he had defeated. Tremendously popular in Boston, and all New England, his choler caused him to fall into disfavor in London and his career ended unhappily. His London enemies brought charges against him and he was called to London to stand trial. There, he fell ill of a fever and died on February 18, 1695, before his case had been determined.

It was this great man that The Crown in 1698 appointed the first Royal Governor under the new charter which made all of the Colony of Massachusetts (and Maine), a crown province in effect. The choice was made because London felt that Phipps was so popular that he would merit the support of the commonalty and, being a native of Maine, he would have the support of the leaders. Probably, the behind the scenes influence that brought about Phipps' appointment was that of the Mathers, father and son, those celebrated Puritan divines. They thought they could control him, a simple son of Maine, "raw, uneducated and little better than a savage." Perhaps the Mathers could have led Phipps as they pleased but they had no opportunity, for the country was ablaze with the first of the series of French and Indian wars, so called. These wars raged for eighty-one years off and on, from the flight of James the Second to France in 1668 to the final peace wrought by the killing of the Indian chief, Pontiac, in 1769. Of course, basically, the serious fighting was on the Continent, yet most of the English colonies suffered severely—as indeed, ultimately, did the French settlements. Englishmen and Frenchmen killed each other in the forests of America as did the bravely uniformed opposite numbers on the formal battlefields of Europe. What made matters infinitely horrible in America was that Indians were employed as allies to make the work of destruction complete.

Of course, these wars were of vital importance to all America for they did determine whether France or England would control

the vast empire which the discovery of the Mississippi and the Great Plains beyond had displayed to the land hunger of both badly crowded nations.

#### KING WILLIAM'S WAR

This first war in which Sir William Phipps found himself engaged was known locally as King William's War; and was directly caused by Louis XIV of France supporting the cause of James II of England who had fled, as above mentioned, when William and Mary arrived. This war endured for seven years and New England suffered terribly.

Count Frontenac, an able man and commanding the French forces in Canada, found that he was prevented from marching into New York, Pennsylvania and adjacent territory by the Five Nations shutting all routes south. So Frontenac turned his attention to the comparatively defenseless New England frontier. The first blow fell upon Cocheco, New Hampshire, when Castin led a party of Penacook Indians to burn the village and to kill twenty-three inhabitants as well as to capture fifty-two more. These unfortunates were taken to Canada and sold as slaves to the French.

This was in June of 1689 and, in August, Penobscot Indians, also influenced by Castin, captured the fort at Pemaquid. The next years, things were even worse. In March, a mixed party of French and Indians attacked Salmon Falls, New Hampshire, killed all the men and carried off fifty-four women and children into captivity. In the following May the fort at Casco Bay was attacked and the entire garrison was killed or captured. Thus, by 1691, only four towns in Maine remained inhabited—for terrified by repeated blows, the settlers fled to the safety of Boston and the larger towns in Massachusetts—Wells, York, Kittery and Appledore. In 1692, York was attacked, many of the houses burned, and about half of the inhabitants killed or carried into captivity—although the fort was ably defended and the French and Indians could not capture it. Wells was also attacked by Acadian privateers using a fire boat and a movable breast-work—but again the enemy was beaten off, although with much damage to the village.

Of course, the English were far from idle. The colonies and ships of the British Navy, the few that could be spared from major fighting overseas, attacked Nova Scotia and even Quebec itself. In 1689, Phipps personally led an expedition against Port Royal and captured the French stronghold and, incidentally, obtained sufficient plunder to meet the cost of the expedition.

Returning to Boston in triumph, he was appointed to the command of the naval branch of a really ambitious effort by most of the British colonies against Quebec and Montreal. The land forces of the campaign were commanded by John Winthrop, son of Boston's first Governor, and himself Governor of Connecticut. This army was poorly organized and poorly led. It reached Lake George when small-pox broke out and the morale of the poorly fed and badly equipped troops broke. Winthrop ultimately gave the order to disband and that was the end of that. A few more hardy troops did continue on



to the north to meet Phipps, as had been planned but at the head of Lake Champlain, Frontenac fell upon them and defeated them completely.

Meanwhile, Phipps, commanding a fleet of thirty-two vessels and two thousand men, all raised and supported by Massachusetts alone, spent nine weary weeks in rounding Nova Scotia and in beating up the St. Lawrence against contrary winds. Had Winthrop's Army succeeded, Frontenac would have been pinned to Montreal and Quebec would have fallen easy prey to Phipps. As it was, when Phipps arrived beneath the frowning cliff of Quebec's citadel, he found the city impregnable. Phipps, undaunted, blockaded the city and it is now clear that if he had maintained the siege the city would have surrendered from hunger. However, Phipps was impatient and launched a desperate land and sea frontal attack. It failed miserably and beaten off, Phipps had no choice but to pull anchor and run home to Boston.

Instead of returning with the holds of his ships laden with plunder, he had to face the sorry fact that Massachusetts had spent much more than it should on equipping the city and in consequence, the Province was on the verge of bankruptcy. In 1692 the General Court partially relieved the financial crisis by issuing bills of credit against the Province. This was the first introduction of paper money into the British colonies and was later the cause of much trouble.

Phipps, still the fighter, turned from the sea to the land and initiated active measures against the Indians. His one big accomplishment was to build a strong fort at Pemaquid in 1692 to hold the frontier securely. The Maine Indians at once made peace with Phipps but it was a mere sham, for, in 1694, a strong party of Indians, led by French officers, fell upon Durham, New Hampshire, and killed or captured a hundred of the inhabitants. In 1696, Phipps' fort at Pemaquid was taken by the French and in the same year, Port Royal was re-taken by the French.

New England would doubtless have rallied and defended itself but there was no need, for in 1697 the news of peace, the Treaty of Ryswick, arrived, and so New England found that after seven years of fighting it stood exactly where it had been before hostilities started, so far as territory went; but had lost hundreds of slain soldiers, sailors and marines, to say nothing of murdered men, women and children, as well as burned towns, homesteads and trading posts. New England also lost Phipps, not altogether because of his failure against Quebec though that did help his downfall.

#### QUEEN ANNE'S WAR

Hardly had New England caught its breath, than War broke again, this time the conflict known as Queen Anne's War. Fighting broke out in 1702 and continued until the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713. Largely, it was a struggle over whom should occupy the thrones of England and of Spain. Thus, although not concerned at all, the New England colonists again paid a bitter price in blood and tears. Much of the fighting did not directly concern Maine, for it consisted of

repeated expeditions against Quebec, Montreal and Port Royal—only the last of which proved finally successful.

During 1703, the torch and the tomahawk were employed against practically every settlement in Maine from Casco to Wells. This year and on other occasions during the conflict, Maine suffered severely but so did the Indians this time at least, for in addition to those killed in fighting, disease killed many. It is thought that at least one-third of them died and this was considered to be the turning point in Indian strength in Maine. In any event, from this point on, the strength of the Maine Indians waned and they ceased to be of prime importance in the subsequent history of the future state.

In 1713, when news came of the Treaty of Utrecht, Massachusetts and New Hampshire met with the chiefs of all the New England tribes of Indians and signed a treaty of peace. Massachusetts at this time also annexed all the territory between the Kennebec and the St. Croix, despite the objections of the French. This was the old Sagadahoc territory and claimants in England tried to have their alleged rights to the lands confirmed but Massachusetts held firmly to what it had taken and thus Maine was greatly enlarged.

Although England and France were to remain at peace until 1744, Maine was again to suffer in a local war. The French in Canada did not think it advisable to stir the Indians into attacking the English directly but it seems evident that the French did employ agents to persuade the Indians to keep on fighting. Jesuit missionaries were charged by the English to be engaged in this work and the arch foe of the settlers was considered to be Father Sebastian Rasle.

Rasle, who came to Quebec as a missionary to the Indians in 1689, spent the final thirty years of his life in his labors for the Church at Naranstook, the present Norridgewock. A very well educated man, a good classical scholar, self-sacrificing to a fault and anxious for the material and spiritual welfare of his flock of Maine Indians, he assumed the position of champion of the Maine Indians and continually vexed the English with constant claims against them on behalf of his flock. According to English reports, Rasle incited the Indians to prevent the spread of English settlement into Maine, and not only promised the redskins that he would aid them in a "just" war against the English but allegedly accompanied a war party in an attack upon an English fort, according to some historians.

This conduct could not fail to arouse intense antagonism in Boston and Rasle was considered to be so dangerous that he must be exterminated to preserve the peace. Accordingly, an expedition was sent to Norridgewock to arrest him. The essay failed but very narrowly. He fled in time and preserved the vessels of the Church but did not have time enough to take with him a "strong box" containing documents which consisted of important letters from the Governor of Canada and a dictionary of the Abnaki language which he had prepared.

By 1724, war with the Indians actually broke out and another expedition was secretly launched against Norridgewock. This raid was successful for the village was completely surprised. The English lost but one man, a Mohawk Indian; the French side lost



twenty-eight persons, including Rasle. Many of the dead were women and children—but that was the fashion of Indian war; there were no non-combatants. The chapel at Norridgewock was burned and Rasle was scalped, the horrible trophy being borne to Boston in triumph. This defeat of Rasle not only ended this war but so discouraged the Indians that in 1725 another treaty of peace was signed.

#### KING GEORGE'S WAR

Then in 1744, war once again broke out between France and England, King George's War this time. The French launched a surprise attack on Fort Canso, an English outpost in Nova Scotia, and captured it easily. Abroad England suffered defeats but here British arms were triumphant for Massachusetts and Maine men really accomplished a remarkable feat, the capture of Louisburg on Cape Breton.

It came about in this way:

Governor Shirley of Massachusetts was anxious to begin the expulsion of the French from America by taking Louisburg, their important fortress that commanded the approach to the St. Lawrence. However, the Massachusetts General Court, which held the purse strings and remembered Phipps' expensive failure against Quebec, could not be aroused. Then, into Boston harbor sailed a fishing smack carrying fugitives from Fort Canso, previously mentioned. Shirley at once questioned these men and had them go before the General Court and tell that august body that Louisburg could easily be taken. The Court, angry at French "duplicity" in the Canso incident, passed the necessary appropriations by a plurality of one vote.

William Vaughan, owner of lumber mills at Damariscotta, and of a trading station at Matinicus, was one of the Maine men who figured in this adventure for he is credited with having given Governor Shirley the idea that Louisburg could be taken.

Massachusetts, with the aid of Maine and New Hampshire and some little help from New York and even Pennsylvania, prepared a really ambitious expedition, sending some three thousand men out of Boston Bay to meet with a British fleet of four ships off Canso. General William Pepperell, another native of Maine, and a wealthy merchant, was in command.

Pepperell, who made his home at Kittery, inherited a fortune from his Welsh father who had established himself at Kittery in shipbuilding, fishing and trading. The son greatly multiplied the fortune he had inherited and was at the time one of the great land-owners and merchants of New England. He dealt in ships, lumber, naval stores, fish and miscellaneous colonial produce as well as importing quantities of manufactured goods from England. He was also a very successful land speculator and at one time owned large parts of the present cities of Saco, Biddeford and Scarborough.

Perhaps due to Pepperell's prominence, Maine was full of enthusiasm for the Louisburg expedition and in the little town of Wells alone, sixty-one men, a fourth of the inhabitants able to bear arms, volunteered. The oldest man was sixty; the youngest, sixteen.

Indeed, Maine sent about one-third of her citizen soldiery to the war and they comprised just about a third of the total strength of the expedition, although Maine had but 12,000 inhabitants at the time and Massachusetts proper some 152,000.

Pepperell was without any real military experience; indeed, there was no one in New England who was a professional soldier. Yet his choice seems to have been well advised, despite the criticism leveled at him by Boston men envious of his eminence. Perhaps Pepperell's enthusiasm more than compensated for his lack of experience. For example, he wrote to a friend in Berwick: "Yesterday I heard that Captain Butler had enlisted, in Berwick, nearly fifty of his brave soldiers. The news is like a cordial to me." Again, he wrote to the captains of all his regiments: "I hope that He who gave us breath will give us the courage and prudence to behave ourselves like true-born Englishmen."

Samuel Waldo, a large owner of Maine lands, although a resident of Boston, had been intended for second-in-command. However, New Hampshire offered five hundred men on condition that their commander should be second in command of the expedition. So Waldo was forced to be content with appointment as brigadier. Vaughan, the man credited with the idea of the expedition was made a member of Pepperell's council with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Since a naval escort of New England ships was required, thirteen armed vessels were commissioned and another Maine man, Edward Tyng of Falmouth, was put in command of the little fleet. Tyng had distinguished himself previously by capturing a French privateer of superior force and, in honor of his triumph and of "good service done the trade," several Boston merchants had presented him with "an elegant silver cup suitably engraved, of the weight of about a hundred ounces."

After meeting with Commodore Warren's little fleet, a detachment from the British West Indian squadron, the expedition arrived off Louisburg on the 30th of April, a time of year when the waters off the coast at that point can be very tempestuous. Pepperell skillfully made a landing with only trivial loss. Vaughan's great readiness and daring the very next day enabled him to take advantage of a momentary panic among the French and he captured the Great Battery at the entrance to the harbor.

This was a great prize, for it not only secured the harbor for the Boston troops but it gave the expedition a store of badly needed artillery with which to reduce the city. Unfortunately, the Americans had little or no knowledge of artillery and, despite the best efforts of British naval officers to instruct them, the Colonials, after great exertions in dragging the weapons over a marsh to a point where they could fire into Louisburg, persisted in mishandling them. In particular, being impatient of success, the raw artillerymen persisted in double-loading the pieces. The results were serious. Not only were the guns in some cases shattered but several valuable officers were killed in the explosions. General Waldo, who fired the first shot into Louisburg, wrote to Pepperell, "Captain Hale of my regiment was dangerously hurt by the bursting of another gun. He was our



mainstay for gunnery since Captain Rhodes' misfortune." (Rhodes had also been disabled by the bursting of a gun.)

However, the bombardment was very effective and, although an ill-advised attempt to storm the walls was beaten off with costly losses, this failure was more than compensated for by the subsequent capture of a French 64 which sailed into the harbor innocently, bringing badly needed stores for the garrison's use. Pepperell and Warren arranged for another assault, by both land and sea, and were about to launch it



*Halfway Rock Light, Casco Bay*

when on June 15th the French commander, Duchambon, offered to surrender.

Thus the remarkable victory was accomplished. Much of the credit must be given to Pepperell. Boston had sneered at the whole idea, saying that "the expedition had a lawyer for a contriver, a merchant for a general, and farmers, fishermen and mechanics for soldiers." However, the merchant, Pepperell, kept his raw and undisciplined troops in order and, what was much more difficult, maintained good understanding with his untrained officers and with the imperious British commodore, Warren. Warren did his part well, but he was fearful of being surprised by a superior French fleet at any time and so drove Pepperell hard to win the city as rapidly as possible. Pepperell throughout conducted himself with moderation and courtesy and everyone celebrated the victory conscious of a thoroughly harmonious leadership.



London went wild with news of the victory; Warren was made an admiral and Pepperell was made a baronet. This grant of a baronetcy to a native of what is now the United States is the first patent of nobility so conferred. Phipps is often given this honor but he was merely knighted while Pepperell was made a peer of the realm. In addition, Pepperell was given command of a regular regiment to be raised in America—a most unusual honor, for British professional soldiers despised Colonials.

From this point on, the war so far as New England went, languished. There was a rumor that a powerful French fleet under the Duc d'Anville had been dispatched to recapture Louisburg and to ravage the coast but this peril never materialized. What was worse, so far as New England was concerned, was the Peace in 1748 at Aix-la-Chapelle, when England, ignoring her American colonies, calmly restored to France all her possessions in North America. Of course, France had beaten England at several points in Europe and doubtless, the British commissioners were glad to escape as easily as they did but Americans regarded the treaty as a betrayal of their interest and a sacrifice of their loyalty. It may be that seeds of the Revolution were sown by the treaty.

Hardly was the ink dry on this treaty than another war broke out again in 1754: the French and Indian War, so called. This war did not hit New England so seriously as had the others but it was of vast importance in that it did eliminate France from America and served as a training ground for the Colonials who were, a few years later, to fight the Revolution.

Maine did suffer from Indian raids and ambushes but these were comparatively minor in comparison with earlier sufferings. Maine, now more populous, was better able to defend herself than before when her area was but thinly populated and all but defenseless. There were, however, serious threats of a major invasion coming down from Canada and so several new forts were built in Maine to hold the frontier.

There was in particular a report that the French planned to build a fort on the Kennebec and so a timber fort, one hundred feet long and forty feet wide, was built at the site of the present Winslow. This fort, a pathetic thing by modern standards but imposing for the times, was named Fort Halifax, in honor of the Earl of Halifax, the then president of the British Board of Trade. This gentleman was respected by many merchants in the Colonies because he had contributed many services to American commerce. He was termed, indeed, the "Father of the Colonies."

Then the owners of the old Plymouth Patent, or the Kennebec Purchase as it was subsequently named, erected two forts at their own expense to protect their holdings from the French and their Indian allies. One, known as Fort Western, was reared on the banks of the Kennebec at the head of sloop navigation—which is where Augusta now stands. This fort was about the size of Fort Halifax and while capable of defense, was primarily a base of supplies of provisions and munitions for armed forces which might be operating in the vicinity. Fort Shirley, the other establishment privately built,



was merely a stockade some two hundred feet square with two block-houses. It was situated in the present town of Dresden.

More important than the three previously mentioned, was Fort Pownall, built in the present town of Prospect on what is still known as Fort Point. The Fort was, for the day, both elaborate and expensive. It was about ninety feet square and was surrounded by a ditch and palisades with a large block house mounting cannon in the center. If it ever had been used in war, it undoubtedly would have provided a good account of itself.

Governor Pownall himself led the building expedition up to Penobscot and selected the site. In his Journal he wrote:

“P. M. Landed on the east side the river with 136 men and proceeded to the head of the first falls, about four miles and a quarter from the first ledge. Clear land on the left for nearly four miles. Brigadier Waldo, whose unremitted zeal for the service had prompted him at the age of 63 to attend me on the expedition, dropped down just above the Falls of an apoplexy, and notwithstanding all the assistance that could be given him, expired in a few moments.

“At the head of the Falls—buried a leaden plate with the following inscription:

“May 23, 1759, Province Massachusetts Bay.

“Dominions of Great Britain—Possession confirmed by T. Pownall, Governor.”

General Waldo's remains were brought down to the site selected for the fort and were buried with full military honors and a religious service with a sermon by the Rev. Mr. Philipps, “the first sermon ever preached within the limits of Waldo County.” The body was later taken to Boston and interred in the graveyard of King's Chapel.

During the last French and Indian War, there was no battle on Maine soil but men from Maine took part in the fighting elsewhere. In 1756, Pepperell's regiment, which included Maine men, was captured by Montcalm at Oswego. Pepperell himself was not with his regiment for, having been made a major-general in the British Army, he was elsewhere, having left, as was the custom, the actual command of his regiment to his lieutenant-colonel. Maine did receive a real scare in 1756, however, when the capture of Fort William Henry frightened the entire frontier, for the settlers feared that the French would swoop down at any point at any moment. Massachusetts called Pepperell home and gave him the task of organizing the colony's defense and in a few months, February of 1759, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general in the British Army. However, Pepperell did not long enjoy his exalted rank for he died at his home at Kittery on July 6—less than two months after the death of his former companion-in-arms, General Waldo.

If Pepperell, who had done so much to break the power of the French in North America, did not live to see the ultimate victory, he at least did live to hear that the British flag once again waved over Louisburg, for that citadel, which he had captured only to have the

London politicians restore it to the French, was re-captured in 1758 by a British fleet and army.

Following the taking of Louisburg, disaster followed swiftly for the French. In September of 1759 Quebec was taken, and the following year the fall of Montreal meant the taking over of all Canada by the British. Finally, in 1763, the Peace of Paris gave all Canada to England.

The Colonial era was just about over. Settlement of the seacoast was completed and bolder pioneers were adventuring over the mountains into the wilderness beyond, while the broad highway of the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes and the Mississippi offered an open road into the interior.

Politically America had ceased to be a colony; economically, her merchants and her fishermen were building up an important foreign trade; but legally the American colonies were still just that, mere appendages of the British Crown.

However, the struggle for independence was just ahead; indeed, the first steps were already taken.



## CHAPTER IV

### *War of The Revolution*

**B**EING a part of Massachusetts, and hence not one of the Thirteen Colonies, Maine as such could not take a part in the Revolution. That was the role of Massachusetts. But, if politically unimportant, Maine men were very active in winning independence. They played as vital a part as the citizens of any section of the future United States. In fact, Maine men were even then distinguished for their sturdy independence, for their spirit, for their strength of character—and of course for their courage and skill as soldiers and sailors. Wherever the conflict was joined during all the years of the Revolution, it is certain that Maine men were in the van.

Open hostilities to British arrogances became common in the very earliest days as, for example, when England attempted to compel the colonies to pay taxes laid by Parliament—"taxation without representation." All through the colonies open resistance appeared and in Maine this resistance was particularly vehement.

Falmouth, now Portland, by then the principal town of the Province of Maine, joined in the non-importation agreements and in 1767, when Boston took a bold position in the matter, the Falmouth town-meeting adopted a formal resolution which thanked the people of Boston for "their seasonable and very laudable attention to, and concern for, the happiness and welfare of this province as well as of the whole continent."

Then, when the Port of Boston was closed by Act of Parliament, in punishment for defying the Crown, Maine was prompt not only with sympathy but with physical contributions for the relief of Boston's citizens. When the news of the closing of the port reached Falmouth, the bell of the First Parish church was muffled and the dread sound of its tolling was heard from sunrise until nine o'clock in the evening. In January, Falmouth sent the suffering town of Boston fifty-two cords of wood for fuel and in March of the same year, sent another forty-four cords. Cape Elizabeth sent forty-four cords and other towns in Maine contributed cash as well as supplies of various kinds. These towns were: York, North Yarmouth, Kittery, Berwick, Biddeford, Scarborough, Wells and Gorhamtown.

Maine's flaming spirit was exemplified in other, less philanthropic ways too—some not so praiseworthy. Tories lived in Maine as they did in all the colonies; in fact, modern citizens fail to realize that the Tories, much execrated as is now fashionable, were serious and loyal people in their day and usually well-to-do. They considered rebellion treason and would have been content to try to adjust the difficulties with the Crown by peaceful and orderly procedures. However, the Patriots, younger and ardent, and in some cases, men with nothing in particular to lose, were burning for action and, to obtain it, they pressed hard for an open break with the Crown. To win united action, the Patriots found it necessary to suppress or

at least to intimidate the Tories and, accordingly, the Tories were carefully watched and informed that any opposition from them would be severely treated in retaliation. In fact, there were many cases in Maine, as in the other colonies, where Tories were abused, insulted and suffered various kinds of harsh treatment. Maine does not seem to have been conspicuous in this business but there is no question that Tories were roughly treated on occasion.

More serious were overt acts of open rebellion by various fervent Patriots. In Falmouth, stamped clearances were taken from the Customs House by a crowd and publically burned. Goods seized by the authorities under the hated revenue act were seized by night and carried away by masked men; perhaps to be restored to their owners. The comptroller himself, as the agent of the Crown's taxation policy, was mobbed and abused until he gave out the name of the persons who had informed him to the end that a vessel, which had been engaged in smuggling, could be seized. Two men associated with this affair, whether because of the outrage against the person of the comptroller or because they were the smugglers in the matter, were arrested, convicted of rioting and sentenced to jail. However, they did not long abide in confinement for a mob of some thirty determined men, armed with axes, clubs and other weapons, stormed the jail and liberated them. For a final incident illustrative of the antebellum situation in Maine, when the Province charter was altered by Parliament in retaliation for the Boston Tea Party, a county convention and a public mass meeting were promptly staged at Falmouth and Sheriff Tyng, the law enforcement agent, was summoned and compelled to make a public declaration that he had not acted or endeavored to act under the new laws, and that he would not do so unless by the general consent of the county.

Meanwhile arms were collected, various supplies were stored and militia bands raised and trained to be ready to act in any emergency. When the news of the Battle of Lexington and Concord, fought on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, reached York the same evening, Captain Johnson Moulton collected his company of more than sixty men and marched on the morning of the 20th for Boston, making fifteen miles that day and crossing the Piscataqua river before night. This was the first body of Maine men under arms to leave the Province of Maine for service in the Revolution.

When the news reached Falmouth Neck on the 21st, consternation and alarm were created but the Maine militia was ready and the very same day Captain John Brackett's Company marched towards Boston, to be followed quickly by companies under the command of Captains Hart Williams, Wentworth Stuart, Abraham Tyler, and probably others from Cumberland County. They had proceeded about thirty miles towards Wells when they received orders from Boston directing them to return home and to mount guard along the sea-coast.

Indeed, Falmouth had reason to fear that the minute men were badly needed at home. A British sloop-of-war, the *Canceaux*, was lying in Portland harbor with Lieutenant Mowatt commanding. The war-vessel had been sent to Portland for the specific purpose of



safeguarding the interests of a prominent Loyalist, Captain Thomas Coulson. Coulson was fitting out a new ship with rigging which he had imported from England in disregard of the non-importation agreement and he very properly feared retaliation from the men of Portland. Mowatt was an able and experienced officer and although known to be kind and considerate, when his duty was clear he would act with promptness and sternness.

Under the guns of the British vessel, Coulson began to rig his new ship but since he could not find any Falmouth men willing to work for him, he applied to Mowatt for the loan of members of his crew. This added fuel to the flames because Mowatt was believed to have impressed seamen from Falmouth, not so much for himself but to supply a crew for Coulson's new ship. In the midst of all this excitement, came the news of Lexington and Concord.

Troops were raised by the patriots and an attack on both ships appeared imminent. However, the merchants and responsible men of the town, whatever their politics, could see no advantage in such an attack, for property would certainly suffer if Falmouth was bombarded—as would certainly be the case if an attack was launched. Moreover, if Falmouth openly rebelled, the British would blockade the port and that would be very bad for business as well as cut Falmouth off from supplies expected momentarily by water. So, far from encouraging an attack on Coulson, the Falmouth Committee of Correspondence persuaded their local hot-heads to do nothing.

However, a certain General Samuel Thompson of Brunswick, a very energetic supporter of the Patriot cause, quietly led a body of armed men into Falmouth and, watching Mowatt, seized him when that unsuspecting man was out for a quiet walk in the evening coolness. Falmouth went wild with excitement. Prominent Tories demanded that the militia rescue Mowatt. Thompson, yielding to pressure, at last consented to allow Mowatt to return to his ship for the night on his promise as an officer and a gentleman to return to town the next morning. Mowatt broke his word. Thompson was promptly reinforced by several militia companies and a battle was brewing when cooler heads prevailed and managed to rid Falmouth of the unwelcome guests.

Two boats, belonging to the *Canceaux*, had been seized and hidden and Mowatt wrote to the town, demanding that they be returned at once and that "the cowardly mob" be expelled from the town. The local authorities pondered this for awhile, not that there was any chance of the ship's boats being returned and finally replied that "the town disapproved of the proceedings of the armed body, but . . . were unable to resist them." This mild reply must have satisfied Mowatt, for, accompanied by Coulson in his new ship, he sailed away.

The town heaved a sigh of genuine relief, particularly those who were more prudent than patriotic. It must be remembered that the idea of war was very disagreeable to most men of means and position for they were naturally concerned for their property and, in addition, were more than inclined to look down their noses at "the mob"—which they considered most of the patriots to be. Actually, some





*Old Fort Edgecomb, Wiscasset*



of the most influential patriots felt the same way, for one member of the Falmouth Committee of Safety, probably the chairman, General Preble, wrote, "Good God! Give us a regular government or we are undone . . . God grant that order may come out of confusion, and that Congress would give us such directions in all parts of the Province that no such tumultuous assemblies may be seen, heard or felt again."

This was not to be. On June 7, a taste of what was ahead came when a small man-of-war, the *Senegal*, arrived in the harbor and five days later Coulson sailed back, still in his new ship. The man-of-war was there to protect Coulson while he endeavored to collect a number of masts which were his property. However, the patriots were too quick for him and towed them back up harbor beyond the reach of the British ship's guns. Coulson sent a small boat in to tow them out once more but the patriots seized it and, after holding the crew prisoners for some hours, released them without injury. It was feared that the *Senegal* would use force to recover the masts but orders were apparently lacking so the *Senegal* sailed away without taking action.

Unfortunately, Falmouth had now twice flouted the majesty of His British Majesty's Navy and the leading citizens were well aware that the going of the *Senegal* was merely a postponement of punishment. They knew that the Navy would, when convenient, exact reprisal. Of this conviction, Falmouth very soon had bitter proof.

On October 16, the *Canceaux*, leading several other naval vessels appeared and anchored among the islands of Casco Bay. The good people of Falmouth considered this a mere raid by the British who doubtless were seeking provisions which they could seize among the farms on the islands. Accordingly most of the militia then at Falmouth were dispatched to the islands to do what they could to stop any raiding.

But the next day Mowatt moved close inshore and anchored off the main part of the town. The Lieutenant made his purpose clear immediately, sending an officer ashore with a letter to the authorities—a letter the Rev. Mr. Deane describes as being "full of bad English and worse spelling." Mowatt asserted that he had orders to inflict a "just punishment" on Falmouth for her alleged ingratitude and rebellion, and he gave the town two hours in which to remove the "human specie" from the area.

Falmouth of course responded by sending off a committee to the *Canceaux* to see if something could not be arranged. Mowatt did agree to give the town a period of grace until eight the next morning and he promised that, if the people would give up their arms, he would withhold the bombardment until he had informed Admiral Graves, commanding the naval forces at Boston. Mowatt said he thought that Graves, bearing in mind the fact that Falmouth had surrendered its weapons, would change the orders and spare the town its punishment.

By the next morning, it was clear that Falmouth's people would not surrender their arms and so Mowatt opened fire at nine, bombarding the town almost continuously until six in the evening. To make

things worse, Mowatt sent ashore raiding parties of marines who set fire to numerous buildings. No lives were lost on either side but one hundred and thirty-six dwelling houses were destroyed, together with the court-house, custom house and Episcopal church.

Apparently Falmouth made no resistance to the attack. The townspeople were, naturally enough, confused, bewildered and alarmed and occupied themselves with removing as much property as possible before it was destroyed by fire. It was thought, afterwards, that an organized resistance could have beaten off the landing parties, who did much more damage than the cannon-shot from the British vessels. However, there were no professional military men on hand; just militia and even they were without the necessary leadership.

The Rev. Mr. Deane, above quoted, wrote to a friend in Boston: "About two-thirds of the buildings, in general the best, have been laid in ashes by Mowatt. He could not have done it if the sixty men in the province pay stationed here, had been properly commanded. The company is by your Honorable Court put under the direction of a committee. The committee were so employed in getting out their families and effects that they did not assemble to give orders. Individuals of the committee gave contrary orders to the captain, so that all the opposition made to the landing of men with torches (marines) during the cannonade was by volunteers without any leaders or direction."

The village of Machias also drew the anger of Admiral Graves and it too was consigned to receive punishment equal to that inflicted upon Falmouth but, thanks to the courage and leadership of its citizens and its officials, it saved itself from harm.

It seems that trouble began when Captain Ichabod Jones, a young but important figure in the little plantation of Machias, sailed from Boston with a shipload of provisions for his town. He promised Admiral Graves that, on unloading his ship, the *Unity*, he would return to Boston with a load of lumber—which the British needed for the construction of barracks. Graves, to secure the arrangement, sent along with Jones, the *Margaretta*, a small, armed tender under the command of Midshipman Moore.

Machias, being in great need of Jones' load of provisions, agreed to allow him to return with the lumber after some discussion. Probably the guns of the British tender, trained on the town, helped the townspeople to make up their minds. However, Captain Jones took offense at his fellow citizens who had voted against the deal and refused to sell the provisions to those who had opposed him.

This in turn angered the patriots and, with the aid of patriots from other towns, they attacked the British tender, following the failure of an essay to capture both Captain Jones and Midshipman Moore while they were attending church. The fight was not important and no one on either side was injured but the next morning Moore withdrew his little vessel—for he was hopelessly outnumbered.

Machias men could not bear to allow Moore to escape and what happened is described in a letter, or report, sent by the Machias Committee of Correspondence to the Massachusetts Congress.



"About forty men, armed with guns, swords, axes, & pitch forks, went in Captain Jones' sloop, under the command of Captain Jeremiah O'Brien; about twenty, armed in the same manner, & under the command of Captain Benjamin Foster, went in a small schooner. During the chase (of the *Unity*), our people built them breastworks of pine boards, and anything they could find in the Vessells, that would screen them from the enemy's fire. The Tender (the *Unity*), upon the first appearance of our people, cut her boats from the stern, & made all the sail she could—but being a very dull sailor, they soon came up with her, and a most obstinate engagement ensued, both sides being determined to conquer or die: but the Tender was obliged to yield, her captain was wounded in the breast with two balls, of which wounds he died next morning; poor Mr. Avery (a local resident impressed by Lieutenant Moore as a pilot) was killed, and one of the marine, and five wounded. Only one of our men was killed, and six wounded, one of which is since dead of his wounds."

This is the "official" report of the Machias fight. As years passed, other accounts were published, differing from the original with the help of faulty memories and some imagination. One report says that only O'Brien's vessel attacked the *Unity* for Foster's ship was grounded during the chase and did not free herself in time to join in the engagement. Be all that as it may, it is certain that in this scrap a few Maine men with no cannon, only a few muskets, and very little gun-powder, plus axes and pitch forks, attacked an armed British naval vessel, well supplied with arms and trained sailors and marines—and captured her. Machias went on the black list of the British for this insolent and successful tweaking of the lion's tail—but Machias beat off the only attempt subsequently made to punish her.

While these early difficulties were symptomatic of the harassment Maine was to receive from the British during much of the war, Maine held brief importance as the route through which Americans essayed to capture Quebec.

The first attempt to capture Canada was made through Maine: this was the famous march made by Benedict Arnold through the Maine wilderness to Quebec. Essentially, this campaign was part of the main American war strategy. Arnold had a force of some one hundred men, an "army" which was to unite with other troops in Canada for the attack. The route was up the Kennebec, easy enough so long as the water was deep enough to serve, but then arduous and finally perilous—for Maine was very much of a wilderness then and the late autumn weather, with winter rapidly tightening its grasp, added tremendous hardships. Arnold, who was a very able officer, as well as brave and devoted (at the time) to the American cause, led his troops successfully, although there were deaths from cold and exposure and everyone suffered greatly from the want of food. Maine's share in the expedition's personnel was a small company of volunteers. These men did not distinguish themselves at all, for they lost courage and returned from the wilderness to the settlements.

The second attempt to use Maine as an avenue by which to attack Canada was even more ill-advised and unhappy. This was the adventure into what is now New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. At the time,

it is necessary to remember, there was no sharp line between Maine and the present Maritime Provinces and the people settled in both areas were closely related in that they were all under the British flag. Indeed, at the time, since many Maine families had gone up into New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, there were plenty of patriots in residence and it was more or less accepted that when independence was won, both future provinces would be a part of the United States. However, the Tories far outnumbered the patriots, at least sufficiently so to prevent any up-rising.

So many people in Boston and in Maine thought that a show of armed strength by patriots from Boston would over-awe Maritime Tories and allow the resident patriots to take over. This was the familiar plan by which, time and time again, the Stuarts attempted to regain the Crown of Great Britain.

Led by a Colonel Eddy, a refugee from the Maritimes, a handful of Yankees landed in Nova Scotia near Halifax and waited for patriots to join them before capturing the city. A number of these patriots did join Eddy; and the British forces at Halifax, ably led, promptly descended upon Eddy's camp, routed him and captured his weapons and food. Eddy was compelled to retreat into New Brunswick and eventually, to flee for safety to the south. The unfortunate result of the foolhardy and poorly prepared raid was that the patriots who joined Eddy before Halifax were obliged to flee and so to abandon their families, their property and their all. The British, of course, considered the business treason and so, in most cases, the families of the exiled patriots were reduced to penury—for the British confiscated everything the unfortunates possessed. The whole idea accomplished nothing but to bring misery to many worthy and trusting supporters of the cause of freedom.

Had the expedition been properly planned and led, it might have resulted in the Maritimes now being part of the United States. Notwithstanding the failure of the first attempt, a second was presently made; this one under the leadership of another refugee, Colonel John Allen. The British, of course did not relish these activities and, accordingly sought to bring them to an end by seizing as much of Maine as they could—for Maine was the launching point of all attempts by land at least upon the Maritimes.

The attack upon Machias, previously mentioned, was accordingly launched but it failed completely because it so happened that the patriots were engaged in a conference at Machias with a number of friendly Indians. With the help of their red allies, Machias citizens completely repulsed the British.

Indeed, the repulse was so successful that Machias was not attacked again but the British, having control of the sea with their superior naval strength, continued to vex the whole area east of the Penobscot. This was particularly the case in the period after 1779.

The British also, mindful of what had happened to them during their attack on Machias, sought repeatedly to win over the allegiance of the Passamaquoddy Indians—then important numerically as well as strategically. However, the leader of the second ill-advised attack on the Maritimes, had been placed more or less in charge of the



Indians and this patriot-refugee, Colonel John Allen, valiantly and very ably maintained the trust of the Indians for the Americans. This was a remarkable job on his part for he was not only constantly hampered by the lack of troops, funds, and supplies, but was also victimized again and again by the misconduct of traders.

He was compelled at times to resort to extraordinary measures; as for example when it was necessary to assure the Indians of the appreciation of their loyalty by the American authorities, he forged a letter of thanks to them from the Massachusetts Council. Again, when supplies were so very low as to threaten the security of the American outpost in northeastern Maine, he went down to Boston personally to plead for help. To keep the Indians in line during his absence, he gave them evidence of good faith by leaving his two sons with the savages as hostages. The boys remained with the Indians for "one or two years."

The most serious attack on Maine by the British during the entire Revolution came in 1779 when the campaign to seize what is now Castine and was then called Maja Bigaduce, was carried out successfully. The British wanted the peninsula as an outpost against American attacks on the Maritimes and as a point of vantage from which to raid the Maine settlements. There was also the plan of capturing the entire area, comprising what was the old Sagadahoc Territory, and of making it into a separate Province of Canada for use as a refuge for Loyalists being expelled from the States.

The expedition, considering the military strength of both parties concerned, was an ambitious one. Under command of Brigadier-General Francis McLean, a force of about six hundred and fifty men, not counting officers, was assembled and the fleet of transports employed was escorted by a naval squadron under the command of Captain Barclay. It is interesting to note that one of the subalterns in the expedition was John Moore, later to be Sir John—the officer who became famous for his work in advancing the interests of private soldiers in the British Army, and also because of the celebrated poem describing his burial.

The British forces reached Castine on June 17, 1779 and, after a very careful reconnoitering of the area, landed in force the next day without opposition. Barclay returned soon to Halifax, leaving behind three small ships, the sloops *Albany*, *North* and *Nautilus*, to guard the landing force against attack by sea. General McLean had orders to construct a strong fortification, to be called Fort George, to secure the position. However, this work proceeded very slowly and little had been done by the time that the Americans were preparing an expedition at Boston to capture the fort and to drive the British away.

The reason in particular was that the capture of Castine threatened to cut Boston away from its best source of timber, lumber and wood. This was not to be endured and so the General Court acted with promptness. If the attack could be made before the British could build a good fort, then the recapture of Castine should not be a matter of much difficulty.

On June 24th, the Court ordered that steps should be taken to fit out such ships as could be made ready for sea in six days! Orders

were also given for the purchase of large quantities of provisions, ammunitions and other materials of war. Solomon Lovell of Weymouth, was given command of the land forces and Peleg Wadsworth of Duxbury (subsequently a resident of Gorham and Falmouth), was made second in command. Most of the infantry were to be drawn from Maine militia companies but Boston ordered out the State regiment of artillery under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Paul Revere. Since naval strength was vital, the Court ordered out a fleet of three armed vessels belonging to Massachusetts, or, as in one case, impressed, a dozen privateers (armed merchantmen) were hired, another privateer to be furnished by New Hampshire, and three vessels of the Continental Navy, loaned by the Naval Board at Boston. Captain Saltonstall of the *Warren*, was made commodore of the fleet, unfortunately as it turned out.

At once orders were dispatched to the commanders of the militia in the Maine counties of Lincoln and Cumberland to supply six hundred men each, and to the Brigadier-General of York County to provide three hundred more. The three troops were commanded respectively by: Colonel Jonathan Mitchel, Cumberland; Colonel Samuel McCobb, Lincoln; and Major Daniel Littlefield, York. Boston sent transports to Casco Bay to ferry the militia to Townsend. However, when General Lovell arrived at Townsend, instead of the fifteen hundred men he had expected to find waiting, there were less than one thousand on hand.

These few, it seems, had been assembled with great difficulty, they were poorly trained and very badly off for weapons and ammunitions. In the investigation which followed the failure of the expedition, the adjutant general of the force testified, "one reason for the deficiency was this: some officers, whose duty it was to detach (select) the men, considered the orders to include officers as part of the detail; some included the men who had entered the fleet out of their towns, for the expedition and perhaps a short cruise; and some sent boys, old men and invalids; if they belonged to a trained band or alarm lists they were soldiers, whether they could carry a gun, walk a mile without crutches, or only *compos mentis* sufficient to keep themselves out of fire and water." General Wadsworth, second in command, testified also, "that at least one-fourth part of the troops appeared to me to be small boys and old men, and unfit for service." Apparently, the expedition was not popular or else the orders of the General Court in Boston were not too seriously regarded in Maine.

The fleet appeared near Castine at July 24th and on the 25th, action began. The three small sloops, previously mentioned as being left to defend the British, were under the command of Falmouth's attacker, Lieutenant Mowatt, an able officer. Commodore Saltonstall sent a few of his vessels towards Mowatt's three and engaged in a harmless, long-distance exchange of cannon shot. The day served to show merely that the Americans had arrived, that Saltonstall was a very prudent commander and that his men were very poor hands with artillery. Had Saltonstall been a bolder man, it seems evident that he could have ordered his greatly superior force into the harbor and overwhelmed Mowatt's three little sloops without much difficulty. However, no pleas sufficed to compel him to undertake this per-



fectly simple operation. If he had done so General Lovell, even with his poor troops, could have taken the British position by frontal assault—and the entire campaign would have succeeded in just a few hours.

The American forces did however manage, somehow, to take over adjacent Banks Island, a sort of outpost, with the booty of a British flag and four cannon. Three men were killed on the American side; one of them being Major Littlefield, commanding the militia from York, and a superior officer to most of the American command.



*Mt. Katahdin from Togue Pond*

After delay, not uncommon when militia are concerned, it was agreed that a combined attack should be launched to effect a landing on the peninsula. The point selected was a bluff, high and difficult of ascent from the beach and easily defended by the British. However, while five of Saltonstall's ships were employed to bombard the British with a covering fire, at three in the morning of the 28th, marines and militia were put into small boats from the transports and rowed ashore. The Americans, despite their being raw troops and consequently disordered, attacked with vigor and real courage and promptly carried the position. Inside of twenty minutes, the British had fled, with the Americans in very poorly organized pursuit. The assault was made in three columns—the marines and part of Colonel McCobb's regiment on the right; the remainder of his regiment, the Boston artillerymen serving as infantry, and the volunteers, in the center with General Lovell; and Colonel Mitchel's regiment on the left.



Had General Lovell instantly ordered a pursuit of the fleeing British and swarmed down over the fort, it is very probable that the British could have been captured within an hour or two. The reasons were: first, the British were badly shaken by the bombardment from Saltonstall's fleet, they were disheartened by the American seizure of the bluff, and they too, were poorly trained and led—for the British officer in command at the bluff had ordered his men to hold their fire until the Americans had landed. Then the volley he directed had little effect for even trained soldiers find it difficult to shoot downhill and probably with raw soldiers most of the volley was entirely wasted. Finally, the British had been so dilatory about building Fort George that it was only partially completed and could have been taken in a single assault.

However, just as the Americans failed to win success by a decisive naval attack upon arrival, so did they lose their second opportunity for victory by neglecting to capitalize upon the success of the dawn assault upon the bluff. Lieutenant John Moore, the British officer, then in battle for the first time, wrote later that the Americans could easily have overwhelmed the disheartened British force.

General Lovell instead determined to take the British force by siege—which delay gave the British an opportunity to strengthen the fort. Indeed, so vigorously did the British set about the job that, within a few days, Lovell found the Fort to be impregnable to his forces.

Lovell constantly, of course, maintained contact with the British by raids upon their outposts but nothing whatever was accomplished by this cautious tactic. He, it must be acknowledged, was in a continual lather to persuade Commodore Saltonstall to sail in and destroy the little British fleet. If this had been done, the British would have been cut off and in time they might have surrendered.

Saltonstall refused to take any action unless Lovell would agree to launch an all-out land attack upon the fort at the same time. Plans to this effect were being discussed when news arrived that the British fleet was standing up the bay. This bottled up Saltonstall's fleet and there was nothing for him to do but to prepare for a naval engagement in full force. At last he had to fight.

Saltonstall drew up his fleet across the bay in the form of a crescent, then a reasonable enough naval tactic and waited for the British fleet to make known its intentions. Wisely, the British ships, instead of spreading out, sailed straight into the center of Saltonstall's line. This caused all the American vessels to become disorganized and every one of them properly sought safety in flight. Not one found it. In less than twenty-four hours, all of the armed vessels had either been destroyed by British fire or else had been abandoned and sunk by their own crews. Even the fleet of transports was captured or sunk. It was a crushing defeat.

Lovell's Army caught by the British on the water and the wilderness in their rear, simply melted away. Most of the militiamen simply went home but five companies were kept under discipline by their officers and these were stationed along the coast at various points to do what was possible to prevent British naval raids.



Naturally, Boston was highly indignant at the failure of the expedition—for certainly the capture of a small, half-completed frontier outpost should not have been difficult. And as naturally, the General Court appointed a committee of investigation to fix the blame. Generals Lovell and Wadsworth, and various other military and naval commissioned officers were examined. The finding was made that the chief reason for the failure was the “want of proper spirit and energy in the Commodore.”

Saltonstall was soon given a trial by court-martial and while popular prejudice accused him of treachery and cowardice—as crowds will, any defeated officer—the court-martial did not make the charges public and they are not now known. Anyhow, Saltonstall was shortly dismissed from the Continental service. It is very unlikely that Saltonstall was either a traitor or a coward and his was and is a distinguished family but there can be no question that he did not risk his ships in the American attack. The privateers, nominally serving under his orders, doubtless failed to support him in any projected naval action also, because the privateers were risking their own ships and property and no man is at all willing to do that unless commensurate profit is ahead—and what profit would there have been for the privateers in taking a mean, little British outpost? However, Saltonstall was the obvious target and he suffered accordingly.

The committee of investigation of the General Court took pains to praise highly the conduct of Generals Lovell and Wadsworth—as generals usually are praised—but there was some minor doubt of Wadsworth’s abilities. Colonel Mitchell was censured for returning home without orders from Lovell but then, if he had been severely criticized, it would have been necessary to do the same for practically every officer and most of the men.

Lieut.-Col. Paul Revere, a fire-brand if ever there was one, and a very active man in the bargain, so active that he accumulated many enemies, was brought before the committee on numerous charges, many of them doubtless the result of personal animus. The committee, however, let him off lightly, finding him culpable only in disputing the orders of General Wadsworth during the retreat—as probably Revere did. He was also censured for taking his regiment home to Boston without the leave of his superior officers. These findings were made despite the testimony of General Wadsworth. That gentleman swore:

“A small schooner in which was the greatest part of our provisions was then in the strength of the tide, drifting down on the enemy; it was in vain that a number of boats were ordered to tow her across the stream, and with much difficulty that a boat was got out to take out her crew. In this I was opposed directly by Lieutenant-Colonel Paul Revere, who said that I had no right to command either him or the boat, and gave orders to the contrary. (Revere asserted that he had been ordered to obey Wadsworth during the expedition but that the expedition was then over.) The boat went off to the schooner. The reason Lieutenant-Colonel Revere gave for the boat’s not going off to the schooner

was that he had all his private baggage at stake, and asked who would thank him for losing that, in attempting to save the schooner for the State. I asked him whether he came there to take care of his private baggage, or to serve the State."

Revere was not a man to take a finding of this character without fighting for reconsideration and, after repeated demands for a new court-martial, in 1782 he finally obtained a new trial. There were the two charges: his refusal of the boat, and his return to Boston without orders. The Court necessarily found that Revere had refused the boat, but acquitted him of blame because he acted on sudden impulse—and also and particularly because the boat was finally employed in the manner ordered by General Wadworth. On the second charge, the Court found that "the whole army was in great confusion and so scattered and dispersed that no regular orders were or could be given" and were "of the opinion therefore that Lieutenant-Colonel Revere be acquitted with equal honor as the other officers of the same expedition."

This account of the Massachusetts and Maine expedition for the recapture of Castine has been given at such length not only because it was the major military activity on Maine soil during the Revolution but because it gives an accurate picture of the military and naval organization prevalent at the time, displaying the handicaps endured by the American leaders in defeating the British ultimately and so winning freedom.

It is very difficult to give an adequate account of the part the men of Maine played in winning the Revolution. The reason is that Maine was then a part of Massachusetts and consequently the regiments in which Maine men served were of necessity Massachusetts regiments. Consequently Maine has not received and cannot receive the credit for victory to which the State is entitled.

Certainly, Maine did her full part, and even more—as the following letter, written by James Sullivan of Biddeford, then acting as commissary for the Maine troops, to Samuel Freeman of the Provincial Congress will testify:

Falmouth, 31 Jan., 1776.

"Sir: Since I wrote you last, I received a resolve of Court, wherein I find I am directed to assist in raising two hundred and thirty-eight men in the County of York. I shall obey orders, and do my best, and make no doubt but the men will be had, which will leave the seacoast of the county entirely without firearms, for our arms were taken from our people on the last of December by order of Congress, and enlistment for Cambridge will strip us of men for this winter, and if our guns are again stopped we shall be in the spring without firearms. I venture to affirm as a fact that more than half the men of Biddeford and Pepperell borough are now in camp in Cambridge. The four hundred men at Falmouth can never be raised, as every one who can leave



home is gone or going to Cambridge. The officers appointed here have no commissions nor has General Frye any instructions. You might have sent the commissions before now if you had attended to the safety of your own country, and hope you will send them by the first conveyance. If the General should order another reinforcement they must draw upon this part of the province for women instead of men, and for knives and forks instead of arms, otherwise they cannot be obeyed.

I am your humble servant,

James Sullivan."

The account of Massachusetts soldiers who served in the Continental Army has been well preserved. Of these many were Maine men for the sons of the Pine Tree State served the cause of freedom well—on both land and sea. However, no actual count of Maine men has been obtained. As an indication of Maine's share, one list has been made. At the instance of Reverend Henry S. Burrage, an investigation was made of the personnel of Washington's Army at Valley Forge and of his troops fully a thousand were men from Maine. In 1907, a bronze tablet mounted on a granite monument was erected with an inscription to honor suitably these heroes.

Finally, long after the war had shifted to the south by the British evacuation of Boston, peace came in 1783, following the victory at Yorktown. Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States and, while the border of Maine was indefinite, the north-eastern line was finally set at the St. Croix River.

Maine was still a part of Massachusetts but only loosely held and in effect it observed its independence from the Crown of Great Britain by a growth of independence from Boston—an attitude which was eventually to make Maine an independent State.

The immediately important point that the end of the Revolution brought to Maine was that forever the Indians ceased to have any power or influence. Indians, necessary as allies and dangerous as enemies in the days of the colony and the province, were now dismissed as co-sovereigns of Maine soil. They became mere wards of the State. Formerly all the wild lands, that is those not actually settled by the English or French, were tacitly considered the property of the Indians who occupied them. After the Revolution, the Indians were given greatly restricted territory and the wild lands, the lakes, the rivers and the forest were no longer their property. All ungranted areas, to be legal, were the property of the State.

## CHAPTER V

### *Between Two Wars—The Revolution and 1812*

#### 1. THE EASTERN BOUNDARY

ONE of the most important controversies in the years immediately following the Revolution was the dispute over the eastern boundary of Maine. It was a complicated and vital matter since it fixed the extent of Maine's territory in that direction and also provided a model for future difficulties of a similar nature as the United States and the Canadian border finally stretched to the Pacific.

This boundary was in dispute for many years but the really critical period was short comparatively: from the Treaty of Paris in 1783 to the determination of the commissioners in 1798. During this term of fifteen years, the dispute waxed bitter and conspicuously displayed all the prejudice and partisanship which so often characterize such disputes—and frequently have led to war. There can be no doubt both Americans and Canadians believed in the absolute justice of their conflicting claims and any decision which deprived one country or the other of its original claims would have been unjust.

The River St. Croix, as mentioned in the conclusion of the previous chapter, became the boundary to the east by the terms of the Treaty of Paris between the United States and Great Britain. The section of the treaty concerned reads:

“East, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source, directly north to the aforesaid Highlands, which divide the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from those which fall into the river St. Lawrence; comprehending all the islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shore of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part and East Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean; excepting such islands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of the said province of Nova Scotia.”

Thus the River St. Croix, an unimportant stream in itself, became the pivotal point in the eastern boundary. A glance at the history of its discovery and settlement is necessary to an understanding of the treaty dispute and decision.

The Sieur de Monts in 1603 was given by Henry IV, King of France, the charter of Acadia, a grant which embraced all the territory between the fortieth and the forty-sixth degrees of latitude. On April 7, 1604, de Monts sailed to take possession of his property and with him was the King's geographer, Samuel de Champlain. They sighted Cape La Heve on the Nova Scotia coast and then, entering



the Bay of Fundy, discovered the Annapolis Basin, or Port Royal. On June 24, which is St. John's Day, they discovered the St. John River, so naming it in honor of the saint.

On June 26th, they found an island near the mouth of another river further on a little and, considering it to be a desirable spot for settlement, they landed and named it Isle Sainte Croix (Island of the Holy Cross). The name came because the river just above the island so branched as to form on a map the shape of a cross.

As previously related, de Monts' settlement failed but the name St. Croix remained and from then on the name St. Croix was destined to play an important part in American history of the period at least. Of course, with early maps what they were, the exact location of the river was hotly disputed; yet for nearly 200 years it figured on legal documents as an important boundary point of royal grants.

This is evident in the patent granted to Sir William Alexander by James, King of Scotland and England in 1621. This patent was the first in America to have definite boundaries named and one of these boundaries, the western, since the grant was for Nova Scotia, was this same St. Croix River. The patent covered New Brunswick, too, for that present province was originally a part of Nova Scotia and remained such until it was set off and made a province in 1784.

The important thing is that this patent thus established the western boundary of New Brunswick as being the St. Croix River which was ultimately to make the boundary between the United States and Canada.

Similar charters repeatedly used the St. Croix as a boundary line—probably because it had been established by the Nova Scotia patent as a legal point.

Charles II, of England, granted in 1664 to the Duke of York, his brother James, all the territory between the Kennebec and Nova Scotia. The treaty on the pertinent point read “. . . all that part of the maine land of New England beginning at a certain place called or knowne by the name St. Croix next adjoining New Scotland in America and from thence extending along the sea coast unto a certain place called Petuaquine or Pemaquid and so up the river thereof to the furthest head of ye same as it tendeth northwards and extending from thence to the River Kinebequi so upwards by the shortest course to the River Canada northward . . .”

Then, just three years later, for lawyers repeat themselves habitually, the charter was revived and in the new one which was granted are the words “. . . All that part of the main land of New England, beginning at a certain place called or known by the name of St. Croix, next adjoining to New Scotland in America . . .” For a third instance, in October of 1691, the charter of the Province of Massachusetts, as granted by William and Mary, gave to the Bay colony the whole of Nova Scotia and Acadia. However, Massachusetts found the burden of sovereignty and defense too expensive and in 1696 or 1697, Massachusetts abandoned to the Crown all the territory east of the St. Croix—and never again claimed jurisdiction beyond that important little river.



Other legal papers contain similar references to the St. Croix and all settlements of the disputes between France and England contain reference to the St. Croix—although of course France claimed at times the Kennebec as a boundary and also the Penobscot. The important point is that from the discovery of the St. Croix by de Monts and Champlain, the river was an outstanding boundary point and, while it was scarcely known officially in a geographical sense, legally it was the boundary for many grants, patents and charters.



*North Anson Countryside*

At the Treaty of Paris the representatives of the United States and of Great Britain glibly used the same St. Croix as the eastern boundary line but not one of them had ever seen the river and not one of them knew precisely where it was. It was just a convenient legal point of demarcation. As soon as the peace was published, large grants of land were made to settlers and to land speculators, particularly the latter, and it was soon all too evident that there was a wide difference of opinion as to which river emptying into Passamaquoddy Bay was the St. Croix.

This was natural enough, for since de Monts' men had sailed away bitterly defeated by the climate and the prospects of trade, few had visited the river—save perhaps the fishermen and trappers and traders who, naturally, were careful never to know exactly where boundary lines ran. The aborigines doubtless knew nearly two hundred years previously which river was the St. Croix but they had merely handed down the knowledge by tradition from generation to



generation and thus they were of no help. They had names of their own for the rivers concerned and these, also were of no value to the legal gentlemen in their Boston, London and Paris offices.

Actually, there are three principal rivers emptying their waters into Passamaquoddy Bay: the Cobscook, on the west; the St. Croix, then called the Schoodic or Passamaquoddy in the middle; and the Magaguadavic, on the east. Each of these three rivers had been selected and named the St. Croix on maps prior to 1783 by cartographers working without exact knowledge or any interest in the precise river originally named by Champlain and de Monts.

Of course attempts had been made to determine accurately the position of the St. Croix. In 1764, the first serious effort to discover just where the St. Croix ran was authorized by Governor Bernard of Massachusetts. He commissioned John Mitchell to go to Passamaquoddy and to survey the Bay, to locate the St. Croix and to determine its source. Mitchell apparently relied upon the testimony of Indians and, indeed there was little else he could do. He may have had previous maps but since they designated different rivers as the St. Croix they would have been confusing rather than helpful.

Mitchell concluded with recording the testimony of three Indians as to the fact that the so-called Magaguadavic was the real St. Croix. This is the easternmost river and, of course, the one whose selection would please the authorities back in Boston. Incidentally, Governor Bernard and some of his friends were negotiating for a large land grant which would be based on the St. Croix to the West and so, they wanted the Magaguadavic to be the St. Croix.

Governor Wilmot of Nova Scotia, naturally interested in the precise location of the St. Croix, learned from Governor Bernard that the Magaguadavic had been selected by Boston's surveyor, so the next year, he sent his own man, Charles Morris, Surveyor-General of Nova Scotia, to Passamaquoddy. Morris, naturally enough, went to the other extreme and selected the westernmost river, the Cobscook as the St. Croix, even designating Treat's Island as St. Croix Island. He too based his claims upon the sworn testimony of Indians living on the rivers concerned.

Morris' maps were generally accepted as correct and for some time the St. Croix was placed way to the west. This selection of the Cobscook as the St. Croix was made somewhat firmer because Nova Scotia granted to Governor Bernard of Massachusetts and his associates Thomas Pownall, John Mitchell, Thomas Thornton and Richard Jackson, 100,000 acres of land west of the Schoodic River, thus making the Cobscook the western boundary of Nova Scotia. Governor Bernard, in accepting his grant, apparently gave the official recognition of Massachusetts to the Cobscook as the St. Croix. These two surveys were the last to be made for some time as the Revolution developed and both Americans and Canadians were much too concerned with more important matters to bother about the precise location of a little river.

Then, with the Treaty of Paris in 1783 and the granting of land to settlers and to speculators, the determination of the exact boundary

between Maine and New Brunswick could not be postponed. Ministers plenipotentiary had met in Paris and written the Treaty with the St. Croix as the eastern boundary point. In the drafting of the Treaty, the Ministers had before them Mitchell's map of 1755 and, as previously stated, like the later Mitchell's map of 1765, it named the St. Croix as being the most eastern river or creek entering Passamaquoddy Bay, the Indian's Magaguadavic. The Ministers, knowing nothing whatever of the vague location of the river, simply took the map for granted and made the St. Croix the boundary. However, they failed to document the river's site by including Mitchell's map and hence, violent controversy broke out as to which river really was the St. Croix.

Hardly was the ink dry than trouble began. A number of Loyalists had settled on the eastern bank of the Schoodic at St. Andrews, really believing that they were safely in Canada. Backed by the government of New Brunswick, and the Crown, they laid out and erected a town. Massachusetts immediately protested the settlement and emphatically declared that the Canadians should not make any settlements in Maine west of the Magaguadavic, which the State claimed was the real St. Croix. Governor Parr of Nova Scotia, which still included New Brunswick, replied in friendly terms, but was emphatic that the Schoodic was the real St. Croix.

The correspondence and documents relating to the controversy were sent by Massachusetts to Congress and, on January 26, 1784, that body informed the Governor of Massachusetts that, following a recommended survey and investigation, if the boundary was found to be as Massachusetts claimed, the State should open negotiations with Nova Scotia.

Thereupon the General Court of Massachusetts on July 7, 1784, appointed a commission of three, to be named by the Governor, to investigate the precise location of the St. Croix and, further, to learn what trespass had been made upon Maine soil by the Canadians. The two important and active members of this commission were General Benjamin Lincoln and General Henry Knox—both responsible leaders. The third member, Mr. George Partridge, was ill and took no active part. The Generals voyaged to Passamaquoddy, collected all the information there available and, appending a mass of legal documents, filed their report with the Governor of Massachusetts on October 19th—prompt work for such a commission.

The vital section of the reports reads as follows: “. . . By every information the subscribers could obtain, on an inquiry of Indians and others, the eastern river was the original St. Croix. This is about three leagues from St. Andrews, where the British inhabitants have made a settlement. Soon after the subscribers had received their commission, they wrote Mr. Jay (the American minister who signed the treaty of Paris), requesting him to give them information whether the commissioners for negotiating the peace confined themselves in tracing the boundaries of the United States, to any particular map, and if any one, what one? After their return, they received his answer, mentioning that Mitchell's map was the only one that the commissioners used, and on that they traced the boundaries agreed to. This,



in the opinion of the subscribers, is a fact which must facilitate an equitable decision of the matter; though Mitchell's map is not accurate, at least in the description of the eastern parts of the State. He has described but two, instead of three rivers, which empty themselves into the Bay of Passamaquoddy. The eastern of these he has placed at the head of the Bay, near the center of it, and calls it St. Croix. The western river he has called by the name of Passamaquoddy. Hence it is plain that though the map is inaccurate, yet the eastern river, which empties itself into the bay, is, in the opinion of Mr. Mitchell, the St. Croix. . . ."

After receiving this report, Governor John Hancock of Massachusetts, sent to Governor Parr of Nova Scotia, the findings of the two Generals, accompanied by a letter in which Hancock wrote: ". . . desirous of cultivating that peace and harmony which I hope will ever subsist between the citizens of the States and the subjects of His Majesty; wherefore . . . I am to request your Excellency will be pleased to recall from the said territory, those subjects of His Majesty who have removed themselves from his dominions and planted themselves within this Commonwealth."

The area of New Brunswick was removed from Nova Scotia in 1784 and the matter was referred by Governor Parr, doubtless with pleasure to be rid of the vexation, to the officials of the new province. Governor Carlton of New Brunswick, accordingly, on June 12, 1785, replied to Governor Hancock of Massachusetts, in part as follows:

" . . . that the Great St. Croix, called Schoodick by the Indians was not only considered by the Court of Great Britain as the River intended and agreed upon by the Treaty to form part of that Boundary, but a numerous body of the loyal refugees immediately after the Peace, built the Town of St. Andrews on the Eastern Bank thereof; and in fact it is the only River on that side of the Province of either such magnitude or extent as could have led to the idea of proposing it as a limit between two large and spacious countries. . . ."

With the issue thus clearly stated by the Governors of Massachusetts and of New Brunswick, there followed a period of much correspondence between all officials concerned, in Congress and in London as well as locally. Claims and counterclaims, suggestions and recriminations followed in confusing succession. The important part of the stalemate was that residents along the border, especially the unfortunate refugees who had settled St. Andrews, were in a constant state of turmoil. No one knew whether he lived under the Stars and Stripes or the flag of Great Britain.

Such a condition could not long be tolerated by either side to the dispute and, accordingly, when in 1794 the so-called Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation was concluded, John Jay (for whom the treaty is usually named), had an article included (V) which would settle the trouble.

Article V reads in part: "Whereas doubts have arisen what river was truly intended under the name of the river St. Croix . . . the

question shall be referred to the final decision of commissioners . . . the three Commissioners shall be sworn impartially to examine and decide the said question, according to such evidence as shall respectively be laid before them. . . . The said Commissioners shall, by a declaration . . . decide what river is the St. Croix intended by the Treaty."

King George appointed Thomas Barclay of Annapolis, Nova Scotia, as the British Commissioner, and President Washington appointed David Howell of Rhode Island as the American commissioner. These two selected as the third member Judge Egbert Benson of New York.

This was a very able commission, indeed. Barclay, a native of New York, a graduate of King's College, and a student of law under John Jay, had chosen to be a Loyalist during the Revolution, serving in the British Army. After the War, he settled in Nova Scotia and became a prominent political figure there. Howell was a graduate of Princeton, a member of the Continental Congress, a prominent Rhode Island lawyer, and, after serving as attorney-general for his state, was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court. Benson, also a graduate of King's College, was the first attorney-general of New York.

James Sullivan, who was appointed the American agent for the commission, was at the time Attorney-General of Massachusetts and had been both a member of the Massachusetts Supreme Court and a member of the Continental Congress. Later, he became a Governor of Massachusetts. Ward Chipman, appointed as agent of the Crown for the Commission, was also a native of Massachusetts and a graduate of Harvard. At the time he was Solicitor-General of Nova Scotia and later became the Chief Justice and the Governor of that Province. Edward Winslow, who was appointed secretary of the Commission, was another native of Massachusetts and a graduate of Harvard. Agents on both sides appointed able assistants and organized surveying parties. Certainly nothing was left undone to discharge the duties appointed and it is clear that the side of the United States was well represented, at least in numbers.

After various meetings, which began at Halifax in August of 1796, the Commissioners finally viewed the two rivers, the Schoodic and the Magaguadavic, took the testimony of Indians and the depositions of white settlers in the region and finally concluded that full surveys would be necessary before proceeding further. So the Commission adjourned for a year until the surveys were made. This was all of course in full agreement with legal procedure—which has not altered much since then for that matter.

On August 11, 1797, the Commission resumed at Boston and the maps and reports of the surveyors, together with the claims of the respective agents for the Crown and the United States were set forth—just as had been understood previously. Judge Sullivan for the United States claimed that the Magaguadavic was the St. Croix, since that was the river shown on the Mitchell map which was the same map used by the Treaty of Paris in 1783. There was of course, considerable other material, none of which seems of importance now—if it was then.



Chipman, the British agent, contended that the Schoodic was the river St. Croix, that it had been so named by Champlain and that it had always been accepted as the boundary between Nova Scotia (New Brunswick) and Massachusetts (Maine). So, the situation remained as it had been.

However, in nearby Quincy, was John Adams, then the President of the United States. Adams and John Jay were the two living American members of the commission which had drawn up the Treaty of Paris. The boundary commission, accordingly, waited upon President Adams, hoping that he would be able to decide which river was which. Adams readily confirmed the statement that the Mitchell map was the one used but was asked this question:

“Do you know whether it was understood, intended or agreed upon between the British and American commissions that the River St. Croix as marked on Mitchell’s map should so be the boundary as to preclude all inquiry respecting any error or mistake in the said map in designating the River St. Croix, or was there any, and if so what, understanding, intent or agreement between the Commissioners relative to the case of error or mistake in this respect in the said map?”

Adams replied, probably after considerable reflection at such an involved question, “The case of such supposed error or mistake was not suggested, and, consequently, there was no understanding, intent or agreement expressed respecting it.”

John Jay had also been questioned, by letter, by the Boundary Commission on the same point. His reply read:

“Whether that river was so decidedly and permanently adopted and agreed upon by the parties as conclusively to bind the two Nations to that Limit, even in case it should after appear that Mitchell had been mistaken and that the true River St. Croix was a different one from that delineated by that name in his map, is a Question, or a Case, which he did not recollect nor believe was then put or talked of; for his own part he was of the Opinion that the Eastern Boundaries of the United States ought, on the Principles of Rights and Justice, to be the same with the easterly boundaries of the late Colony or Province of Massachusetts.”

No doubt, these opinions of Adams and of Jay were a keen disappointment to Judge Sullivan, for they deprived the United States of the main-stay of its claim to having the easternmost river the St. Croix. Thus it appeared that the Boundary Commission would be forced to break away from previous findings and of itself determine which of the three rivers was to be the St. Croix.

This would have been a very difficult job for, while there is no doubt that all the rival claims were honest enough, the work of determination would be most complicated indeed, because there was no question that all three rivers had by various people at various times been known as the St. Croix.

Fortunately for the peace of mind of the lawyers, who characteristically disliked to make up their minds without precedent, new evidence appeared. Chipman, agent for the Crown, realized that the maps and papers of Champlain, who had been with de Monts when the latter settled at St. Croix Island and named the river which had been in dispute ever since, might throw conclusive light on the subject. So Chipman sent to London and obtained a mass of documents. These he gave to Judge Robert Pagan of St. Andrews, a gentleman necessarily extremely interested in the matter. Pagan was directed to search the maps and papers and then to compare statements so found with the actual topography. Indeed, Chipman hoped that Pagan could discover the ruins of de Monts' settlement and so, definitely settle the question.

Pagan went to work with a will and though he was looking for something which had taken place (and then for but a few months) nearly two hundred years before, he did discover much, as his report, in part, makes clear:

(on an island near the mouth of the Schoodic now called Doceas Island, he found) “. . . four distinct piles of ruins agreeing in their situation and distances from each other . . . as laid down in said plan A . . . and these four piles of ruins are directly abreast of the long sandy point at low water in said plan . . . on further examining, he discovered distinctly several tiers of stone in each of the piles, laid in clay mortar . . . it appears as clay does in chimneys where fire has been, and there are evident marks of fire on the stones in many places . . . in digging he found charcoal in a perfect state . . . and part of a stone pitcher in full preservation . . . On one side of the piles he found a number of bricks so laid together as to convince him that a large oven had formerly been built there . . . (later) he found another pile of ruins . . . where in digging with a spade they turned up a metal spoon, a musket ball, a piece of an earthen vessel and a spike nail, all of which bore evident marks of having laid a long time under the surface . . .”

Pagan's findings were forthwith checked by Thomas Wright, Surveyor-General of St. John Island, now Prince Edward, and by Samuel Webber, later to be a president of Harvard College. Both gentlemen reported that beyond doubt the ruins found were those of de Monts' settlement.

So the Boundary Commissioners were convinced that Schoodic was the St. Croix and that the river must be fixed as the boundary between the United States and Canada. That much determined, the Commissioners however, still faced a mountain of labor, for the Treaty made it necessary to determine both the exact mouth of the river as well as its source.

Surveys were accordingly ordered and finally in September of 1798, the Commissioners met again. The first problem was the actual source of the river. It could be the point where the water of the river emerged from the chain of lakes which feed it—or it could be



carried on up through these lakes to the most remote spring which fed into the uppermost lake. Considerable land area was involved but finally, it was agreed that the source of the St. Croix (Schoodic) was the point at which it issued from the lower lake.

Soon it developed that this settlement would have been unsatisfactory to both countries as it would have upset land grants made by Massachusetts and confirmed by both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. So a sort of compromise was worked out by which the source of the St. Croix was declared to be the Chiputneticook branch and the extreme or "furthest sources or spring." This was in October 25, 1798. On the same day, the Commissioners found that the mouth of the St. Croix for the purpose of fixing the boundary is "a Point of Land called Joe's Point about one mile northward from the northern point of Saint Andrews Island, and in the latitude of 45 degrees 5 minutes and five seconds north, and in the longitude of 67 degrees 12 minutes and 30 seconds west of Greenwich . . . and the course of the said river up from its said mouth is northerly to a point of land called Devil's Head, then turning the said point is westerly to where it divides into two streams the one coming from the northward having the Indian name of Chiputneticook or Chibnitcook . . . then up the said stream so coming from the northward to its Source, which is at a stake near a Yellow Birch Tree, hooped with iron . . ."

There was of course some bitterness and dissatisfaction among Maine people in the vicinity over this decision. However the justice and propriety of the finding was elsewhere received with satisfaction. The two American commissioners were not unhappy. Judge Sullivan said:

"Why shall not all the nations on earth determine their disputes in this mode, rather than choke the rivers with their carcasses and stain the soil of continents with their slain? The whole business has been proceeded upon with great ease, candor and humor."

Judge Howell wrote:

"It must be allowed that there is room for debate and for a diversity of opinions on this question, whether the source of the north branch is at the first lake, or where we have fixed it, and this, being a matter of judgment, was a subject of accommodation. I considered it a fortunate circumstance that all the claims of individuals are quieted; and that the satisfaction expressed by both agents, gave reason to hope that the parties more immediately interested would readily acquiesce in our result."

The Reverend Henry S. Burrage in "*Collections of the Maine Historical Society*" summed up the matter thus ". . . It is doubtful if a more satisfactory award could have been made."

There yet remained, however, the matter of determining the title of the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay—some of which had long been in question. The Boundary Commissions were urged to complete their

work by taking up this problem but they promptly refused the work, saying that the terms of their appointment did not cover the Islands. Indeed, it is clear that they were specifically charged only with the work of determining the St. Croix and its mouth and source—which they had done.

The island troubles arose through the wording of the Treaty of Paris of 1783. This document, earlier quoted in this chapter, gave to the United States all the islands within twenty leagues of its shores. Thus all the Islands in Passamaquoddy Bay, including Grand Manan, would be American. However, the Treaty included the words, "excepting such islands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of the said Province of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick."

The dispute was confused, for both governments claimed all the islands. England, saying that the islands were within the bounds of Nova Scotia as recited in the 1621 grant given to Sir William Alexander, added to her claim that the Crown had maintained continuous claim and jurisdiction over them ever since that time.

Massachusetts, for the United States, asserted that Nova Scotia and the Bay State had been merged under the Bay Charter of 1691, that all the islands thus became her property and the title to them had not been relinquished. Further, Massachusetts asserted that the Nova Scotia as defined by the Treaty of 1783 was not the original Nova Scotia of 1621. However, it was clear that title to the islands would probably rest mainly upon occupation and the exercise of jurisdiction and so both Canada and the United States made strenuous efforts to this end.

For one example of the almost constant difficulties which ensued, Moose Island was jointly claimed by Massachusetts (Maine) and New Brunswick. Both states passed laws affecting the island, both summoned jurors and both served processes. The settlers for themselves recognized the jurisdiction of the United States and the government of Massachusetts but they were constantly harassed by Canada.

During the years in which the Boundary Commission was active, the dispute was held in abeyance but, once the Commissioners washed their hands of the Island problem, the dispute broke out again more bitterly than before. New Brunswick in particular firmly maintained her rights to the islands of Moose, Dudley, Frederick, Deer, Campobello and Grand Manan, to name the more important.

In 1803, an attempt by the United States and Great Britain to settle the dispute was concluded. Rufus King for America and Lord Hawkesbury for Great Britain, agreed that, taking the St. Croix as a point of departure, the international boundary would run "between Deer Island on the east and north, and Moose Island, and Campo Bello island on the west and south, around the eastern point of Campo Bello island to the Bay of Fundy; the islands northward and eastward of the said island, together with the Island of Campo Bello, . . . are hereby declared to be within the jurisdiction and part of His Majesty's province of New Brunswick; and the islands and waters southward and westward of the said boundary, except only the island of Campo Bello, are hereby declared to be within the jurisdiction and part of Massachusetts (Maine)."



This treaty was not ratified by the Senate of the United States as was by then necessary and so the troubles continued unabated. In 1805 the British authorities seized an American ship, charging illicit trade in English territory in Passamaquoddy Bay. This added fuel to the flames.

In 1806 another treaty, practically the same as the King Treaty, was drawn up but President Jefferson liked it so little that he did not bother even to submit it to the United States Senate for ratification.



*Kennebec River, Solon*

Of course, events were ripening towards the crisis which resulted in the War of 1812 and no further attempt to settle the Island trouble was made for years. During these years, indeed, the local trouble was overwhelmed by the struggle between the two nations and islands on both sides regained somewhat more friendly relations. A garrison of American soldiers at Eastport, maintained there to prevent a Canadian raid in force, found little to do but to prevent smuggling between the two nations or at least to try to do so.

However, in 1814, on July 11, the British did act. A British squadron appeared off Moose Island and threatened to destroy the settlement unless the island surrendered. No adequate resistance could have been offered and so cool counsel on the part of the Americans, on the advice of Major Putnam, prevailing, the island did surrender. The British took possession and informed the people that after all the island had not been "captured" but had simply been "restored" to British possession, where it rightfully belonged.



The Treaty of Ghent, concluding the War of 1812, provided that a decision was to be made about the ownership of the islands and that the award made by the duly appointed authorities for both parties would be final.

The British appointed to the commission two very able men, Thomas Barclay and Ward Chipman, agent. These two gentlemen had worked well for the cause of the Crown in the St. Croix matter. President Madison for America appointed as commissioner John Holmes, a lawyer, of Alfred, Maine. He was a member of Congress for Massachusetts in 1817-1820 and, in 1820 one of Maine's first Senators. James T. Austin, a leading member of the Massachusetts bar, and afterwards Attorney-General of Massachusetts was appointed American agent. Anthony Barclay, son of the British commissioner, was jointly named secretary.

The Commission met first at St. Andrews, September 22, 1816, and again at Boston, May 28, 1817. Evidence, which has already been recited, and claims, as previously set forth, were ably presented and the Commissioners on November 24, 1817, finally put a period to the dispute with the following declaration, in part:

“ . . . have decided that Moose Island, Dudley Island, and Frederick Island in the Bay of Passamaquoddy, which is part of the Bay of Fundy, do each of them belong to the United States of America; that all the other islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy, and the Island of Grand Manan, in the Bay of Fundy, do each of them belong to His Britannic Majesty. . . . In making this decision it became necessary that each of the Commissioners should yield a part of his individual opinion. Several reasons induced them to adopt this measure; one of which was the impression that the navigable waters of the Bay of Passamaquoddy, which by the Treaty of Ghent, is said to be part of the Bay of Fundy, are common to both parties for the purpose of all lawful and direct communication with their own territories and foreign ports. . . . ”

## 2. FEDERALISTS AND DEMOCRATS AND THE WAR OF 1812

During the Revolution, Massachusetts and Maine, as a part thereof, were not alone busy doing their share to win independence but were also struggling to establish a solid state government and administration. Naturally there was considerable difference of opinion on the nature and scope of this government and, particularly upon the relationships between the State and the United States.

For the record it should be remembered that the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, formed when General Gage, British Commander, refused to call the General Court into session, was a purely revolutionary body. Then, in 1775, acting upon the advice of the Continental Congress, Massachusetts formed a government much like that of the charter of 1691—save that the offices of governor and lieutenant-governor were necessarily vacant and the executive power rested with the Council.



This was merely a temporary business and, in 1780, a special convention submitted a state constitution which the citizens accepted. This constitution, since altered of course, provided for the customary offices of a governor, lieutenant-governor and the rest, for a council, and for a two chamber legislature. Each incorporated town was entitled to send at least one representative to the lower house but the senators were not chosen in proportion to population but rather by the amount of taxes paid by each county.

Of course, in 1778, the Continental Congress had divided the country into admiralty districts. Massachusetts was given three of these districts, of which one district was constituted of the three Maine counties. Hence Maine became known as the District of Maine, a designation which it held until its separation from Massachusetts, forty years later.

Then in 1788, Maine was invited, indirectly of course, for the District was still Massachusetts, to express her view on a Federal Constitution. Maine, however, was not officially represented in the General Convention which met at Philadelphia to draw up the Constitution for all four delegates from Massachusetts were residents of Massachusetts proper. However, one of the outstanding Massachusetts delegates was Rufus King, who was a native of the District of Maine.

Indeed, King is generally considered to have been one of the leading members of the assembly. In his "Framing of the Constitution" Farrand says of King, ". . . of somewhat over medium height, (he) was an unusually handsome man and with great personal charm, of marked ability, and an eloquent speaker, with a sweet, clear voice, it is no wonder that . . . he should be regarded as one of the coming men of the new nation. He had been opposed to any radical reform of the Confederation, but convinced of his error he joined heartily in the work of the convention and as might be supposed, his support was heartily welcomed."

The Massachusetts state convention which ratified the Constitution was composed of 355 delegates, of whom forty-six were men from Maine. Most of these took no great part in the deliberations, having already made up their minds to accept the document for the most part. Seven Maine men, however, did speak. Five of them opposed ratification, one favored it and one suggested an adjournment. One of the most violent in opposition was the Revolutionary leader, General Thompson. However, when the vote was taken, most voted in the affirmative.

Perhaps the influence which helped in ratification was that of Captain Snow, a shipmaster of Harpswell. He was vehemently in favor and declared himself ready to punish those who opposed giving the United States the powers necessary for the proper conduct of the affairs of the new nation. The final vote tabulation is interesting: Maine counties; York, yeas 6, nays 11; Cumberland, yeas 10, nays 3; Lincoln, yeas 9, nays 7. Total for Maine, yeas 25, nays 21.

Because the influence of the men who had distinguished themselves in the Revolution was at first all-powerful, politics under the new government were early very quiet. John Hancock, the leader

of Massachusetts, and a most able man, was re-elected governor year after year without opposition. When in 1793 he died, politics awoke and have continued active ever since. The immediate subject of conflict was the French Revolution, a very controversial matter locally, and also, what the true principles of the government of the United States should be. The two subjects were closely related.

On one side stood the old Federalists who had supported a strong Federal constitution. They were so shocked and alarmed by the bloody French disturbances that they actually hoped for the triumph of the kings as against the people. It is clear that they did not want a real democracy anywhere, and least of all at home, for they considered it best that the government should be managed and controlled by the "wise and good," which is to say, a handful of educated, successful and propertied "gentlemen" whose conservative judgments the people should be glad to support since these leaders would, of course, always act with the view of the greatest good for the greatest number, even if such actions should be in part dictated by "self-interest." Opposed to these Federalists was the mass of the people who, characteristically, were neither conservative or propertied. These formed a party which is confusingly called either Democrats or Republicans; popular usage now limits the use of the term Republican to the present GOP which emerged just before the Civil War. These Democrats wanted all governmental affairs to be conducted strictly in accordance with the public will, which was to be determined from time to time, upon the good, old New England town-meeting method, as nearly as possible.

The Federalists included most persons of social position—lawyers, merchants, ministers and conservative people generally. The Democrats, who did have some lawyers and professional men, were particularly in Maine, made up of farmers and tradesmen and in general of the poorer, the radical and the discontented members of society. These generalities are not precise, for the political parties cut through the social system, what there was of it, more or less vertically. It is to be remembered, however, that even the Democrats of the time paid attention to personal merit as exemplified by social position, professional training and financial success. They, just as did the Federalists, were always careful, until the time of Jackson, to select their representatives among men of culture and position.

With the election of President Jefferson, certainly no rabble-rouser, in 1800, the Democrats took national power. Oddly enough, Jefferson, although no militarist soon found himself engaged in a war. This was the petty squabble with the Barbary pirates which began when the Pasha of Tripoli declared war against the United States in 1801. The actual conduct of the war is of little importance in the history of Maine, save for two points. First, its success gave freedom of the Mediterranean to American shipping—of which merchant marine ships from Maine were no inconsiderable part.

Second, the war was of interest locally because the American leader, Commodore Edward Preble, was a Portland man. Preble, who had entered the naval service of the United States, soon distinguished himself in naval operations off the Penobscot during the



closing years of the Revolution and really excited the admiration of the country in that brief but thrilling naval war in which the few warships of the United States swept the West Indies clear of the proud frigates of the French.

On the conclusion of the war with Tripoli, Preble returned to the United States and was received with honor by the President and Congress voted him a gold medal. British officers in the Mediterranean held Preble in the highest esteem and the Pope is reported to have declared that Preble with only a few ships and a handful of men had done more to advance the cause of Christianity in a short time than the most powerful nations of Christendom had accomplished in ages.

Preble, however, was not available for the War of 1812. His health, which had not been of the best, broke soon after his return home and he died on August 25, 1807, at the age of forty-six.

Another Maine man who distinguished himself in the war against the pirates was Lieutenant Henry Wadsworth, also of Portland. He was second in command of the daring expedition led by Commander Richard Somers. These two officers, with two small boats and thirteen men, as a means of escape, volunteered to raid the harbor of Tripoli and explode a captured ship which had been named the *Intrepid*. Somehow, the *Intrepid* blew up before reaching the designated spot and all on board perished. Although Lieutenant Wadsworth had a monument in his honor, his name is best remembered today as part of the poet's name, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, another native of Portland.

Returning to politics, Maine like Massachusetts was at first strongly Federalist but by 1805, the party strength had greatly waned. Perhaps this was due to the fact that the land policy of Federalist Massachusetts was considered unfair by many Maine citizens. For example, many settlers in Maine had occupied lands which they found empty although the title to these lands had been sold or given by Boston to various speculators. In some cases, as soon as the settlers had made considerable improvements, the Boston owners had the "squatters" evicted. In other cases, the absentee owners would neither sell or evict the "squatters" but were content to have the settlers continue to improve the lands, holding over the unfortunates the threat of ultimate eviction or of forced purchase. Maine in general felt that the General Court at Boston tended strongly to favor the absentee owners over the men who were in actual possession, particularly since it was clear to Maine minds that these owners had in many cases lost their rights to the lands in question by failing to fulfill the specifications of the original grants or deeds. This local interest, plus the general ebbing of the Federalist tide caused Maine to go Democratic in 1805.

Naturally, the Federalists, who were Maine men of wealth and influence, were greatly concerned and began to work feverishly to regain control of the District. The Democrats on their part, fought stoutly to hold and to increase their powers. Neither side "spared the horses." At the time, electioneering was held by general consent to a very high plane. Open party organization was considered disgrace-

ful. People, it was considered, should be allowed to make up their own minds and to vote without direct influence, let alone covert pressure. Newspapers and other forms of printed matter, could discuss affairs but only from the point of view of presenting information, as unbiased as possible, to help the voters learn the facts of the questions concerned. When politicians made personal efforts at persuasion, it was considered outrageous.

In 1806, the Democrats discovered and caused the Portland *Argus* to publish, a Federalist county committee circular which appointed a committee in each town, with each committee urged to make lists of all good Federalists and to employ them in persuading doubtful citizens to vote on the right side. The circular went so far as to declare: "As the success of these exertions for the public good in some measure depends upon secrecy, we therefore recommend to the town committee, to be silent even with Federalists and with the subcommittees on the subject of their connection with the county committee, in order that the exertions in every town may appear to originate in the said town. This is thought to be necessary in order to prevent jealousies and unfounded prejudices." This exposé caused a great stir; anger among the Democrats and consternation among the Federalists. However, it may be said that the Federalists would not have descended to such tactics had not similar activities on the part of the Democrats made it desirable.

The candidates in this campaign were Caleb Strong, Federalist, and James Sullivan, Democrat. Sullivan, although a Boston resident, had grown up in Maine and always held the interests of the District closely. He was an able lawyer, a scholar and by no means an extremist. It is of interest that in 1795 he published a history of the District of Maine and served as the president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1791-1806.

Election returns in those days of poor roads, if any, came in very slowly. Often weeks elapsed before the tally from remote sections arrived at Boston. Finally, the vote from Massachusetts proper was in and Federalist Strong led by a mere 4,233. Returns filtering in from Maine began to reduce this slight margin and the fear grew that Strong was defeated. The Boston Federalist newspaper, *Columbian Centinel*, went so far as to cry "The question now is, Shall the squatters of Maine impose a Governor on Massachusetts?" Papers were somewhat unrestrained in those days, of course. However, there were many Federalist votes, too, in Maine and the Boston Democratic paper the *Independent Chronicle*, took the *Centinel* to task sharply for its vulgarity in calling the good citizens of Maine squatters. The *Centinel* explained that by squatters it meant only those citizens of the District of Maine who had not been residents of Maine long enough to imbibe the principles of Massachusetts. Commentators on the Democratic side explained that this meant citizens who had not been in Maine long enough to become sufficiently wealthy to be Federalists.

Finally Strong was elected officially but by so small a margin that the General Court, largely Democratic, had to be restrained by the force of public opinion from refusing to accept the tally. The next year, so well did the Democrats work, Strong was turned out of



office and Sullivan was seated. Sullivan was re-elected again the following year but this time he had a Federalist General Court and Council.

The reason for this change in political fortunes was the fact that events were rapidly ripening towards war with England and everyone determined that a strong Federal government was needed to successfully cope with British indignities, especially those practiced upon American commerce and sailors. The Embargo of 1807, forbidding trade with the United States, put the lid on matters, for foreign trade was the mainstay of the prosperity of both Massachusetts and Maine.

Maine was particularly angry at Washington's interference with its commerce and various towns in Maine swelled the national chorus of opposition. Nor did the opposition stop with mere words but various tricks were developed to short-circuit the Embargo. Maine vessels could obtain clearances for commerce with other ports in the United States but, once at sea, they would become the victims of storms and so would be driven into, for example, ports in the West Indies, where they had to "sacrifice" their cargoes in order to obtain funds with which to carry out necessary repairs. And, even more than usual, there was a great amount of smuggling across the Canadian border. Eastport became a thriving center in this business as goods, particularly flour, were brought into Maine in enormous quantities and then, at night, or under cover of the frequent fogs, were slipped across the line into Canada. The British welcomed this contraband trade, provided free import regulations for American goods and even stationed armed vessels just over the Canadian side of the line to protect smugglers in Passamaquoddy Bay from being seized by United States revenue cutters.

Naturally, the American government objected to Eastport's booming trade. Military personnel were posted along the border to close smuggling by land and vessels were stationed in Passamaquoddy Bay to arrest any suspicious vessels on the American side; even the warship *Chesapeake* under the command of Commodore Decatur was sent to Eastport and officials were ordered to guard all known stocks of supplies to prevent them from being spirited away. However, the coastline is rugged and filled with opportunity for evasions by the natives who knew every inch of the bottoms and every trick of the tide and wind. Besides, the customs men, soldiers and other officials, who were sympathetic with the smugglers to begin with, could easily be persuaded for a consideration, to take a walk or a nap at any desired moment.

The Embargo Act was repealed eventually, because of pressure from New England but the Non-Intercourse act with England and France which was substituted was not of much help. American ships could once again clear for foreign ports and manage one way or another to risk trading in the forbidden port to their great risk but proportionate profit. Business thrived again in part but England and France being at war continued their series of outrages and insults against American ships and the War of 1812 came inevitably.

Opinion in Maine, as at Boston, and all New England for that matter, was divided on the matter of the war. Indeed, opposition was open and fervently expressed. Party lines were ignored and many a Federalist sided with the Democrats who opposed the hostilities because they greatly damaged the prosperity of New England, cutting off her commerce all but completely. Naturally, privateers thrived and many a Maine bottom returned to port with rich booty, just as some Maine ships never again made port. Such is the way of the sea.

One of the most outspoken leaders on the opposition side was Samuel Fessenden of Maine's New Gloucester, a Federalist stronghold. Addressing the General Court in 1814, he said, in part:

“ . . . the distress of the District of Maine was intolerable; the children were naked and barefoot, their families were deprived of bread for weeks together, and they were entirely dependent upon other parts for that article, and obliged to pay twenty-five cents for a permit to carry bread to their families. (He would take the sword in one hand, the State constitution in the other, and demand his rights; it was time to take our own rights into our own hands.) We ought to pass a law prohibiting any person stopping vessels going from one point to another; we ought to establish a custom house by law, and the sooner we come at issue with the general government the better.”

This same Fessenden was later one of the leaders in calling the nearly forgotten Hartford Convention—which was a meeting of delegates from most parts of New England, called for the purpose of finding means to obtain redress of their grievances against Washington. It has been alleged that the real purpose of the Hartford Convention was to propose secession from the United States but this assertion is not proven. Of the twelve delegates to the Convention from Massachusetts, two, Stephen Longfellow and Samuel S. Wilde, were residents of Maine. They were not radicals since both were able lawyers and refined and courteous gentlemen. Longfellow's chief distinction today, is that he was the father of the poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

It is not fair to leave the impression that all of Maine was opposed to the Federal government, however hard hit the District was by the Embargo and the other attempts made by Washington to adjust the difficulty with Great Britain.

During the Embargo, a county convention at Augusta endorsed the Embargo and the selectmen of York, Falmouth, Nobleborough and Poland refused to join the petition for relief, as did the town meetings of North Yarmouth, Parsonfield, Vassalborough, Waterville and Bangor. The towns of Brunswick, Waldoboro, Hebron and Camden did vote to request appeal but it was reported that the vote was carried mostly by comparatively slight margins with many voters not bothering to express their opinions.

The Hartford Convention was not too well supported in Maine, either. The vote against the Convention in Maine was much larger



proportionately than in Massachusetts proper, and the most vigorous speech against the Convention was made by John Holmes of Alfred. In answering Fessenden, above quoted, he denied the need of making an issue with the Federal Government and said: "... if the gentleman was to attempt such a thing in the District of Maine, which he came from, he knows the course which would be pursued against him; he would be taken before a judge of probate and put under guardianship."



*Approaching Moosehead Lake and Greenville*

The War of 1812 at first did not too greatly touch Maine, aside from the interference with her trade by sea, and from increased taxation. On September 5, 1813, a naval battle was fought in Maine waters between the United States brig *Enterprise* and the British brig *Boxer*. The American ship carried the day but it was with great difficulty that both ships, so badly damaged were they, could be brought into Portland. The two captains, the American, Lieutenant William Burrows, and the British, Commander William Blythe, were killed, as were four Americans and seven British. Portland buried the dead with honors to both sides. Portland gave a banquet to the officers of the *Enterprise*, with speeches, and a banquet to the crew, without any speeches.

By 1814, however, the War fell more heavily upon Maine. The British at first believed that New England could be seduced from the United States and so had spared her soil but, as it was now evident that New England would remain a part of the country whose independence she had helped win, the British resorted to certain mea-



tures. Maine ports were blocked with consequent distress and an expedition was sent against Eastport on Moose Island. Only eight men were garrisoned in the fort which defended the city and resistance was hopeless.

The British claimed that as Moose Island was part of New Brunswick, citizens must take an oath of allegiance to the Crown or else have their property confiscated and leave the island. A deputation of citizens requested Sir Thomas Hardy, the British commander, to defer the business of an oath but he replied that he had no choice since that was a part of his orders. He added, off the record, that the oath was to be regarded as one of neutrality rather than one of permanent allegiance to the Crown. With this sop, and with their property in the balance, most of Eastport did swear away their American citizenship—doubtless with unexpressed reservations.

Next a more serious invasion followed. Maine had, according to British ideas, taken over much territory under the Treaty of 1783 which was in reality British. So London instructed the British forces in New Brunswick to take over enough of Maine so there could be a direct land route from Halifax to Quebec. Specific instructions were given to occupy Maine as far south and west as the Penobscot.

Sir John Sherbrooke, Governor of Nova Scotia, accordingly sailed from Halifax in the summer of 1814, with 3,500 men, escorted by three 74s, two frigates, two sloops and a schooner, a really formidable force, since its objective was a very sparsely settled region incapable of self-defense and difficult to re-inforce from Boston save by sea—which sea the British Navy pretty well controlled.

It had been planned to make a beachhead at Machias but news was received which caused Sherbrooke to alter his plans. The American corvette *Adams*, a little wasp of a ship, had, after capturing several British vessels, managed to pile itself on the rocks of Isle au Haut. Captain Morris commanding the *Adams* is immortalized by the rocks where the wreck occurred being named Captain Morris' Mistake.

Morris hauled his ship off readily enough and managed to limp up the Penobscot to Hampden, some thirty-five miles, for repairs. Now, these little American ships, privateers, naval vessels and even merchantmen operating under letters of marque and reprisal, had so damaged and destroyed British commerce that influential merchants in London were clamoring for an end to the war and the consequent damage to their pocket-books. Indeed, these American privateers were one of the most important factors in winning the victory for America—if victory the conclusion may be called, for the Battle of New Orleans was fought after peace had been declared.

So Sherbrooke considered it well worth while to nab Morris and his ship and thus spared Machias and instead took Castine without trouble and dispatched a frigate and the 29th regiment to occupy Belfast. Then with a 74, three flank companies, a rifle company, and a portion of artillery, he sailed up the river in grand style to capture the outnumbered and ostensibly overawed Morris.

However, although Morris was certainly outnumbered, at least in so far as good fighting men were concerned, he was very far from



being overawed. Not only was his *Adams* a great prize for the British but there were two other merchant ships, the *Decatur* and the *Kutusoff*, lying at anchor in the stream near the *Adams*, so he determined he would do his best to cheat the red-coats of their prey. There was nothing to do but to stand and fight, for the only road out was the river and the British blocked that. Everywhere else was wilderness with a mere scattering of rude settlements.

Fortunately, the British expedition was delayed in making way up the Penobscot by contrary winds and it was not until September 2 that the transports and the naval escort managed to reach upstream towards Hampden. The British troops that numbered about 750 men, including a detachment of sailors, were promptly landed and threw Hampden and Bangor, further upstream, into panic. Both towns desired to surrender and so save houses from being burned and property from being confiscated.

Morris, forewarned, had urged Brigadier General Blake to come to the aid of the towns with as many militia as he could possibly gather. While waiting for this help, Morris, who had removed his artillery from the *Adams*, mounted them in two batteries which effectively closed the upstream advance of the British and this forced the British to land and take his positions by storm. Had *Adams* received adequate military support, the British would certainly have been beaten away without much difficulty.

On the evening of September 2, while the British were permitted to land without opposition, the big mistake of the battle; Morris, General Blake and the leading citizens of Hampden and Bangor sat in conference trying to determine what should be done. Most were heartily in favor of allowing the British to take over without opposition. Morris argued for a fight. Of course, it was believed by the citizenry that the British would favor their former policy of not antagonizing Federalists and so, if they merely claimed to be such, the British would be perfect gentlemen—they hoped. Then too, most of the five hundred and fifty militia who had appeared were unarmed and practically untrained. Indeed, most of them had never been under fire.

Morris offered to distribute all his ship's muskets and gunpowder, save what he needed for his guns, among the militia and he was certain that he could prevent the British from sailing upstream and so flanking the American position. Finally, General Blake determined to make a stand and during the evening formed his militia in a line facing the British forces. This line "extended easterly from the meeting house along the crest of Academy Hill toward the river." On the right flank was the Bangor artillery company with two four pounders and an eighteen-pounder carronade taken from the *Adams* and manned and supported by regulars from Castine, a mere handful of soldiers who arrived on the eve of the battle. These guns commanded a small brook, called Pitcher's Brook, which the enemy must cross to assault the American lines on the hill. On the left of the guns and extending down to the river, the militia were posted.

Unwisely, the American forces were kept on the alert all night, waiting, standing in the raw easterly wind and in the rain without

shelter of any kind. The British might, of course, have made a night assault, but the weather was thick and foggy so they did not risk an advance over unfamiliar ground until daylight. As they came within range of the American artillery, the British column was fired upon but the advance continued without check, formed under fire when the brook had been crossed by the single bridge (why the bridge had not been destroyed by the Americans is not known) and then charged the American position.

General Blake, remembering the success of Colonel Warren at Bunker Hill, had ordered his militia not to fire until they could see the white's of the eyes of the enemy but his raw men could not stand the strain of seeing the red-uniformed troops with fixed bayonets coming dashing towards them. Besides, the militia had passed a sleepless night, they were wet and cold and hungry—and they had never been in a battle before. So, the militia turned tail and ran back towards Bangor in great disorder. Three Americans had been killed and eleven were wounded. The British lost one soldier and one sailor.

This collapse of the militia left Morris in a hopeless position. He had maintained fire upon the British ships and so kept them downstream but, since he had given his muskets to the militia, his men at the batteries were unarmed save for their pikes and cutlasses. So he ordered his guns spiked, fired the *Adams* and commanded his men to follow the militia into the woods towards Bangor.

Reporting to the Secretary of the Navy, Morris wrote, in part “. . . We continued our retreat towards Bangor when we found and retired upon a road leading to the Kennebec . . . Perceiving it impossible to subsist our men in a body through a country almost destitute of inhabitants, they were ordered to repair to Portland as speedily as they might be able. The entire loss of our personal effects rendered us dependent on the generosity of the inhabitants between the Penobscot and the Kennebec for subsistence who most cheerfully and liberally supplied our wants to the utmost extent of their limited means. Our warmest thanks are also due to the inhabitants of Waterville, Augusta and Hallowell for their liberality and attention.” In his autobiography, written later, Commander Morris however speaks less kindly of the citizens of the Maine frontier towns, saying that some of them refused to give assistance.

Meanwhile, the runaway militia reached Bangor and characteristically hid their arms and their uniforms and so became peaceful citizens again. The British troops and fleet immediately continued on to Bangor and the town surrendered in haste. There was nothing else to do. The British demanded food and quarters immediately and received them, and the town settled down to see what was to be their punishment. Nothing drastic happened although the enemy did raid the post-office and seized all the money there and in a raid on the custom house, a quantity of merchandise, previously taken by the United States Government, was also taken over. All the vessels in the harbor were, of course, seized and plans were made to put the torch to two unfinished ships on the stocks. Since the wind was strong and thus the fire would probably have spread into and so consumed the town, the citizens promptly accepted an alternative the



British proposed—the Selectmen of Bangor posted a \$30,000 bond and promised to finish the two ships and to deliver them to the British at Castine the following month. This fear of the burning of the town also led to more or less ready compliance by the citizens to the British order to turn over all firearms. All of the prominent and most of the able-bodied citizens were informed that they were prisoners of war and would be released only if they gave their paroles. A total of 197 men took the oath not to fight against the British accordingly. Included in the number was General Blake. He had returned after the “battle” to his home in Brewer but, learning that the British were seeking him, he came to Bangor and surrendered.

All this the British accomplished by a mere thirty-hour holding of Bangor, plus a great amount of rudeness and considerable plundering. However, considering the customs of the time in respect to a victorious military detachment occupying a defenseless town in a prostrate territory, the British probably behaved very well. Possibly, the British policy of treating New England lightly in hope of supporting the Federalist party was something of a help to Bangor.

At Hampden, when a committee of townspeople waited upon Captain Barrie, commanding, and asked him to respect at least the common rights of humanity he replied, “I have none for you. My business is to burn, sink, and destroy. Your town is taken by storm, and, by the rules of war, we fought both to lay your village in ashes, and put its inhabitants to the sword.” The committee rushed a plea to General Sherbrooke, the British commander-in-chief, at Castine and he sent an order to Barrie not to burn Hampden without “dire necessity.”

But the British did, on September 5, burn the two merchant ships with their valuable cargoes. Morris’ guns, to prevent them from being repaired, were thrown into the river and, since the citizens had been either unable or unwilling to furnish all the supplies needed, on the 6th, the British moved down-stream to Frankfort where arms, ammunition and cattle were seized. Even so, not enough food to support the British was obtainable and so the forces withdrew out of the Penobscot and rejoined Sherbrooke at Castine. Sherbrooke thus had only one objective remaining to complete British control of Maine east of the Penobscot: this was his original target of Machias. He sent a force to the town and moved in without resistance.

From the American point of view, this much of Maine was hopelessly lost and it was feared that the British could easily extend their conquest to the Kennebec or even further south. Accordingly, American authorities resident in the area proposed that the British be confirmed in their occupation of Washington County in the hope that they would not drive further. The county Sheriff, John Cooper, with the support of the two American military leaders, General John Brewer and Colonel Campbell, proposed to General Sherbrooke, British commander, that the entire militia of the county surrender and be placed on parole. Sherbrooke, having carried out his orders, accepted.

General Sherbrooke, with about half of his troops, and Admiral Griffith, with most of the British fleet, soon sailed back to Nova Scotia

but they left General Gosselin in command of the Castine peninsula with Admiral Milne in command of a remainder of the British fleet, to support Gosselin and to provide transport for his men if evacuation should prove necessary.

The British did not fear any American counter-attack in strength but they prepared for trouble in event of any developments. Principally, some sixty or seventy cannon were mounted in various "forts;" the three principal ones being named to honor Generals Sherbrooke and Gosselin and Admiral Griffith. A trench had previously been dug across the neck of the peninsula, probably by Mowatt, and this was widened and deepened until its 1500 foot length was made into a canal ten feet or more in width. Probably this ditch was more to prevent desertion than for defense as the British army was always bothered both during the Revolution and the War of 1812 by its men deserting. The Americans, assured that the deserters were not spies usually welcomed them and allowed them to become settlers. The lure of free land and the hope of becoming free and independent citizens was of great enticement to the common British soldier—and sailor for that matter. Most of them came from beggarly homes; they were ill-treated by officers maintaining a brutal discipline, and they had little prospect of bettering their condition when their armed services was concluded—if they survived.

While the British thus dug in at Castine, all the rest of Maine was swept by constant alarms. Major General King at Bath called out his militia and began serious training of the recruits for he was determined to fight for the Kennebec. Major Sewall at Wiscasset did likewise. The specie was removed from the banks at Bath and Wiscasset and hidden safely, while families of means in both towns removed their most precious possessions, hiding them in the woods, and either went up-country immediately or organized means of fleeing to safety at the first alarm. Even Portland was greatly concerned. Some six or seven thousand of the militia of Cumberland and Oxford counties were called out and organized to defend the city under the command of Major General Alford Richardson. Guns were taken from a captured India-man, prey of a Maine privateer, and mounted on the *Boxer*, which had earlier been stripped of her own armaments. Fortifications were prepared on heights defending the town—indeed everything possible was done to make Portland so difficult a nut to crack that the British would be reluctant to assail the village. However, no raids came in a fortnight and so the militia were allowed to return to their farms and homes but ordered to stand ready to report for duty at a moment's notice. They were left undisturbed for the British, aside from a very few minor and local forays from Castine, remained quiet.

Maine has always had a somewhat different point of view on the matter of trade with Canada than, for example, states further from the border, and even if war between Great Britain and Canada did alter the situation, this trade continued to flourish. Profits were considerable and, just as Eastport did before the war, most Maine towns handy enough enjoyed prosperity. The United States government, although strict enough on many points, actually allowed much



of this smuggling to continue—for it brought badly needed materials from England into America.

As was the situation during the Revolution, Maine was politically a part of Massachusetts and thus it is difficult to express an opinion on the part that Maine men played in the war. Maine sailors certainly did their part in all the naval activities and Maine men were particularly active in the very effective part that American privateers played in bringing the war to a close at the behest of the badly injured London merchants.

As for military men, Maine furnished two brigadier-generals to the United States Army—John Chandler and Eleazer Wheelock Ripley Chandler, unquestionably a brave and competent officer, did little to distinguish himself and was so unfortunate as to be captured by the British at Stony Creek. An unlucky general is a bad general. Ripley was, in contrast, a lucky officer, for he and his brigade won a national reputation at Lundy's Lane and at Fort Erie. Of Ripley, Henry Adams wrote, ". . . although his record was singular in showing only patient, excellent and uniformly successful service" . . . he ". . . leaned toward caution while Brown and Scott thought chiefly of fighting. The combination produced admirable results but either officer alone might have failed."

With the British firmly seated at Castine and the rest of Maine, south of the Penobscot, still fearful of raids and even of attacks in force, the War ended on December 24, 1814, with the signing of the Treaty of Ghent. Few wars have been so undeterminate as this War of 1812 although it did establish the United States more firmly in the minds of the world's politicians as a nation ready to defend its rights internationally. Before the War, America had just been a string of rebel colonies which Great Britain would probably regain in the course of time. The War of 1812 demonstrated that the United States was, on the contrary, a real nation and one destined for greatness. So far as Maine was concerned, the Treaty gave back the territory that General Sherbrooke had seized and the Passamaquoddy Bay Commission, previously mentioned in this chapter, was appointed to determine the boundary dispute which had continued ever since the Treaty of 1783.

### 3. MAINE SEPARATES FROM MASSACHUSETTS

Once a sufficiently large number of settlers had entered Maine to make the future state economically self-supporting, talk began of separating from Massachusetts. It was commonly felt that the interests of Maine were not always paramount in the decisions of the General Court. By the close of the Revolution, the problem of separation was open and widely discussed.

In 1784 the *Falmouth Gazette*, the first newspaper in Maine, was established and although it may not be true that, as alleged, the paper was founded for the purpose of agitating separation, the paper did immediately start propaganda to that end. The paper was generous with its limited space and published many editorial pieces urging that Maine break away from Massachusetts and stand on its own feet.

Mr. Daniel Davis, one of the writers, reported in 1795 on the agitation:

“Clergymen, physicians, lawyers, and farmers seemed engaged in accelerating the event. They all employed both their pens and their private influence, in convincing their fellow citizens of the propriety and advantages of becoming a distinct member of the Union. At the time I now speak of, there were also a number of respectable opposers of this measure. These, generally speaking, were either those gentlemen who were concerned in trade, and feared an interruption in their commercial connections, or such as held office under the government, and feared the consequences of a new appointment. In this, as in most other cases of political experiment, the opinion of each party was decided by a prospect of their own, rather than the public interest. To this, however, there were doubtless some exceptions.”

In keeping with the spirit of the times, which was before the birth of political violence so familiar today, the discussion proceeded very quietly and all taking part acted as gentlemen. And of course, some of the leaders of the separation movement, were “good” Federalists as well as being prominent socially. They had no wish to offend local friends and acquaintances and they certainly did not care to upset relations with friends, business associates and political leaders in Boston. After all, Maine was a part of Massachusetts and a business man, who hopes to continue in business, cannot stand up and criticise too vehemently the government of his own state—particularly when its members are personal friends and associates.

Most of the people of Maine were completely indifferent at first, save for the few whose interests were directly concerned. Some settlers felt that the General Court did not treat them fairly in the matter of land titles, for example. Some citizens of course were inconvenienced by the seat of government being as far away as Boston (then as much as a week’s journey) but no one was really oppressed. So, in general, the District of Maine thought that separation from Massachusetts was a good idea but most people did not bother to try to do anything about it.

However, the leaders of the separation movement feared that their hopes would just wither away in mere talk and so it was determined that some real action must be taken. Maine had no legislature or executives to bring about action and the only means of accomplishing much was to call a mass meeting of everyone interested. So a mass meeting was called, in accordance with the following notices that appeared in the *Falmouth Gazette* of September 17 and October 1, 1785:

“Agreeable to a request made and signed by a large and respectable number of persons to the printer of this *Gazette*, the inhabitants of the three counties of York, Cumberland and Lincoln are hereby notified that so many of them as are inclined or can conveniently attend, are requested to





*Scenes in Baxter State Park*



meet at the Meeting House of the Revd. Messrs. Smith and Deane in Falmouth, on Wednesday, the fifth day of October next, to join in a conference then and there to be held on the proposal of having the said counties erected into a separate government; and, if it should be thought best, to form some plan for collecting the sentiments of the people on the subject, and pursue some orderly and regular method of carrying the same into effect."

This proposal seems decent and decorous enough and certainly the conduct of the thirty-three gentlemen from the three Maine Counties of York, Cumberland and Lincoln who answered the call was propriety itself. William Gorham of Gorham was chosen president and Stephen Longfellow, Jr., of the same town, secretary; while General Wadsworth was made chairman of a committee of seven, empowered to circularize all Maine towns and plantations, requesting that delegates be sent to a convention to be held at Falmouth on the first Wednesday of January, 1786. The convention was to deliberate upon the proposal of separation "and if, after mature and orderly consideration, it should appear to them expedient, to pursue some orderly and regular method of carrying the same into effect."

Boston arose in indignation at the very idea; authorities considered the actions of the men of Maine as practically treasonable. Governor Bowdoin, for whom Bowdoin College at Brunswick is named, was unanimously urged by his Council to bring the matter to the attention of the General Court and, in addressing the Court, he said that the proposal was "a design against the Commonwealth of very evil tendency, being calculated for the purpose of effecting the dismemberment of it." The General Court replied that "attempts by individuals or bodies of men to dismember the State are fraught with improprieties and danger." The Court also appointed a committee to bring a bill into the next session which would make clear the allegiances due to Massachusetts by its citizens, describing acts which amounted to a renunciation of such allegiance "and so constructed as most effectually to secure the Commonwealth against the ill consequences of any attempt to dismember the same."

Maine men were not disturbed by the blast from Boston and the convention met at Falmouth as called, with Gorham and Longfellow again appointed as president and secretary. After some difficulty with organization, particularly over credentials and methods of voting, a committee of nine drew up a statement of grievances:

"1. that the interests of the two communities were different, and that Massachusetts did not understand, and therefore could not promote, those of Maine; 2. and 3. the distance of the seat of government, and the consequent inconveniences; 4. the expense of obtaining justice, since all the records of the Supreme Court were kept in Boston; 5. the unjust and unequal operation of the regulations of trade, which depressed the price of lumber, the chief industry of Maine; 6. the denial of representation in the House of Representatives to



a great part of the inhabitants of these counties (much of Maine was at the time not organized into townships and thus could not send delegates to the General Court); 7, 8 and 9; an unjust system of taxation of polls and estates, an undue burden by reason of the excise and impost acts, and the unequal incidence of the tax on deeds, on account of the smaller value of land conveyed and its more frequent conveyance."

This list of grievances was accepted by the convention and the secretary directed to send it to all towns and plantations in the District of Maine, together with the suggestion that the towns take care to elect representatives to the General Court in order to obtain as loud a voice as possible at Boston. The convention also requested that at the regular March elections, each town and plantation in the District elect delegates to another separatist convention to be held at Falmouth on the first Wednesday of the following September "to consider the grievances the inhabitants of Maine labor under, and adopt and pursue some orderly and peaceable measures to obtain relief."

Instead of dissolving with this work accomplished, the convention merely adjourned until the following September, when both the old and the new conventions duly assembled—some men being naturally members of both. The second convention elected the officers of the first as the officers of the second and then the two conventions united into one. The convention then considered the grievances as previously declared, found some fault with the statement and then added that there were other grievances which demanded the serious consideration of the convention, but that "they could not, at that time, undertake to enumerate the multiplicity of them."

And then, the convention declared that the only redress of the many grievances was separation from Massachusetts. To bring this about the convention proposed that it present a petition for separation to the General Court and at the same time, issue an address on the subject to the people of Maine.

The petition sent to Boston was a moderate and respectful document, very carefully prepared. It was declared that the citizens of the District of Maine were both loyal and law-abiding citizens of Massachusetts, but, owing to the fact that the District was separated from Massachusetts by the State of New Hampshire, and that the District was remote from the seat of Government at Boston, Maine labored under difficulties which, the petitioners declared, could only be removed by the erection of the District of Maine into a separate State. Accordingly, the petitioners believed it a duty which they owed to themselves, to their brethren in the other part of the State, and to the United States, to ask the General Court, "in a peaceful and dutiful manner to consent to the erection of Maine into a separate government." The petitioners also declared that they did not expect to throw off their share of the weight of the public debt or to prevent the other part of the Commonwealth from having its just proportion of the unappropriated lands "but

like friends and brethren, most ardently wish to have all matters adjusted upon the broadest basis of equity and fair dealing."

The address sent by the convention to the people of the District of Maine was a much more ardent document, for some of the language employed was unrestrained if not, considering the gentlemanly customs of the times, all but revolutionary. The document pointed out that the two conventions had carefully considered the question of separation from Massachusetts and then continued, saying in part ". . . You feel yourselves distressed and your distress will increase until you legislate for yourselves. In this there is no great difficulty. Government is a very simple and easy thing. Mysteries in politics are mere absurdities—invented entirely to gratify the ambition of princes and designing men—to aggrandize those who govern at the expense of those who are governed."

The sharp variation between the petition to the General Court and the address to the people of the District of Maine fairly represents the sharp split in the District of Maine. As previously outlined, this split was caused by the growth of the Democrats who were attempting to take control of the District away from the Federalists. The Massachusetts General Court was heavily Federalist and hence the petition was very moderate in tone. The address to the people of Maine was addressed to ordinary people and particularly those who labored under grievances—hence were Democrats and, as such, impatient with the moderation and formalism of the Federalists. Indeed the two documents were masterpieces of propaganda for the times. The same split was evident in Massachusetts proper itself—for this was the period when the farmers in the western part of the state were so hard-pressed for money and so badly treated by the moneyed interests in Boston that the abortive Shays' Rebellion climaxed the trouble.

Maine managed to follow the moderate course. In fact, the moderates in the Falmouth Convention were powerful enough to delay the actual presentation of the petition to the General Court. Taking advantage of the fact that many convention members were a little shy of actually coming to grips with the General Court, the moderates jammed through the following vote ". . . that as there has been a number of respectable towns in the counties of York, Cumberland and Lincoln, that have not yet certified to this convention their determination of a separate State, and as the Commonwealth in general is at this time in a perplexed state, and this convention being unwilling to do anything that shall seem to lay a greater burden on the General Court, therefore it is the opinion of this convention to postpone petitioning for separation at present."

The leftish members of the convention were much displeased at this weakness, considering forbearance mere foolishness in that it threw away the golden opportunity of wringing from the fears of the General Court what the District might be unable to obtain in a period of calmer judgment. So, these Democrats after "a long and acrimonious debate" won reconsideration by a vote of two more than half. However, the moderates were powerful enough to block a motion of direct and immediate presentation of the petition to the



General Court and had such presentation left in the hands of a committee with authority to make the presentation at their own selection of time. This committee probably was appointed so that the moderates were in control, for the presentation was not made for more than two years, after both the convention and the agitation which had caused its being had passed away. The General Court very quietly tabled the petition and it died peacefully.

Despite the inflammatory language of the address to the people of Maine, the vote on separation that was requested proved very disappointing indeed, since only 970 of the citizens of the District bothered to vote—618 in favor of separation and 352 against it. This was all but fatal to the separatists' hopes. The agitation for the adoption of the United States Constitution in 1787 gave still another blow, because a strong central government would remove some of the grievances of the District against the State. The effect of this was apparent in the very poorly attended subsequent conventions, for only three persons attended the final meeting. Thus the separatist convention "expired not only with a groan, but without a single mourner to weep over its remains."

However the movement did result in benefits for the District. Seeking to "cool the separatist fever" the General Court promptly stirred itself into action and passed several bills which benefited the District. "Wild lands were exempted from taxation for ten years after the execution of the State's deed to grantees. The fee-bill, so much the occasion of popular discontent, was revised. The law for the relief of poor debtors committed to prison, was so amended as to require rooms to be furnished them, separate from criminals. Two roads were ordered to be laid out at the public expense: one between the heads of the tide in the Kennebec and the Penobscot rivers, and the other between Penobscot and Passamaquoddy bays. Every permanent inhabitant settled upon any of the public lands before the year 1784 was to be quieted by a deed of one hundred acres, as best to embrace his improvements, on his payment of the trifling sum of five dollars. A term of the Supreme Court for the first time, and an additional term of Common Pleas and Sessions, were established at Pownalborough (Dresden) in 1786, and in March of 1787 one term of the lower court was established at Hallowell (Augusta), and one at Waldoborough. The Secretary of State was also directed to publish the laws of the Commonwealth in the *Falmouth Gazette*."

However, the separatists were far from satisfied and, despite these discouragements continued working away. In 1792 they had a vote taken by the District on separation, to test public sentiment and, while votes in favor totaled 2084 and votes against totaled 2438, there was encouragement in the large size of the vote. Then, in 1795, another convention of delegates from York, Cumberland and Lincoln counties was called and the entire argument for and against separation was aired. The convention apparently devoted most of its time to disproving arguments which had been brought against separation. Maine was really able to bear the expense of a State Government, it was asserted, and the charge that Maine did not have

sufficient men of adequate ability to manage a State was emphatically denied. Much difficulty had been made over the allegation that separation would harm the very lucrative coasting trade between Maine's ports and Boston but this, too, was denied vigorously. Education was cited as a very important reason for separation. As a part of Massachusetts, Maine was obliged to maintain public schools but this proved to be a crushing burden for some of the smaller Maine towns. Consequently, the law was poorly enforced but still the law was on the books and it could be invoked at any time to the hardship of many Maine taxpayers. If Maine was a separate state, it was pointed out, the school laws could be made more fair to the smaller towns by, for example, the State assuming a portion of the financial charges. Another vote was sought on separation and once again the separatists lost.

In 1803, sixty towns did join in a petition for separation but nothing was done officially. On July 7, 1804, the *Eastern Argus*, a stout Republican paper, published a letter from a correspondent, saying, "The time is certainly arrived when Maine should be an independent state in the Union. Will not some able pens be employed in freeing us from dependence on a *Distant Territory*, whose capital seems to be devoted to corruption, degradation and ruin." In 1807 another vote was taken on separation but the movement was overwhelmingly defeated.

Soon after 1810, although little was done for some time about separation save to talk about it, the picture changed abruptly by the development of five outstanding political leaders. The eldest of these was General Chandler—the other four were John Holmes, William King, Albion Keith Parris and William Pitt Preble. These were to be the central powerhouse of Maine politics in the period then opening.

General Chandler was the sturdy old oak of Maine Democrats. Born at Epping, New Hampshire in 1762, when but fifteen he enlisted in the Continental Army and served two terms, after which he joined the crew of a privateer. His ship was captured off the Carolinas but, when brought into Savannah as a prisoner, he managed to escape and walked all the way home to New Hampshire alone. After the Revolution, he moved into Maine "at the head of a party of his neighbors and commenced a settlement in Wales, afterward incorporated into the township of Monmouth." Despite his youth, Chandler became the first citizen of his community serving at one time or another in all the plantation offices and then as town selectman and clerk after incorporation. When the town was given a postoffice in 1794 he was appointed postmaster and held that office continuously for twenty-five years. He represented the Federal Government in the Census of 1790 and was twice employed as revenue collector of the United States direct tax. Principally he was active in local politics, representing his town in the General Court and then going on to Congress. In 1808 he resigned from Congress to become high sheriff of Kennebec County, an office particularly important at the time. He faced a difficult job for his predecessor had, or so it was alleged, practiced various forms of extortion on poor debtors and there was a great amount of trouble brewing over the serious friction between



the settlers and the absentee proprietors, who claimed the lands the settlers had improved. An honest and resolute man was needed to adjust the situation, for the settlers were forming groups to stop the service of writs and to drive away surveyors employed to fix boundaries of various properties. Chandler succeeded in persuading the citizens to cease their opposition to the execution of legal process and did what could be done legally to help settlers facing eviction.

Of course such an active man was interested in military matters, for every man on the frontier in those days was a soldier of necessity. His unfortunate experiences in the War of 1812 have been recounted. As a Democrat he took a very active part in the drive for separation from Massachusetts and when separation finally became a fact, he was first elected president of the Senate of Maine and then sent on to Washington as a Senator from Maine. Serving until 1829, he resigned to become collector of customs at Portland, a post he held for eight years. He refused an appointment as collector at Boston and a third appointment at his old job in Portland, retiring from official life although still continuing to be a war-horse of the Democratic party. He died at Augusta, September 25, 1841, at the age of 79.

George F. Talbot, Maine Historical Society, writes of Chandler:

“It would be difficult to find among our public men a single one whose career has been fuller of romantic adventure, varied fortune, privation and labor on one hand, and public honor and political and business success upon the other, or whose life has passed in more varied, useful and conspicuous service. The orphan soldier when a mere lad, the naval hero suffering the horrors of pestilent imprisonment, the pioneer settler battling for fortune with the snows and woods of a northern wilderness, the trusted military leader, the faithful executive officer, the judicial and impartial magistrate, the senator in the counsels of a great nation—he had acted in all these characters and filled all these public places, and left them with the confidence of his fellow-citizens and an integrity never questioned.”

The second man to be important in the separation of the District of Maine was John Holmes. Born at Kingston, Massachusetts, in March of 1773 and admitted to the Massachusetts bar after graduation from Brown, he discovered that Maine offered a good opportunity for energetic and enterprising young lawyers about 1799, and located at Alfred. Land titles in the District were much disputed and Mr. Holmes was forthwith employed by the great proprietors to enforce their claims against what they considered squatters. Holmes faced many delicate points of law and was instrumental in obtaining decisions on many vital legal questions which established a very important body of precedent for the Maine courts. Thus he obtained an excellent practical and intimate knowledge of real estate law, and as his clients were all men of means, in contrast to the impoverished squatters, substantial fees.

Being a lawyer, Holmes began to take an active part in politics once his practice was well established. A vigorous Federalist, he

was twice sent to the Massachusetts General Court and endeared himself to his party in 1810 by publishing verses in which he accused the Democrats of York County of relying upon rum to swing the election. In addition, his verses provided the Federalists with plenty of ammunition for political campaigns in the sharp satires he wrote featuring the Democratic leaders.

But, in 1811, he sharply changed his party allegiance and became himself a Democrat because, as Willis in his "History of the Law, the Courts and the Lawyers of Maine," wrote, it was impossible for a Federalists to obtain public office in either the town of Alfred or in York County. Naturally, political opponents lost no time in accusing Holmes of tergiversation and he was often called "The Duke of Summersetts." But, in 1813, the County of York sent him to the Massachusetts Senate, where he led the opposition to the calling of the Hartford Convention. Then, after failing of re-election, he was appointed, as previously mentioned, to the British-American Commission to determine the ownership of the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay. After this he was elected from the District to Congress in 1816 and again in 1818.

When Maine became a state, Holmes shared with Chandler the honor of being one of her first Senators, and he retained the seat, with the exception of a single term, until 1833. By that time, although Maine was Democratic, Holmes had become a Whig and his days of leadership were over. Alfred, however, sent him to the Legislature for two terms and, in 1841, President Harrison made him United States District Attorney for Maine, an office which he continued to hold until he died on July 7, 1843.

Although a very successful attorney, Holmes was more the clever politician and advocate than the statesman and jurist. His chief characteristic seems to have been his ready wit for he had few equals in keenness of repartee and power of ridicule. As a matter of fact, this quality, while it could be a powerful weapon in court—so far as a jury was concerned—was at times injurious to him. He never failed to break into his legal discourse when the opportunity offered itself to tell a humorous story or to shoot a few barbed shafts into the hide of his opponent. This served to distract the attention of the jury and so, weaken his argument and cost him not only popularity but also, at times, his case. He was also distinguished for his arrogance and this, together with his weather-vane political allegiances, doubtless doubly earned his nickname as the "Duke of Summersetts."

Nevertheless, despite his faults, he was an able lawyer and a powerful politician. It was said that he could manage York County as easily as he could swing a cat by the tail and he was equally successful in the politics of the entire District.

The third, and probably the ablest of the group of men who took Maine into their hands, was General William King of Bath, a younger half-brother of Rufus King. Personally he was distinguished by a noble personality and habitually wore a majestic air of command. When not pre-occupied, he was markedly kindly and charitable but



when occupied with an objective, he drove himself and everyone hard, riding roughshod over everything and everybody that stood in his way.

Unfortunately, he was denied the education his brothers, Rufus and Cyrus, received at Harvard and Columbia. He was intended for business rather than a profession, as were his brothers, and so the elementary schools were thought sufficient. This worked out to be an injustice, for if he had had a reasonable amount of culture, he would have doubtless been a national figure. As it was, his strong mind and his stronger character were constantly handicapped by his poor English and poorer grammar. As a general and as a governor, he was constantly exposed to ridicule.

He began his business life as a "hand" in a sawmill but before long, by the harsh exercise of Yankee thrift and the less common Yankee trait of "chancing" his savings, he soon became owner of the mill. Still a saving man, he invested his funds in various enterprises, such as general stores at various points, allowing his partners, who also put up money, to do the actual work while he supervised the management.

He became interested in land speculations and at one time owned large areas, including what is now the town of Kingfield, in Franklin County, named for him. Farms were picked up when the price was right and he grew large crops of apples and of potatoes, which he shipped abroad to his profit. When a toll bridge across the river at Topsham was built, he turned up as one of the proprietors and when the first cotton mill in Maine was built at Brunswick, he was both an incorporator and the principal proprietor. While living at Topsham, he found time somehow to build five vessels, and, after removing to Bath, he built four more ships and five more brigs. Besides this he purchased other ships and directed a really important merchant fleet in foreign trade, particularly with the West Indies—where Maine lumber and farm products found a great market, just as the molasses he brought home found a good market in the making of rum.

King began his political career, aside from local duties, when but twenty-seven years of age, being sent to Boston to represent Topsham in the General Court. After establishing himself at Bath, he served more years as a representative and finally as senator. As the times dictated, he became a commissioned officer in the militia in addition to his civilian duties and it was soon evident that this strong-willed and extremely capable man, despite his poor education, was a good man to have in charge of public affairs. He served constantly on various committees and although everyone knew that when General King was put on a committee he soon became *the* committee, his fellow citizens considered that to be an excellent state of affairs.

This stalwart citizen endeared himself to the entire District by his forcing through the General Court the so-called Betterment Act by which squatters, if evicted, could obtain compensation for the improvements they had made, or, if the proprietor chose, purchase the land in question at its value before improvement. Value in either case, if question arose, was to be fixed by a jury of men in the neigh-



borhood. This, naturally was a very happy solution of the vexing problem from the point of view of the common man in the District. King also won popularity by effecting the passage of a law which exempted anyone from taxation for the support of the minister of his town, provided he was a member of a religious body other than the established one. This had been a very sore point for many



*Salmon Falls Gorge, Saco River, Before Filled by Dam*

years with many Maine people for, under Massachusetts law, every citizen was taxed to support the Congregational minister. There were Maine people who were not Congregationalists and they naturally disliked paying hard-earned money to support a clergyman whose church they did not approve.

King was immediately rewarded for services to his District. A new military district was established as the War of 1812 approached and although King was in no way qualified by experience to assume the office, he was placed in command with the high rank of Major-General. During the war, King proved to be a good leader and gave freely of both his time and his own money in doing what he could to protect the coast against the British raiders. Naturally enough, he was charged with violating the Embargo and also with trading



with the enemy, serious charges for an officer who was of necessity under oath. The General made a powerful defense, the core of which seems to have been that the very men who were accusing him were themselves repeatedly guilty of the very same crimes they had alleged against him. The fact is that in all probability everyone in Maine who owned ships, or controlled them, violated the Embargo as a matter of course and traded with the enemy whenever opportunity offered—or could be found. Everyone in the District and in the State of Massachusetts as well was a smuggler if he could be—an inheritance of the old days when trade was openly carried on with the French in Canada and in Europe in defiance of British laws. So the verdict is probably the old Scotch one of “not proven.”

Being the wheel horse of the District's Democrats, King took a very prominent part in the movement for separation from Massachusetts and, as his reward, was elected the first governor of the State of Maine. He resigned to become a Commissioner of Spanish Claims, also holding the office as Collector at Bath. In 1835, he accepted the Whig nomination for Maine's governor but was badly beaten. This was his last essay in public life and, although he lived for seventeen years more, dying at the age of eighty-four, his closing years were sad; domestic and financial troubles afflicted him as his body and mind both failed. He was buried in June of 1852 with the highest honors, military, Masonic and civil and the State marked his grave with a granite monument. Other monuments were subsequently built and the chapel at Bowdoin College was named in his honor but he failed of an honor he wanted greatly. Other Maine counties, such as Waldo and Knox had been named for men of lesser services than his and, when in 1854 a new county, of which Bath was named the county-seat, was organized, he expected the county to be named for him. However, the Maine Legislature chose the name of Sagadahoc, the old Indian label.

Another member of the early group of ruling politicians, the man who followed King as governor of Maine, was Albion Keith Parris. No two men could be more unlike in character and personality. King, able, vigorous and forthright, never shunned a fight and always endeavored to crush all opposition. In consequence he was loved, admired and respected by his friends and feared and hated by his opponents—of which, especially in his later years, there were very many. Parris, perhaps lacking in brilliance, was distinguished by practical common-sense.

Noted for a very sensitive nature, which shrank from the rough-and-tumble abuse of politics, he carried his career along by avoiding positive statements whenever possible, by not taking sides on a question until he knew which position was most likely to win, by claiming credit for successes due to less prominent workers, and by placing the blame for failures on the shoulders of others—or at least, that is what his opponents alleged. Possibly because of this political smoothness, he became one of the most popular men the State has ever known; more children were named for him than any other man, with the exception of Blaine. Whatever his lack of talents and of character may have been, he was industrious, careful



and honest and so filled every office confided to him with credit. The *Kennebec Journal* in an obituary said. "Judge Parris was a man of good, sound sense, urbane in his manners, patient and obliging in the duties of his office. He had no brilliant qualities, though he made a respectable judge. He had no enemies and enjoyed to an unusual degree the good will of all."

Parris spent most of his life in public office, for within three years of his graduation from Dartmouth in 1806 at the age of eighteen, he was elected county attorney of Oxford. He then served with credit in the Massachusetts General Court and went on to serve two terms as Congressman. Appointed United States judge for the District of Maine, he took an active part in the movement for separation from Massachusetts and served five terms as Governor of the New State, following General King. Then, after a brief spell as United States Senator, he resigned to accept appointment as an Associate Justice of the Maine Supreme Court but, in 1836, he became Second Comptroller of the United States Treasury, an office he held until 1849. Portland chose him for its Mayor in 1852 and then in 1854 he committed political suicide by standing as Democratic candidate for Governor. He was nominated for the office by the anti-prohibition forces who hoped that Parris' popularity and the fact that he was a total abstainer, would win back to Democratic ranks the men who had left the party on the temperance issue. This was a mistake, for the temperance group found their principles stronger than any partiality for Parris. This was the first and only time that Parris lost a contest. He died suddenly in 1857, aged seventy-nine, ending a life which could have been really great but was actually one in which he had sought the safer levels of as little difficulty as possible.

The fifth member of Maine's first junta was William Pitt Preble, as great a contrast to Parris as Parris was to King. All the other members of the ruling clique were men of great popularity and held office of all degrees all but continuously. Preble repelled rather than attracted respect and admiration, and certainly defeated any attempt he may have made towards popularity—if he ever demeaned himself in that way. George F. Emery in his "Reminiscences of Bench and Bar" says of Preble. ". . . The impression left of him was that he was remarkable for the strength and vigor of his intellectual powers, and his self-reliance. He paid little deference to the authority of decided cases, when conflicting with his own views of the law, and his mannerism on such occasions was more supercilious than gracious. He appeared to better advantage in arguing to the court . . . than the jury, and despised everything that squinted at fishing for game. His power of invective was almost fearful. Such a man could win respect for his ability, but was not adapted to win popular favor or a large clientage." The *Kennebec Journal* said, similarly, "He is indeed the Van Buren of Maine, and though with far less talents and still farther less popularity, he was a powerful agent in directing the wheels, though he dare not be seen to touch them himself."

Such a man, as might be expected, served the public not so much through elective office as through appointive ones. He served for



eight years on the supreme bench and he was appointed Minister to the Hague. He added to the public debt by his services during the struggle over the north-east boundary and the last years of his life were dedicated to obtaining direct railroad communication between Portland and Montreal. There were great difficulties to be mastered in this project but he lived to see the road completed to Montreal and even extended on westward to Lake Huron. Probably his greatest accomplishments were behind the scenes for he was a very shrewd and competent political manager and beyond question, one of the most influential men in his time in the District and in the State.

These five political leaders are described at some length, not only because they were the men who in large part were responsible for the political philosophy of Maine, and the history of the years comprising the first third of the nineteenth century, but they were the men who were responsible for the separation of the District of Maine from the State of Massachusetts.

Just as national events, such as the formation of the United States out of the Confederation had led to the defeat of the first moves in the District of Maine for separation, the Hartford Convention and the War of 1812 worked to greatly support separation. Maine was very fervently loyal to the United States and although Maine men did attend the Hartford Convention, the entire District was exasperated that such a business was even considered. Massachusetts, of course, was blamed by the District for placing Maine in a disloyal position and, to put feelings in a word, Maine was "exasperated." The towns of Oxford County met in convention and called for a meeting to consider separation from Massachusetts "because Maine should be a part of Massachusetts only so long as Massachusetts gave support to the Union." Conventions in Kennebec and Somerset counties passed similar resolutions.

By 1814, the separatists were well organized under the leadership of the five men previously described. Plans were made to have a vote taken to determine the exact sentiment in the entire State, not the District alone as previously, and in Portland, the proprietors of the *Argus*, a separatist organ, worked to increase circulation so as to make their propaganda more effective in winning votes for the plan. Petitions of one kind or another were repeatedly sent to the General Court, and Boston politicians reported to their opposite numbers in the District of Maine that the General Court was about ready to give the matter "benevolent consideration." Marl L. Hill, a friend of William King, wrote to the latter, "The Federalists in the Senate are remarkably polite. They appear extremely anxious to know what the exertions are towards a separation, and if we may judge from appearances, Mr. Otis and others are willing to get rid of us."

On February 26, 1815, Senator Albion K. Parris of Oxford introduced a resolution for separation. After committee hearings, the Senate by a vote of seventeen to ten determined that "it was not expedient to pass these resolves."

This reversal of opinion on the part of the Federalists, who controlled the upper house of the General Court, astonished the Maine Democrats, who had had every reason to anticipate Federalist affirmatives. Doubtless the Federalists shifted because of political expediency.

Massachusetts was Federalist, by and large, and Maine Democratic. This fact had forced the Boston Federalists to be rather moderate in their actions in order to prevent the Maine Democrats from joining with Massachusetts Democrats to such an extent that the Federalists would lose control of the General Court. Since the population of Maine had been growing much more rapidly than that of Massachusetts, the Federalists felt that the situation would grow worse instead of better, so far as their voting strength was concerned. “. . . the unprincipled majority in Maine effecting a junction with their natural allies in Massachusetts proper, will finally endanger, if not overthrow, the literary, religious and political institutions of the State.”

Indeed, as the *Boston Daily Advertiser* editorialized, “It has been apprehended that there would be such an increase of the population of the District as that the question would be, according to the current phrase, not whether we should set them off, but whether they would set us off—and that possibly the seat of government might be removed to some place in the District.” Even in Maine equally unreasonable fears were expressed, as in the *Argus*, April 25, 1816, “As Federalist Massachusetts would gladly be divorced from Republican Maine, a Boston representative may cause us to be separated at any moment, without a cent of the million and a half of money in the treasury, without any consideration for our expense in building the State House, and State prison, or without an acre of the Eastern land at our disposal.”

Actually, however, Boston took remarkably little interest in the matter of losing Maine. The *Boston Advertiser* said, “The truth of the matter is that the question of separation of the District of Maine . . . has not excited much interest in this part of the Commonwealth. It actually occasioned less discussion in the legislature than a petty dispute about moving a half-penny turnpike gate. The District has been considered as a sort of nursling, whose support cost more than its services were worth. The peculiar situation of that country has been such as to give us a great deal of trouble, and to compel us in some instances to make general laws such as never would have been found expedient or just had they been legislated only for Massachusetts proper. The citizens of this Commonwealth generally have felt a sort of pique occasioned by the clamour for separation in the District, and have said, ‘if these people think they are oppressed, and are so anxious to get away from us, we can do very well without them; let them take their own course, run and be glorified.’ ”

Small wonder then that the Maine politicians were astonished at the Federalist defeat of the petition for separation. The reason seems to have been two-fold. First, Maine being Democratic, as a new state would have still further increased the representation of



that party in the United States government—and that the Federalists at Boston did not want. Second, the “Ohio fever” was by then raging in Maine. Farmers weary of fighting the thin, stony soil, and the bitter winters, were being attracted like bees to honey by tales of the deep loam and the amazing fertility of the Ohio Territory. So Maine was losing its citizens while, at the same time, Massachusetts had suddenly begun to increase more rapidly in population. So, in Boston’s opinion “there no longer was any danger of the wise and good being deprived of their position by the backwoodsmen of the District of Maine.”

However, the determined Maine politicians were by no means ready to accept defeat. Indeed, they were all the more ready to fight on with greater vigor and stubbornness. So they caused the various divisions of the Districts to petition the General Court again and petitions accordingly flooded into Boston. The General Court could not but be impressed by this evidence of the desires of Maine for independence and accordingly the legislature set May 20th next as the day on which the people were to vote on the question of separation. That date was selected rather than adding the matter to the ballot on the regular election day so as to remove the question of separation from contamination by any other issues. The battle for separation was thus transferred from Boston to Maine and the campaign was hot and heavy. However, less than half of the voters bothered to go to the polls. The vote was, for separation, 10,584; opposed 6,941.

Boston took this properly enough as undecisive. Governor Lincoln, one of the members of the General Court who drew up the bill for the Maine vote, had said: “Should there be a bare majority in favor of separation, the Legislature will exercise its judgment in granting or denying the request; a commanding majority will be almost compulsory upon the Legislature.”

So the General Court referred the question of separation in the approved manner to a joint committee with Harrison Gray Otis, State Senator, as chairman. This committee in turn passed the problem along by providing that the people of Maine should elect delegates to a convention which was to meet at Brunswick on August 20th. Then, if a majority of the delegates should favor separation, that would be taken as proof that the people of Maine desired it and, if so, the convention should proceed to draw up a new state constitution for the District.

However, the resolve provided several difficulties; for example, various provisions regarding public lands and public property and the public debt were included which had to be accepted without change by the convention and thus become *ipso facto* a part of the new State of Maine constitution—if such was written. Other requirements were tacked on to the original resolve and in general it seems that both friends and enemies of the separation movement did their best to confuse the issue.

When the news of the convention reached Maine “the storm burst . . . The election upon which everything depended was to take place in eleven weeks, and although the people were already greatly excited, they were stirred to even greater activity. The news-

papers discussed the questions with enlarged headlines, and their pages became spotty with capital letters and italics"—modern journalism hit Maine that year.

Many orators urged the people of Maine not to be "gulled" by a bill which the Legislature introduced to improve public lands. Said the *Argus*, "Whenever they (Boston) have been hard pressed to let us off, they have delayed and amused us with similar systems."

Of course the critical point in the separation movement of the hour was the fact that Massachusetts had failed to defend Maine during the War of 1812. For instance, in 1786, the people of Machias had voted against separation from Massachusetts because they thought that they needed the protection of Massachusetts against Great Britain. Now everyone believed that Boston had been a greater hinderance than a help. If Maine had been a separate State in the War of 1812, she would not, or so it was said, have tamely submitted to the British invasion at Castine. Massachusetts was also accused of not treating Maine fairly in education, in that the State had given Harvard and Williams College \$13,000 while giving Maine's college, Bowdoin, only \$3,000. Maine felt that this was an unfair division of tax money. Maine had also been refused permission to hold a lottery for public benefit on the ground that lotteries were injurious to morals and yet Massachusetts had allowed both Harvard and the Middlesex Canal to hold lotteries to raise funds. Massachusetts had asserted that the people of Maine could not possibly govern themselves as a separate state, yet in Maine the Democrats pointed out that the population of Maine was larger than that of Rhode Island, Delaware and Louisiana all together.

Both parties waged their conflict not only in the newspapers but also at well advertised public meetings at which the arguments were subjects of impassioned as well as logical orations. Bitter invective was also used at times. The Democratic *Argus*, fighting for separation, was conspicuously violent in its language. The *Gazette*, anti-separation organ, replied, "People of Maine, look at the columns of the *Argus*, and there read the manners and morals of the men that would rule over us. These are the men who are seeking high places in the new government. People of Maine, shall we take the serpent to our bosoms and warm him, that envenomed reptile known to all the world by the name of 'blown ambition?' You have seen him coil in the *Argus*, you have seen him hiss and vent his poison there . . ." Indeed, the *Gazette* did a most remarkable job for it discovered Darwin's "missing link" before that distinguished gentleman existed. It (the *Gazette*) declared that its opponents could not argue but only shout and that "these creatures (are aware) in the presence of men of character and soul, that nature has formed them but a link in the chain of animal creation between mankind and the brute."

Eventually the Convention was duly held and the vote taken. The ballots showed that the separatists had polled 11,969 votes and the anti-separationists 10,347. Since the General Court had determined that the vote had to be at least five to four for separation, it seemed that the cause of separation was once again lost. However, the five men already mentioned as being so influential, were



clever as well as dogged fighters and they had no intention of abandoning the fight to make Maine a state.

President Appleton was employed to attend and offer prayer and while this window dressing was under way, the separatist delegates, led by their political bosses, schemed all sorts of devices to reverse the voting enough to win the necessary five to four in favor. The anti-separationists were suspicious, naturally, and debate waxed furious on the floor and acrimonious in private. The details of the convention's business were extremely involved in consequence. Finally, it was proposed that the General Court be sidetracked and that the people of the District of Maine appeal directly to the Federal Government, asking Congress to cut them loose from Boston.

This move was adopted and then rescinded and finally, after much more debate and bewilderment, it was agreed, with many reservations of small importance, that further plans be suspended until a new application was made to the General Court and a decision from that body received. The separatists believed that since the vote for new statehood was larger than that against, Massachusetts would give Maine her freedom.

However, Massachusetts did not prove to be in a gracious mood at all. The cold fact of losing Maine stared Boston in the face, now that separation was not merely something to be talked about but something on the verge of accomplishment. Even the Republicans (Democrats) of Boston deserted their old friends, the Democrats of Maine. During the earlier activities, the Boston papers had poured out violent abuse upon the Democrats of Maine but now they were strangely silent. This angered the *Argus* much more than abuse had done, and on November 6, the *Argus* reported, in part, "The *Boston Daily Advertiser* has intimated that the people of Massachusetts had better submit to an actual conflict, and reduce as she easily can, these refractory usurpers by force. The *Portland Gazette* encourages the project, and hopes Massachusetts will be joined by the opponents here. Try it, gentlemen, try it, until the squatters give you enough of it. Freemen of Maine, be on your guard—see that your muskets are in good order."

Actually, of course, the scheduled dealings of the official representatives of Massachusetts and Maine were marked by moderation and courtesy. Governor Brooks, for example, speaking to the General Court, said, ". . . the two peoples were of the same origin, educated in the same principles, had fought side by side. May no root of bitterness spring up to alienate their affections, whether united or separated. Judging from the ingenuous manner in which the subject has hitherto been discussed . . . we may confidently hope that wisdom will mark its future progress."

The matter was given by the General Court to another Committee for reporting and after much delay, the Committee found that there should be further consideration given to the problem. Said the Committee: "the contingency upon which the consent of Massachusetts was to be given for the separation of Maine has not yet happened, and that the powers of the Brunswick Convention to take any measures tending to that event have ceased . . . and that it is not expedient for the present General Court to adopt any further

measures in regard to the separation of the District of Maine." In short, the matter was tabled indefinitely.

By 1818, the problem of separation once more lifted its head and the people of Maine, agitated no doubt by the political leaders of the District, were reported asking each other how long the matter was to be allowed to sleep and why something was not being done. An attempt was made to revive the old Brunswick Convention without success but the Democratic campaign committee of Kennebec County, meeting at Hallowell, sent out inquiries to the various towns, asking how sentiment for separation stood. It was very soon made evident that the strength of the separationists had not diminished in the least and that, in addition, very large numbers of those who had been opposed to Maine being made a state, were coming over into separationist ranks.

There was much deliberation, not about trying once again and vigorously for separation, but about the very best time to strike. Some wanted to take action immediately; others wanted to wait until after the 1820 census. The idea of waiting until after the census was soon beaten down because since Maine had increased in population over the 1810 census, it would mean that the District would need to assume a larger share of the debts of Massachusetts. Immediate application was similarly defeated because only a few Maine towns had sent representatives to the present sitting of the General Court and thus did not have all the votes to which the District was entitled. So it was determined to wait until the end of the year and that would give all Maine towns an opportunity to send their full representatives to the next General Court.

Accordingly, on December 10, 1818, it was determined by the Kennebec leaders to initiate real action the following Spring and to start the drive for separation by first selecting as representatives to the General Court, men who were known to be friendly to separation. An earnest effort was made to sidetrack all local and party differences and to have votes cast solely on the issue of separation. Each senator chosen was in favor of separation; and of the 127 representatives, 114 were similarly promised. In addition a large number of the towns also voted to act in the corporate identity and petition the General Court for separation.

Faced with this overwhelming evidence of Maine's desire to cut away from the Commonwealth, the General Court acted promptly and graciously, passing a bill which provided that there should be a vote on separation taken in the District and that should there be a majority of 1,500 in favor of separation, the matter was to be considered closed. The Governor of Massachusetts was then to forthwith proclaim the result and Maine should elect a new convention to meet in Portland, to select a name for the new State and to frame a constitution.

The bill further provided that this constitution was to be submitted to the people of the new state for ratification but, if they refused to ratify it, the new state should continue to use the Massachusetts constitution, save for such parts as were clearly not applicable. Whatever the result of the vote on the Constitution, the District could become a new state on March 15, 1820, provided that



the Congress of the United States assented. The same requirements in regard to public debts, wild lands and the like as previously outlined were also included as necessary parts of separation, with a few minor changes in the interest of moderation.

Once the bill was passed, Massachusetts papers awoke to what was happening and launched a strong campaign to persuade Maine not to desert the old Bay State. The language used was moderate enough but all the benefits of continuing to be citizens of Massachusetts were set forth in detail and all the grievances which the people of the District had suffered were minimized as much as possible. Maine was urged not to leap in the dark and it was pointed out that as citizens of Massachusetts, Maine men were members of one of the greatest states in the Union but as citizens of the proposed new state they would sink to the lowest rank in the Union.

Probably the greatest support the separationist movement ever received came on March 2, 1819, when the old argument which held that Maine as a new state would suffer hardship in its coastwise shipping was invalidated. Previously Maine ships in the coastal trade would have had to pay duty to trade with Boston—a serious point, indeed, as Boston was a good customer of Maine products. However, under the new laws, all coasters were allowed to trade without any duties being exacted in all ports between St. Croix, Maine, and Jacksonville, Florida. Maine's son, Senator Rufus King, was largely responsible for the new arrangements for he was the Senate's recognized authority on commercial and maritime matters and his support pushed the bill through Congress.

Party differences in Maine were far less bitter in 1819 than they were in 1816, for party lines were, for the moment, very much obliterated both in state and nation. It was an era of good feeling. The younger Federalists, and the leaders of the Democrats, especially in Maine, were ready to meet in the spirit of conciliation rather than in their former bitterness. Indeed, Maine Democrats, led by General King of Bath, gave their personal pledges that Maine Federalists should not be discriminated against in the new State but would have a fair share of public offices—a share estimated to be about one third, as fairly representative of the respective popular strength of the two parties.

However, the campaign for the vote on separation was recognized as being a very serious and somewhat questionable matter and both sides spared no effort to persuade the voters to see things in the right way. Each leader vied with his associates in urging "the utmost exertions . . . or we shall have reason to fear the result."

From the separationist viewpoint, however, this anxiety was uncalled for in any degree. Every county in the District of Maine voted for separation, although Hancock county did give a mere surplus of sixty-three votes to the separationists. The total vote was: for separation, 17,091; opposed 7,132.

Governor Brooks of Massachusetts duly proclaimed the result and Maine turned again to another election, this time for delegates to the constitutional convention. All party lines were really forgotten in this election as all citizens were glad to unite in an effort to select the best men in the state "to draw up her fundamental law."

## CHAPTER VI

### *First Forty Years of Statehood*

#### 1. THE STATE CONSTITUTION

THE next business was two-fold. Although not legally a state as yet, Maine people considered themselves as such and set about removing the only two obstacles in the way of legal corporation—the constitution and acceptance by Congress—in the same spirit as the familiar work of building a ship or a house. Even then, Maine men were distinguished by being practical.

The Constitutional Convention met on October 17, 1819, at the Portland court-house and, by unanimous consent Judge Daniel Cony of Augusta was placed in the chair. He was a prominent man in his own generation and, later, two grandsons, Samuel Cony and Joseph H. Williams, were governors of Maine, while a third grandson, Melville W. Fuller, became Chief Justice of the United States.

After preliminary activities, the convention settled down to business, with William King of Bath elected president by a vote of 230 out of 241 votes cast. The secretary elected was R. C. Vose and it was voted that the “ordained and settled clergymen of Portland be requested to act as chaplains from day to day in the order of their seniority. . . .” The clergymen were delighted and, upon the invitation of the First Parish of Portland, the Convention moved out of the court-house to more agreeable quarters in the congregation’s meeting-house.

So far all went smoothly, but the assembly then ran head-on into a considerable obstacle when it came to appointing a committee to prepare a draft of the constitution for the consideration of the convention. It was clear that a small committee would do the work much more quickly than would a large one, but the smaller towns felt that their interests would not be properly protected if a small committee, necessarily chosen from distinguished men who were all residents of the large towns, were appointed. One member stood up and said, “There is considerable solicitude resting upon this subject and well there may be. The people look with anxiety to the committee who are to report a constitution, and will not be satisfied unless the feelings and interests, not only of every part of the District, but of every class of society, are represented on the committee.” This first point caused as much if not more debate than any other single item considered by the Convention—for after all, the problem of apportionment, of the division of political power between the large towns and small, was vital. So the original proposal for a committee of thirteen was dropped and so was an alternative proposal for a committee of forty-nine. At last, it was agreed to appoint a committee on a county basis, giving the larger counties more than the smaller. Five each were chosen from the counties of York, Cumberland, Lincoln and



Kennebec, three each from the counties of Oxford, Hancock and Somerset and two each from Penobscot and Washington—a total of thirty-three members.

To give the Convention something to do while this committee was occupied with framing a draft constitution, a committee of nine was appointed to select a new name for the new State. The very next afternoon, this committee reported its suggestion; "The Commonwealth of Maine." Immediately the convention fell upon the choice and argued at great length. Some were not too keen about continuing the use of "Maine" as they considered it would remind other states that they were formerly the District of Maine and an appendage of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The name of "Columbus" was seriously suggested—as an act of justice to Christopher Columbus who, although he had "discovered America, had been cheated out of the honor so richly deserved by not having the New World named in his honor." However, this created even more argument than did the word "Maine." It was pointed out that Columbus was not in any way associated with North America but instead was connected with South America and thus, foreigners, hearing the name "Columbus" would think that the Pine Tree State was a South American country. Again, it was pointed out that the name of Maine had been sanctioned by many years of use, that it appeared on all maps and in all books, and that people everywhere knew where Maine was. The Convention agreed with this latter point of view and so "Maine" was adopted.

The battle over the use of the word "Commonwealth of" was not so easily settled. The motion was made to strike out the word "Commonwealth" and substitute therefore the words "State of." It was pointed out that this was a much shorter word and would thus result in a considerable saving of time and expense in printing through the centuries to come. Besides, some delegates wished to remove themselves as far as possible from Massachusetts by not continuing to use the word, as did Massachusetts. It may be remarked that only four states in the present 48 do use the word Commonwealth, which means practically the same as State.

Advocates of this brevity pointed out that most of the states being admitted to the union called themselves states and not, like Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, Commonwealths; and that already Maine towns found their original long names too much of a nuisance and were shortening them, as Pepperelborough had become Saco and as Pownalborough had become Dresden.

As the other side took its innings, the praises of Commonwealth were well brought out. One speaker said, "The name of Commonwealth . . . seems to designate our civil polity. It belongs to us, as to those from whom we separate. It is a name of the Revolution, and our feelings are therefore connected with it. It also seems to be a little more respectable. As to what is said of other new States adopting the name of State, it is no example for us. They have been formed of Territories, and were never part of a Commonwealth; they are a new people, as well as a new State. We are comparatively

an older people, and part of an old Commonwealth." This statement, illustrative of the character and temper of the men who drew up Maine's constitution, was echoed by the next speaker, Judge Cony, who said, "This State is now to be divided, and we carry with us an equal right to all its privileges, and among them that of the name of Commonwealth. I am not much in favor of the word Maine, but am decidedly in favor of Commonwealth as connected with it." The vote was then put to the convention and the word "State" was adopted by a vote of 119 to 113.

However, the Commonwealth adherents were still stubborn. The next day the matter was brought up again for reconsideration. Some of Maine's most prominent men came out strongly for the word Commonwealth; evidently someone one had played politics during the preceding evening. General Chandler said that Commonwealth was much more sonorous and respectable than State. Judge Dana joined the parade, saying, "Commonwealth is a more appropriate term, as it better expresses the thing to be named; it is a republic, a government of the people. When we consider that in point of wealth, commerce and navigation, and population, this must be the largest state east of New York, the style and title of *State of Maine* would seem to be inapplicable, not significant and rather *small* and diminutive, when compared with the *Commonwealth of Maine*."

Then the opposition came up and Mr. Parsons of Edgecomb expressed what must have been the idea of many of the delegates, saying, "In common parlance, Maine would always be called a state—why then should we style it *Commonwealth*? What is the use of giving the name of Jonathan, when it will always be called, after all, plain John?" So the motion for reconsideration was lost by a vote of 140 to 101 and it was officially the "State of Maine."

There was however a final flurry over the name when the old name of Ligonía was offered. This was the name applied to the "Plough" patent afterwards purchased by Cleeve, as previously related. However, the Convention was wearied of this simple matter which had provoked so much debate and the matter was closed definitely.

On Monday, the 18th, the draft constitution committee reported and the Convention ceased playing with the name of the new state and settled down to serious business. The draft consisted of a preamble and ten articles. The first, which much resembled that of the Constitution of the United States, added an acknowledgment of the divine goodness shown to the people of Maine by the "Great Legislator of the Universe."

Article One consisted of a long and detailed but hardly important declaration or bill of rights, again not much different from that of the federal document.

Articles Two to Six, inclusive, dealt with the qualifications and duties of electors and officers. The right of suffrage, far from being restricted by property ownership and religious affiliations, was given to all male citizens of the United States, twenty-one years of age



and over, resident within the State for three months, with the exception of "paupers, men under guardianship and Indians not taxed."

The Legislature (not to be called a General Court) was to consist of a House of Representatives and a Senate, with bills for raising revenue to originate in the House but subject to amendment by the Senate, "provided that the Senate shall not, under color of amendment, introduce any new matter which does not relate to the raising of revenue."

No members of Congress or any officers of the United States, with the exception of postmasters, and no persons holding offices of profit under the State, with the exception of notaries, public, coroners, and officers of the militia, were to be allowed to sit in the Legislature, while holding such Federal or State offices. Representatives were to be chosen by the towns and plantations and the Senators to be elected by districts. All representatives must be at least twenty-one years of age, and all senators at least twenty-five. Lest these seem to be very young for limits, it should be remembered the men matured very early in those days, for boys not yet out of their teens were masters of ships, and successful ones, too.

The executive power, as customary, was vested principally in a governor, who was to be elected annually and must be at least thirty years of age, a native-born citizen of the United States and a resident of Maine for at least five years previous to election. He was given all the usual powers of the chief executive of an American state, the right to veto bills, to command the militia, to appoint officers and, with the advice and consent of his Council, to grant pardons to offenders. However, his veto power over legislation was somewhat limited by the provision that the veto must be exercised within five days of the passage of a bill and a "pocket veto" was prevented by the provision that should the Legislature adjourn within the five day limit, the bill would become law unless the veto was returned to the next sitting of the Legislature within three days of its meeting. Although commander-in-chief of the militia, the Governor, save when in the service of the United States, was expressly forbidden to march or otherwise convey any Maine citizens beyond the borders of the State—save when it became necessary to cross the territory of another state, probably meaning New Hampshire, in order to protect Maine territory. The appointive powers granted to the Governor were very much more extensive than today's; that power has been whittled down considerably through the years. The draft constitution provided appointive powers for all judicial officers, the attorney-general, sheriffs, coroners, registers of probate, notaries public—indeed all state officials whose election was not otherwise provided for by the constitution or act of the Legislature subsequently. This concentration of executive power in the governor was typical of the times when, with communication very slow, and travel often difficult as well as tedious, it was necessary for one man to be in a position to act quickly and decisively.

The Council, patterned much after the familiar Governor's Council of Massachusetts, was to consist of seven members who must be citizens of the United States and residents of Maine. They were

to be elected annually from the Senatorial districts and not more than one Councilor could be chosen from any one such district. The Secretary of State, who had charge of all records, and the State Treasurer, were to be elected by the Legislature and could not serve more than five years successively. The Treasurer was specifically forbidden to engage in any other business while in office. The tenure of any state office, unless fixed by the constitution or law, was to be at the pleasure of the Governor and the Council.

The sixth article, to conclude this section of the draft constitution, was concerned with courts and justice. The judicial powers of the State were to be "vested in a Supreme Judicial Court and in such other courts as the Legislature shall from time to time establish." All judicial officers, excepting justices of the peace, were to serve during good behavior, but not beyond the age of seventy years. Justices of the peace, and notaries public were to have terms of seven years.

Article Seven provided for the establishment and organization of the militia and specifically listed reasons for exemption. It was at the time assumed that most male citizens, unless so exempted, were required to give militia service whenever required.

Article Eight provided for the means of assisting and organizing public schools and other institutions of learning.

Article Nine was something of a catch-all for miscellaneous matters. It gave, for instance, power to the Governor and Council to remove any officer, if requested by an address of both branches of the Legislature, provided that the reason for the action was first entered upon the Journal of the House in which the address originated, and provided that a copy of the charges be given to the person whose removal was being sought in order that he might be heard in his own defense.

Article Ten, also somewhat of a miscellany, provided for various details incident to launching the new state on its way, fixed the numbers of Representatives of the several counties and towns, enacted the conditions which Massachusetts had provided as being necessary to her consent to the separation of Maine, and finally, provided for amendment to the Constitution. Amendment would be possible only if two-thirds of both Houses agreed on the proposed change and, if the people, at the next annual election for Governor, should accept it by majority vote.

As might be imagined, the Convention settled down to the serious consideration of this draft constitution, prepared to deliberate as long as might be necessary, both to please the people of Maine sufficiently to win the necessary support and also, to provide a fundamental law for the new state which would be adequate and wise.

The preamble and the bill of rights, excepting for a single section, passed without important opposition. The term "Great Legislator of the Universe" was changed to "Sovereign Ruler" and the authority of juries in libel suits was strengthened by changing the provision "the jury shall have the right to determine the law and the fact under the direction of the court" to "the jury, after having received the direction of the court, shall have a right to determine, at their discretion, the law and the fact."



And of course, the section dealing with religious freedom, was debated with considerable emotion and at comparatively great length. Indeed, this item received more attention from the Convention than any other subject, save the dread problem of the apportionment of political power between small towns and large ones, specifically in the matter of the respective numbers of Representatives and Senators.

The draft section gave full liberty of conscience and of worship, and forbade the granting of legal preference to any sect or denomination, or the establishment of any religious test as a qualification for



*John Holmes Mansion, Alfred, Built in 1802  
One of Maine Houses Photographed for Federal Archives*

office. The discussion was prefaced by the reception of a memorial from a committee of the "Catholics of Maine." This memorial stated that under the constitution of Massachusetts, Catholics were excluded from an equal participation in the benefits of government and, the memorial continued, the committee prayed that under Maine's constitution they might be admitted to an equality of religious and civil rights and immunities. Judge Parris took the floor and remarked that the objects of memorialists would doubtless be secured to them by the bill of rights, if adopted as reported, and moved that the memorial be laid on the table. It was so ordered.

When the debate on the section was opened, several of the most prominent members of the Convention, including Judge Thatcher of Biddeford, said that they considered the section as being negative in character and they moved to have the section assert the duty of worshipping God, to make it assert that it was the duty of citizens to observe the Sabbath, and to authorize the Legislature "by all suitable means, to encourage and support the institutions of public worship, and of public instruction in the principles of piety, religion,



and morality." These speakers asserted that such were the duties of good citizens and they insisted that civil society could not be maintained without worship.

Mr. Holmes, speaking in defense of the section as written, replied that the statement as drafted was one of rights and not of duties; that, since this matter was one of the most difficult the drafting committee had faced they had determined to simply declare the people's rights of conscience, and he pointed out that if the constitution were to include duties, they might as well sit down and draft a whole system of ethics. He said, and this has a modern ring, surprisingly so considering the times, "To prescribe the duty, would be to authorize the Legislature to enforce it. This would excite jealousy and alarm. The worship of God is, and ought to be, free. Religious oppression brought our fathers to this country and their descendants will not fail to resist it . . . Every mode by which men could harass, torture and destroy one another has been thought suitable means to support religion." Judge Parris supported Mr. Holmes and the body of the Convention agreed, voting down the proposed changes by large majorities.

Mr. Hobbs, of Waterborough, moved an additional clause, seeing the way the tide was set, providing that no one should ever be obliged to pay for the building or the repair of any place of worship—such payments to be entirely voluntary. In Massachusetts, of course, every man was obliged to contribute to the support of some religious society and this fact, found very distasteful by the people of Maine, no doubt contributed to the simple statement of religious rights as opposed to the various amendments which would have added religious duties. Everyone basically was afraid that the church, given an inch, would soon take a mile and thus before long acquire tax powers. Mr. Hobbs' amendment was defeated after Mr. Holmes had pointed out that if a man did belong to a religious organization, he was morally and legally obliged to support it: at least the Constitution of Maine should not be in the position of specifically exempting anyone in the evasion of his duties. This, in the end, the original broad and liberal section on religious freedom, was accepted by the Convention without any alteration.

When the debate came on the qualifications of electors, the draft was changed to the degree that the residence requirement became three months next preceding elections. The committee had denied suffrage to Indians not taxed. Mr. Vance of Calais moved to add negroes to the list of those denied suffrage. Mr. Holmes argued against this, saying, "The Indians not taxed were denied the right to vote not because of their color, but of their political condition. They are under the protection of the State . . . they have never been considered members of the body politic. But I know of no difference between the rights of the negro and the white man; God Almighty made none; our Declaration of Rights has made none. That declares that 'all men (without regard to color) are born equally free and independent.' " To their everlasting credit, the Convention voted not to deny the right of suffrage to negroes.



Next the Convention tackled the most difficult problem of all, the subject of the number and apportionment of the members of the Legislature. This proved to be the most troublesome of all the questions the meeting had to face. Indeed, so bitter were the feelings aroused by acrimonious debate that some members actually refused to sign the constitution in the end. The trouble was basically that it was impossible to work out a compromise between the large towns and the small ones which was sufficiently satisfactory to everyone. Both the members of the Convention and the people of the State wanted a small House of Representatives, not more than one hundred members, because it was realized that the smaller the House the more efficient it would be in the dispatch of the State's business. However, each small town was determined to preserve its integrity by sending at least one representative; and the large towns, jealous of their rights, insisted that they should be represented in proportion to the numbers of their citizens. So serious was the debate that Mr. Holmes at one point arose and exclaimed, "I am almost inclined to congratulate myself that Massachusetts has given us a provisional constitution (the new State was to use that of Massachusetts if unable to frame one of its own); for I begin to doubt whether we shall be found capable of agreeing upon one for ourselves."

The Committee, coming to an agreement itself only after long and bitter debate, had proposed to give each town of 150 inhabitants a representative. Judge Thatcher, arguing for this report, said he was opposed to representation of districts according to their population. Mr. Baldwin of Mercer, proponent of a small legislature, argued that if the larger towns should be represented according to their population, they would be much over-represented. His argument is illustrative of the temper of this debate:

"Gentlemen who have spent the greater part of their lives in study, and especially in the study of elocution, and that on purpose to enable them to shine in courts, will generally settle in cities or populous places; the reason is, money is scarce in new settlements; there is nothing to induce men of great abilities, especially men of great acquired abilities, to settle in new and thinly inhabited places; money is the lure. . . . One gentleman from Portland has more influence in this convention than the whole delegation from Somerset County, which has twenty-nine members. The reason is obvious. The members from country places are mostly farmers; and they will generally sit from one end of the session to the other without saying a word. Where there is an assemblage of the most brilliant talents and literary accomplishments from all parts of the State, the farmer is loath to expose his ignorance and weakness, and hazard being made the butt of ridicule for his blunders and every-day language. And if, now and then one dares venture out, and blunder on in his homemade, every-day, farmer dialect, his only security is confidence. If he has plenty of brass and a good share of common sense, he may possibly jog on; but such instances

are rare. For the most part (and I repeat it with confidence), one man who is master of the alluring, persuasive, and insinuating charms of eloquence, will carry more sway in legislative body than thirty silent members from the country."

However, the delegates from the larger towns, all of them doubtless avid for political power and position, were not to be swayed by even such eloquence as this, particularly since no concessions were made to them in the apportionment of Senatorial districts or in the method of paying members of the Legislature. John Holmes poured no oil on the troubled waters when he referred to the fact, quoting Jefferson, "that great cities were great sores" and he was openly accused of inciting the delegates of the small towns to stand united against the delegates from the larger ones. So the matter finally rested as the draft committee had proposed with the delegates from the large towns feeling very much abused.

The section relating to the Governor was passed quickly without much debate but the Council ran into troubled waters. Dr. Rose, of Boothbay, after being denied in his move to abolish the Council completely, attempted to have the number sharply reduced. He said, "The Executive of most of the other States acts without a council, and no complaint is made of the want of one. New York has one which they would be glad to get rid of. I believe we can get a Governor as capable of doing the business of the State, as other States. If we give him a council, we not only incur a useless expense, but divide the responsibility, and open a door for intrigue. The Senators will come from all parts of the State, and will give him all the information he could obtain from a Council. As besides, as has heretofore been the case, he may have a council in whom he has no confidence."

Mr. Whitman, who had previously served on the Governor's Council of Massachusetts, paraded the arguments for a Council, and Judge Bridge, who was then a member of that Council, joined him, explaining specifically how the Council aided the Governor in the supervision of payment of monies from the public treasury, assisted in examining the number of applications for executive clemency, and helped in solving the many problems brought to the Governor as commander-in-chief of the militia. "On the whole," said Mr. Whitman in conclusion, "I believe there is no other body of men whatever, who have, under the constitution of Massachusetts, performed so much and such important service, at so small an expense." So the Convention not only voted to retain the Council, as above mentioned but also by a vote of 110 to 74, refused to reduce it in size.

It was then moved that the Council should be elected by the people rather than be appointed by the Legislature as the draft constitution provided. It was pointed out that if chosen by the Legislature, the Council would be of the same political complexion as the majority of the moment in the Legislature but if they were elected directly by the people of Maine, they would "represent the different political views of the different parts of the State." It



was pointed out however that having a Council of divergent political views would hamper its worth and lessen its value to the Governor and the State. Accordingly the motion was lost.

Next the Convention considered the section of the draft constitution concerned with the militia—the real police force of the State, as it was the means of defense against foreign powers and civil riot and commotion. Broadly speaking, all men of military age were considered to be members of the militia but in Massachusetts some exemptions had been made—such as Shakers and Quakers who had religious scruples against military service. The Convention moved that Shakers and Quakers be exempted from service, and that such should also be the condition of all persons having conscientious objections against such service. Ministers of the gospel were also exempted, provided that they were ordained and settled in a pastorate. Proposals were made that all persons exempted should be required to pay a tax for lack of services required of others. It was pointed out that it was dangerous to the welfare of the State to permit men to escape civic duty by means of religious scruples. However, it was known that Shakers and Quakers were in fact activated by sincere religious scruples, as instances were cited in which veterans of the Revolution who had become members of the sects had refused to take the pensions to which they were entitled for their previous military services. So the Convention finally provided that “. . . persons of the denominations of Quakers and Shakers, justices of the Supreme Court and ministers of the gospel, may (note not *shall*) be exempted from military duty, but no other person of the age of eighteen or under forty-five years, excepting officers of the militia who have been honorably discharged, shall be so exempted, unless he shall pay an equivalent to be fixed by law.”

The next item of business, headed Literature was in fact concerned with education. It is important enough to quote; “A general diffusion of the advantages of education being essential to the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people; to promote this important object, the Legislature are (sic) authorized, and it shall be their duty to require, the several towns to make suitable provision, at their own expense, for the support and maintenance of public schools; and it shall further be their duty to encourage and suitably endow, from time to time, as the circumstances of the people may authorize, all academies, colleges and seminaries of learning within the State.” A limitation was however provided:—no grant could be made to any “literary” institution unless at the time of making the grant, the Governor and Council should have the power of revising and regulating the actions of the trustees and government of such institution, in the selection of its officers and in the management of its funds. The reason for this provision was doubtless the famous decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dartmouth College case. That Court had found that a college charter was a contract, hence could not be altered by any Legislature. Moreover, Bowdoin College, the only one then within Maine, was specifically exempted by the conditions of separation from Massachusetts

from any alteration by the Maine authorities, save by consent of the college trustees or by the courts.

Dartmouth was of course Federalist in sympathies and Maine was Democratic; hence the provisions for Bowdoin's exemption. The situation was somewhat complicated by personal animosity on the part of several of the delegates against Bowdoin. John Holmes was so situated and so was William King, the president of the Convention; he had been somewhat vigorously pressed by the agent of the College in the payment of a bond which he had given as surety for a treasurer of the college. However, although the Convention was determined that the State should have control over any institution which it aided with State funds, it was willing to modify the original draft of the constitution in so far as to transfer the supervising authority from the Governor and the Council to the Legislature, which would be much slower in acting, and it also changed the authority of revising to selection of officers and management of funds and to a right to modify the character of any literary institution "present or future" in such a manner "as shall be judged necessary to promote the best interest thereof."

Finally, the business was wound up by fixing the number of Representatives and Senators and the naming of the districts which were to choose them. Ashur Ware was elected secretary of State pro tempore. Then the Convention voted to accept the constitution as amended by a vote of 236 to 30.

The Convention next directed that application should be made to Congress for admission of Maine as a State and picked Portland as the first place of meeting of the Legislature. Everyone then signed the Constitution, save for thirty-one delegates who were dissatisfied with the manner in which the apportionment of representatives had been compromised. Adjournment was voted until the first Wednesday in January.

Meanwhile the people of Maine voted on the new document which was to be the basic law of their new State and, upon the convention reassembling, it was found that of the votes "legally and seasonably cast," 9,050 were in favor of the constitution and 796 were opposed. More than a thousand votes, of which only seventy-seven were opposed to the constitution, were not counted because of "irregularities."

Judge Thatcher, after some minor business had been transacted moved, "that the thanks of this Convention be presented to the Honorable William King, for the dignified and impartial manner in which he has discharged the duties of the chair during our deliberations." The resolution was adopted unanimously and King replied, ". . . for the sentiments which you have expressed I feel particularly gratified. They come, I perceive, from an old and respected friend, from whom political considerations have perhaps too long separated me. My friend on this occasion does not remember them; they are therefore erased from my recollection forever. The constitution, gentlemen, which you presented with so much unanimity to our fellow citizens, an unexampled majority have adopted. Your



business has therefore now terminated; to the public it has been most useful, to yourselves most honorable, being now enrolled as the fathers of the constitution. Permit me, gentlemen, to hope that the constitution with which God has pleased through you to bless us, may long preserve the liberties and promote the happiness of all our fellow-citizens, and that for your services you may not only receive the respect of the virtuous of your own times, but the regard of posterity."

This constitution was both received with favor by the people of Maine and the prominent persons of all other States. The *Boston Centinel* said, "Good judges say it will not suffer by a comparison with the best in the United States." The *New Hampshire Patriot* praised the college grant provision, and the *Alexandria Herald* said of the convention that "much ability and talent appears from the report before us to have been displayed by the different speakers."

## 2. ADMISSION TO THE UNION

Maine had met the terms prescribed by Massachusetts for separation; the new Constitution was accepted and approved widely and all through the United States the wisdom of accepting Maine as a new member of the Union was very generally endorsed. Under ordinary circumstances, Maine would have been accepted without delay and without question. However, circumstances were far from being ordinary and at this last moment the long and often bitter struggle for independence was threatened with defeat.

The trouble was that the application of Maine for statehood was involved in the miserable struggle over the Missouri question. For years, the Territory of Missouri had been seeking admission as a new state. In 1818-1819, the National House of Representatives had passed the bill admitting Missouri but the slavery and anti-slavery forces resulted in the condition being imposed that no more slaves should be brought into the State, and that all children of slaves born after admission should become free at the age of twenty-five. The National Senate struck out this provision on the ground that it was illegal to limit the rights of a sovereign state. The House refused to accept the revised bill and there the matter rested until Congress adjourned.

Great indignation resulted all over the United States. The North, largely anti-slave, was angry because of the failure of the prohibition of slavery in the new state. Pamphlets were published, sermons were preached and mass-meetings were held to force the Congress to act against slavery. Counter-agitation developed in the South and when in 1819, Congress met again in December, both sides of the questions were determined not to yield. Into this stalemate, the bill for the admission of Maine was presented. The Congressional committee on December 31 presented a bill to admit Maine.

Here was a golden opportunity for the South to gain another slave state. The vote on the question of slavery in Missouri would undoubtedly be very close and if Maine was admitted, her seven representatives might be persuaded to vote for slavery as the price of their state being admitted into the Union. The anti-slave forces



felt the same way, particularly since Maine's representatives would be under the grave temptation of the flight of time. Massachusetts, in her terms of separation, had agreed only if Maine was accepted into the Union by March 4, 1820. Should Congress fail to act before that date, the separation agreement would become null and void and all the years of labor, all the effort poured into the new Maine constitution would be lost.

With the South thus making Maine a hostage for the admission of Missouri as a slave state, the battle in the House became hot and bitter. Henry Clay, speaker of the House and as such supposed



*Jewett House, South Berwick*

to be fair and impartial, rose and attacked the admission of Maine in a long and at times vitriolic speech. He said that the admission of his own state of Kentucky had been held up for a year and a half until Vermont had been ready for admission, and that the South had as much right to make the unrestricted admission of Missouri a condition of the admission of Maine as the North had to attempt to strip Missouri of a portion of her sovereignty by denying her the right to pass such laws on the subject of slavery as she saw fit. The House however, saw fit to pass the bill admitting Maine by a very small pro vote.

The Senate, also by a close vote, amended the Maine bill by adding to it a bill for the admission of Missouri without any restriction in regard to slavery. So the Maine bill, with its added complication of Missouri, went back to the House, which was in the midst of a hot debate over a Missouri bill of its own.

The struggle which resulted was not altogether one over slavery. Rufus King, who led the restrictionists in the Senate with great ability, said that the contest was one for political power and he privately wrote that if this attempt to check the spread of slavery



failed, the power of the South would be so firmly established that "old Mr. Adams, as he is the first, will on this hypothesis be the last president from a free state." The South was just as keenly aware of the fact that if slavery was restricted, and confined within its present limits, it would only be a question of time until, as more and more free states were admitted to the Union, the political power of the South would be destroyed forever.

The struggle was to a degree a political one. The Federalists were chiefly in opposition to the domination of the slave states and many prominent Federalists were the leaders in the fight for a free Missouri. This pleased the South for it gave Democrats from the Northern State an opportunity to believe that the question was not at all one of slavery but rather of a very clever attempt to revive the dying Federalist Party.

The Representatives from Maine (still legally Massachusetts men) were thus in a most embarrassing position. If they favored restriction, the South would probably vote against the admission of their state but every Congressman also had in mind the perennial problem of all Congressmen: What will my constituents say? What will my vote on this question do to my chance of re-election? If they voted with the South and thus obtained Southern support for the admission of Maine, the anti-slave sentiment in Maine would certainly cost them dearly. Indeed, most opinion, as expressed by the newspapers of the time, indicated that Maine people wanted their State admitted to the Union before the dead line of March 4, 1820, no matter what the cost in slavery advancement. Many northern papers and politicians were willing to bow to the political power of the South—and it must be remembered that the agricultural South was more and more becoming both an important source of raw material for the North and its best market for its products. Men of substance, especially maritime interests, and later, industrial interests, opposed abolition right up to the opening guns of the Civil War—and even thereafter. Nevertheless, as Maine representatives knew very well, however the papers might urge them to put the interest of Maine's admission above all other considerations, the majority of the citizens of Maine were opposed to slavery and year by year becoming more and more so.

Meanwhile the deadline of March 4th was coming nearer and nearer. The Maine representatives met again and again and at length on February 22nd, memorialized Congress, asking for prompt action on Maine so that the labor of years would not be sacrificed. Boston also, aware of the situation, determined to help out and Massachusetts very graciously consented to extend the time limit for admission for two years. While this was helpful, Maine was not too well pleased for the representatives in Congress naturally felt that the original time limit was one of their best weapons in forcing action by Congress. They feared that the stalemate might otherwise continue indefinitely.

Finally, the break came in what is known as the Missouri Compromise. Maine and Missouri were to be admitted into the Union by separate bills; Missouri was to enter without conditions as to

slavery but all other territories in the Louisiana Purchase, north of 36° 30', the southern boundary of Missouri, were to be forever free. The Maine bill was hurried through Congress and signed into law by the President on March 3, 1820. Maine was at last a sovereign state of the Union.

The news that admission into the Union had been at last secured was celebrated in all of Maine on the 15th of March, 1820, the official birthday of the State, with as noisy and as joyous festivities as the Fourth of July. As the *Argus* reported:

“Thursday last witnessed the birth of a new State, and ushered Maine into the Union. The day was noticed, as far as we have heard from the various towns, by every demonstration of joy and heartfelt congratulation, becoming the occasion. In this town salutes were fired in the morning, at noon, and at sunset,—the independence companies were under arms, and appeared in their usual style of military excellence,—the ships in our harbor displayed their flags—the Observatory and adjacent buildings were brilliantly illuminated, in the evening, and the celebration closed with a splendid ball . . . May the day which has so auspiciously commenced our political existence as a State, long be remembered with complacent feelings and every annual return bring with it, by the many blessings it may produce, additional inducement for its celebration.”

Maine was still without a genuine government, however, for the governor, treasurer and secretary of state were merely temporary officers appointed by the late constitutional convention to meet any emergencies which might arise until state officers could be elected in the regular manner. So plans were made for an election at the earliest possible moment. On March 14, a meeting of the constitutional convention was called for the purpose of making nominations and, as everyone expected, the office of governor was unanimously offered to General King, and as everyone also expected, he accepted the nomination. Oddly, however, he displayed a degree of coyness about the matter. In his reply to the Convention's nomination he said that the office was in his opinion, by no means the most pleasing to him within the gift of Maine but, however, he would accept the honor if it were understood that he should administer the office as he and his friends had pledged themselves to do during the heat of the separationist struggle—that is, in a strictly non-partisan manner. King probably had his eye on being United States Senator from Maine but, upon reflection doubtless determined that being the first governor of his state was a very real honor and the senatorship could very well wait. Also, King doubtless did believe, and sincerely too, that as governor he could accomplish much for his state especially by bringing in manufacturing enterprises, by building roads, by encouraging shipbuilding and the like, and also by providing for the agricultural prosperity of his commonwealth through such activities as the buying of the lands reserved by Massachusetts, lands which King dreamed of being cleared and rich with fertile farms.



The Democrats of Maine were sharply displeased by King's insistence on taking the hands of the Federalists in a non-partisan government, but the nomination could not be withdrawn and the election was held. King received 21,083 votes out of a total of 22,014 counted. The Legislature was, of course, elected at the same time and met at Portland on May 31st. Benjamin Ames of Bath was elected speaker of the House and General Chandler, president of the Senate.

General King, in his first address as Governor, congratulated his fellow-citizens and gave tribute to Massachusetts, saying, in part, ". . . the political connection which has so long subsisted between Massachusetts and Maine being dissolved, it is a source of much satisfaction to reflect that the measures adopted for its accomplishment have effected the object in a most friendly manner. A great and powerful Commonwealth yielding up her jurisdiction over a large portion of her citizens and territory over whom she held an undisputed and rightful sovereignty; the citizens quietly and peacefully forming themselves into a new and independent State, framing and adopting with unexampled harmony and unanimity a constitution embracing all the essential principles of liberty and good government; these are events which constitute a memorable era in the history of our State—events for which no doubt, you as well as our fellow-citizens in general, will acknowledge with gratitude that divine goodness which directs and controls the concerns of men." As for Massachusetts, King said that "the correct and wise policy" adopted by the Commonwealth had "laid the foundations of a lasting harmony between the two States." In his proposals for legislation, the Governor offered numerous suggestions for the development of Maine, placing great stress upon the importance of the adoption of a wise policy in the management of public lands, emphasizing in particular his opinion that the Legislature should not sell public lands in large amounts to companies for speculation but should, instead, sell such lands to individuals in comparatively small acreages in order to obtain the best bargain for the future of the State. He strongly recommended that manufacturing enterprises be given every encouragement and, above all, he urged the great need for the preservation of the forest cover of Maine.

The first three items of business passed by this first legislature are of interest.

The first act was the resolve establishing the circuit court of common pleas. The first law was the one incorporating the Augusta Union Society, "its estate to be used exclusively for the improvement of morals and the diffusion of useful knowledge."

The third act was the provision of a State Seal, a matter found urgent for the transaction of the business of the State.

The committee appointed reported its proposal as follows:

"A Shield argent, charged with a Pine Tree, a Moose Deer at the foot of it, recumbent.

"Supporters—On dexter side an Husbandman, resting on a scythe; on the sinister side, a Seaman resting on an anchor.

“In the foreground, representing land and sea, and under the Shield, that name of the State, in large Roman Capitals, to wit: MAINE.

“The whole surmounted by a Crest—the North Star.

“Motto—In a label interposed between the Shield and the Crest, in small Roman capitals, viz: DIRIGO.”

The explanation of this heraldic language reads, in part:

“*Crest*—As in the Arms of the United States a cluster of stars represents the States, comprising the Nation, the North Star may be particularly applicable to the most northern member of the confederacy, or as indicating the local situation of the most northern State in the Union.

“*Motto—Dirigo* (I guide, or I direct). As the Polar Star has been considered the mariner’s guide and director in conducting the ship over the pathless ocean to the desired haven, and as the center of the magnetic attraction, as it has been figuratively used to denote the point, to which all affections turn, and as it is here intended to represent the State, it may be considered the citizen’s guide, and the object to which the patriot’s best exertions should be directed.

“*Shield—The Pine Tree*. The stately pine, with its straight body, erect head, and ever green foliage, and whose beauty is exceeded only by its usefulness, while it represents the State, will excite the constant prayer of its citizens, *semper viridis*.

“*The Moose Deer*—A native animal of the State, which retires before the approaching steps of human habitancy, in his recumbent posture and undisturbed situation, denotes the extent of unsettled lands, which future years may see the abodes of successive generations of men whose spirit of independence shall be as untamed as this emblem, and whose liberty shall be as unrestricted as the range of the Moose Deer.

“The Supporters of the Shield, a Husbandman with a scythe representing Agriculture generally, and more particularly that of a grazing country, while a Seaman resting on an anchor represents Commerce and Fisheries; and both indicate that the State is supported by these primary vocations of its inhabitants.”

The proposal for the State seal was received by most with admiration but there was some criticism. One suggestion for improvement was voiced by Colonel I. G. Read, as reported, in part, by the *Argus*: “. . . we observe that two series of brilliant northern lights ushered in the birth of our new State; one occurring while the constitution was being formed; and the other while we were making our first elections under it. Had not mechanical objections presented themselves, this circumstance (as being one of good augury) might possibly have found notice in the armorial bearings of the State,



under the shape of an electric bow with rays issuing from it; accompanied with a motto from Paul's discourse to Agrippa: 'I saw in the way a light.' This emblem of the aurora borealis, like that of the polar star, was indicative of our northern position; and the two emblems together might have formed, what is not unprecedented, a *double crest*, being in truth a facsimile . . . of what occurs in nature, the star always uppermost when both appear together; and being accordingly so placed in a drawing for the whole of the proposed arms sketched out for the use of the committee. The other part of the proposed arms being all adopted, the motto *Dirigo* was made to take the place of the bow, as the bow was rejected; and a new drawing was executed on the occasion, suited to the wishes of the committee. The chief difficulty arising from this arrangement has been, that the rules of heraldry are violated by it; for the motto now separates the crest from the shield and its supporters, whereas the motto should have been either below or above the whole."

Notwithstanding this heraldic error, the Legislature promptly accepted the arms without any change. At once criticism began to pour in, particularly from outside the State. Other states declared that Maine was somewhat immodest in claiming to lead the other States and many people believed that Maine claimed a primacy to which the State was not entitled. However, as the *Argus* pointed out, the state seal does not mean that Maine is guiding the other states of the Union but only asserts that the state is guiding and claiming the devotion of its own citizens. The actual seal was also disliked by some because of its somewhat crude execution. The facts are that the seal was needed immediately and hence, it was hastily produced in metal with the result that "no part of it was very ingeniously wrought." Thus people did find fault with the seal on artistic as well as heraldic grounds. However, the Legislature accepted it. Maine had its seal and that was that.

### 3. GOVERNOR KING AND THE LEGISLATURE AND MAINE'S FIRST DECADE

The election of April, 1820, had been for the balance of the year only but, as everyone had anticipated, Governor King accepted the Democratic nomination for re-election and was elected for another term without opposition. His address for 1821 was a statesmanlike document, astonishingly modern in tone, as the following excerpt concerning the appointment of public officials shows:

"The people of Maine have had too much reason to deplore the violence of a party administration which for a period of years selected all its officers exclusively from a minority. This mode of disposing of the public employments exclusively with a view to party, has fortunately at the present day but few advocates. Nor have I thought it would be consistent with the harmony that now so happily prevails, or just in itself, to confine the selection exclusively to those of a more particular sect or party. I ask, therefore, a continuance

of the candor and liberality of my fellow-citizens while engaged in correcting these errors—a task which I assure them shall not be entailed upon my successor.

However incorrect Governor King may have been in his assumption of "candor and liberality," it did seem likely that Maine was set on a course of political tranquility, for King, despite his faults, was very popular and could continue as governor apparently as long as he wished. However, in the Spring of 1821, just a few months after his re-election, he literally tossed a bomb-shell into Maine's politics by resigning. He announced that he had resigned to become one of the commissioners for settling the claims of American ship-owners and merchants against Spain—claims which the United States had agreed to pay, up to five million dollars, in return for Spain's cession of Florida.

King declared in his letter of resignation that had he been actuated by selfish reasons, he would not have accepted appointment as commissioner "but unfortunate claimants in this part of the country ask me in the most feeling manner to accept. They fear that if I decline another person may be appointed who will not be accepted from this State." Of course, King's enemies, of which he, as any politician long in public life, had many, immediately accused King in harsh terms of discreditable motives; and they said that he was like a child who tosses away a toy, a bauble which he had once earnestly craved but, as soon as possession was gained, was found no longer of any value.

While some of this may be true, there were good and sufficient reasons for King's desire to retire. He very likely was disgusted with his office and, in particular, with the Legislature. He had pled for a non-partisan administration—some said to unite the Democrats and the Federalists into a new party which might make Rufus King president. More likely, King was sincere in using non-partisan methods of establishing his new state on a firm foundation but, if such was the case, he received comparatively little cooperation from his Legislature. In fact, two of his most cherished and valuable plans failed because of the Legislature.

Public lands was one. King saw the wild lands of Maine as a source of great future wealth for Maine. He visioned establishing great forest reserves on the less fertile lands and establishing upon the better areas new towns of farmers—for he, in common with Jefferson and, indeed, all American statesmen of that period (and subsequently), believed that agriculture was the solid and stable basis upon which the prosperity of the nation must rest. In particular King was afraid that Massachusetts, which had retained title to the wild lands under the terms of separation, would dispose of them to speculators who would slash the forests down or else victimize any settlers who eventually would occupy the arable areas. So, he was determined that Maine's interests should be protected by taking the ownership of these wild lands away from Massachusetts as a beginning. To this end he induced his Legislature to appoint a



committee to bargain with a similar committee he led Massachusetts to appoint to make a transfer of the lands. However, although both committees came to a reasonable agreement by which Maine could have purchased the wild lands, the Maine Legislature turned the whole idea down by refusing to ratify their own committee's agreement.

The encouragement of manufacturing was the second item of immediate importance on King's program for the development of Maine. He saw clearly that Maine, while at the time primarily agricultural and maritime, needed a third string to her bow in order to continue development and to assure a well-balanced economy. To his mind manufacturing would accomplish this. He proposed to encourage the establishment of new industries by taxing new factories for a limited period at a merely nominal rate. However, the farmers of Maine, who formed a majority of the Legislature, distrusted factories; for they feared monopolies and they could not see why they should pay taxes to help support the growth of industry. So, the Legislature denied King this second point.

In any event, King was through with struggling against his Legislature and on May 28th he stepped out of office and he was, according to the Constitution, succeeded by the President of the Senate, William D. Williamson of Bangor. A native of Canterbury, Connecticut, born July 31, 1779, Williamson had been graduated from Bowdoin in 1804 and, after passing the bar, had established himself in the practice of his profession at Bangor.

Willis, in "Law, Courts and Lawyers of Maine" says of him, . . . (he) commenced the active pursuits of life under unusual advantages: he was older and had had more experience than young men generally when entering on their profession; he had great activity of mind, an ardent, sanguine temperament, and a persevering industry; qualities like these rarely fail of success. . . . his prosperity was uninterrupted. He devoted himself to politics as well as law. From 1811 to 1816, he was county attorney of Hancock, which then included Penobscot; he then served in the Senate of Massachusetts until the separation, when he became president of the Maine Senate, acting governor and Representative to Congress. He served but a single term in the latter office, the county of Somerset claiming and receiving the right to furnish the member for the next two years. He was, however, appointed Judge of Probate for Penobscot in 1824 and served with promptness, fidelity and ability until 1840. He finished his useful and varied life May 27, 1846."

Whatever may have been the accomplishments of Governor Williamson as a lawyer and a politician, he won himself secure immortality by his literary work. As Willis says, ". . . the happiness which attended . . . the steady and quiet pursuit of all his leisure hours. His 'History of Maine' was the great labor of his life; to this the best powers of his mind were given; and on this he labored with an earnestness and ardor which gave joy to his heart and light to his understanding. Wherever he went, upon whatever subject he was engaged, his eye and his pen were intent upon his great work. He was indefatigable in his labors, and explored all sources of

knowledge which would be likely to inform or illuminate his pages. He collected a vast amount of material, and rescued from oblivion treasures, which, had it not been for his exertions and industry, would have passed out of human observation and memory."

Williamson himself wrote of his career in office as Acting Governor:

"It may be worthy of remark, that during the primary political year, a period of seventeen months, all the constitutional provisions for filling the Executive chair were called for and improved. In about a year, Governor King left the office to Mr. Williamson, the President of the Senate, who being elected six months afterwards a member of Congress, surrendered the trust to Mr. Ames, Speaker of the House. The President of the Senate, in the next Legislature, was Mr. Rose, who assumed the executive chair a day, until Governor Parris was inducted into office by taking the requisite oaths."

King's resignation had naturally caused consternation in the ranks of his Democratic (Republican) Party, for there was a question not only of how the next party candidate should be chosen but, more important, just who that candidate should be. No other Democrat enjoyed the great popularity that had been King's. Sensing a fatal division in the party, the leaders feared that to call a convention of the party soon would encourage this division and so it was determined to abide the issue for a time.

Three candidates found themselves widely discussed—Senator Chandler, Judge Parris and Joshua Wingate, Jr. Both Chandler and Parris were well known, both had filled high office with credit and both were regarded as staunch Democrats. They too, like King, had been leaders in the winning of separation from Massachusetts; they had labored well in the framing of the Constitution, and both had alleged approval of King's non-partisan policy. Had this duality continued, the Party certainly would have been split but General Chandler relieved the situation by announcing that he would not be a candidate at the time. This left the field open to Parris and he was beyond doubt the "regular" candidate, especially since he had the support of the party's bosses—Chandler, Holmes, King, Preble and Ware.

Wingate was far from being friendless. He had the support of many Federalists, of many wealthy men of power and influence and of members of the Democratic Party who were unable to forget that Parris was a "renegade," having once been a Federalist. Had Chandler fought it out with Parris for the party nomination, Wingate might have won the nomination as a sort of compromise candidate.

As it was Wingate was in an unfortunate position. The *Argus* playing upon the wealthy supporters of Wingate, said, "(His supporters) are neither Republican (Democratic) nor Federal; but a purely monied junto; a combination of wealthy men who have heretofore been diametrically opposed in their political principles but on



this occasion have united their strength to dictate to the State . . .” Also, pointing out that Wingate had become “rich by office-holding” and could not as such be concerned “with the prudence, economy and frugality of a new and agricultural state,” went on to point out that he was related to wealthy families in the national government. Said the *Argus*, “. . . a family aristocracy is not more dangerous than a monied aristocracy. It is much to be feared that there is a combination of overgrown capitalists in Portland who intend to rule the State. Let the bloated sons of speculation unite; let the revenue officers with the government’s funds in their hands join the league. Let the influence of wealth be added to that of family. Let old presses be bought and new ones established, and your State become a mere nose of wax to the capital.”

(This reference to newspapers was occasioned by wealthy supporters of Wingate in Portland, on being denied control of the *Argus*, which was supporting Parris, going out and establishing a new paper, the *Independent Statesman*.)

Wingate and his supporters waged a bitter campaign, heaping abuse upon Parris personally, holding up his private habits to ridicule and making the most of the fact that he was a renegade Federalist. Lawyers even then were not too popular as office-holders, for many Maine men had suffered in land cases brought into the courts, and this prejudice against lawyers was fully exploited. The opposition even went so far as to send Parris an anonymous letter, warning him that his case was hopeless and that he would certainly suffer a most humiliating defeat. This was a play at taking advantage of Parris’ well-known timidity and hesitancy.

However, the votes were finally cast and Parris won by a majority of 1,501. He received 12,887 votes, Wingate 3,879, Whitman (the Federalist Party’s regular candidate) 6,811, while there were 811 votes scattering.

It is an interesting reflection upon both the position of the Democratic Party in Maine and of Parris personally that, while he was merely Governor-elect, his party leaders beset him to promise that he would be a candidate for re-election. The bosses were afraid that, now the Federalist Party in Maine was virtually unimportant, the remnants of that party would unite with dissident Democrats and form a new party and thus upset the Democratic control of the State. Parris, the bosses believed, would prevent this if he would remain in office, for the man in office always has an edge over any aspirant when running for re-election. However, Parris once again demonstrated that he was no fighter and he failed to summon the courage to face the insults and abuse of another campaign. He may also have been sincere in his reply that, should he announce that he sought re-election, the Wingate faction would make his term of office a political free-for-all and thus hinder the proper execution of the business of the State. Accordingly, he announced that he would not seek re-election but would do all in his power to assist the man the Party chose to nominate.

Fragments from a letter by Senator Holmes to Dr. Ayer illuminate Parris’ character very well. “. . . Our friend Parris has





*Otis House, Belfast*



not half the political courage I thought he had. . . . I beg you treat him tenderly as he is too valuable to lose. We must overlook this one political fault as well as we can. . . . The personal friendship and attachment for him, as well as political, are such as to carry with him a larger share of the people, than any party here can spare and carry a majority. . . .”

But the Democratic bosses, after their kind, did not give up hope and just five days after the letter quoted above, December 23rd, Senator Holmes wrote to Dr. Ayer once more, “We have laid a regular siege to the Judge (Parris), and then carried him by storm. The attack was irresistible and he has surrendered at discretion.”

So Parris was nominated again, without opposition and in the following election he had no open competitor. Wingate and the Federalist Whitman were available, but did not campaign. The vote stood: Parris 15,476; Whitman, 5,795, and Wingate, 755 with 154 scattering. This overwhelming victory gave Parris’ party complete domination and, accordingly, Parris was re-elected, practically unanimously in 1823, 1824 and 1825.

Maine, however settled its local politics were by Parris’ domination, did have some warm political battles over the Presidential election in 1824. There were five leading candidates—John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, William H. Crawford of Georgia, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Henry Clay of Kentucky, and General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee. Only Adams and Crawford had much support in Maine. Adams, the strict Puritan, and the native New Englander, as well as a good churchman, held the support of most of Maine’s voters. However, the political leaders, mindful of Crawford’s strength, ability and antipathy towards the Federalists, favored him, although they hesitated to come out openly and say so. The politicians struggled with might and main to win the State over to support Crawford and employed every one of their most skillful tactics. Time and time again they out-manuevered the supporters of Adams but it was all in vain for election day in Maine gave every electoral vote to Adams. Adams rewarded Maine by appointing Rufus King as Minister to England and made his son the secretary of the legation. Unfortunately, King was in very poor health and resigned after about a year in England.

In the winter of 1825, Parris, alleging his duty to his family required him to abandon the governorship, refused to stand for the office again. The Party bosses tried to persuade Judge Weston of Augusta to stand but he, too, refused. So Parris once more accepted the responsibilities of the highest office in Maine.

In 1826 however, Parris was really determined to get out of office and so the legislative caucus nominated Enoch Lincoln of Paris, who had represented the Oxford district in Congress for eight years. An able, popular, and well-respected man, he was undoubtedly chosen as a means of holding the party together. Lincoln won the election easily and was re-elected for four successive terms without opposition.

This was not surprising because Lincoln was an exceptional man to find in public life. He was a native of Massachusetts and was a member of one of the most prominent families of the Commonwealth.

Born in 1788, a Harvard man, after studying law he went to Fryeburg where he mingled the unusual activities of practicing law and writing poetry. In 1824, he was the official poet of the commemoration of the centennial of Lovewell's fight. Paris, not far from Fryeburg, offered this talented young lawyer the job of representing them in Congress, if he would remove to their town, or so it was alleged. Anyhow, Lincoln did go to Paris in 1817 and the next year was elected a Representative to the National House. Lincoln did so well that he was kept in Congress for eight terms, leaving the marble halls only to become Governor of Maine.

He made an excellent Governor although it is said that he broke many a girl's heart. Despite "fine, clear eyes, a pleasant mouth, sanguine complexion and golden hair" and a good position as a lawyer and a public official, he stubbornly refused all female blandishments and died a bachelor—perhaps because he was also, so his reputation insisted, a "deep thinker and a philosopher." By nature he was something of a contradiction for while very gentle and obliging ordinarily, he could be very stubborn and resolute whenever he concluded that someone was attempting to dictate to him. A story illustrates this. On his death bed, he desired to arise but was told he must not. "Must," he exclaimed, "that is no language to use to me!" The attendant, alarmed at possible consequences, answered quickly, "I beg you, I entreat you, to lie still." "Oh," the Governor replied kindly, "that is another matter; that is speaking like a reasonable being." So he turned over—and went to sleep.

He always maintained a deep interest in the welfare of his adopted state, particularly in her products, her wild animals, and her Indians. He owned and operated a farm, and in 1829 he declined re-election, saying that he wished to retire so he could devote himself to agriculture and to the writing of a history of Maine. He had previously collected a great mass of material and had actually begun an account of the Maine Indians. For the sake of his fame, which rested securely on the basis of his services as Congressman and Governor, it was probably well that he did not write his projected history for his writing, as evidenced in his various state papers, such as Fast Day proclamations, "smell of the lamp." They are less rhetorical and trite than much of such writing of the period, but they are "rather labored and parenthetical."

The Fourth of July, 1826, being the fiftieth anniversary of American independence, was properly celebrated in Maine as in all other States. The Day was saddened however by the remarkable coincidence that both Adams and Jefferson died the same day. Both had been prominent in the forming of the Declaration of Independence and both had not only been Presidents of the United States but had worked well as architects of the infant nation. Adams' death was marked by the firing of minute guns—as was Jefferson's, when the news eventually reached Portland.

The death of Adams ended a long feud between the Democrats of Maine and the remnants of the Federalists, whom Adams of course typified. Jackson, as the Democratic candidate in the election of 1828,



was bitterly attacked by the *Kennebec Journal*, admitting he was "honest and patriotic" but belittling him as "a mere soldier, rash and impetuous, and whose fame was chiefly acquired in a gallant and fortunate battle, but who had repeatedly manifested his disrespect for civil power." In the heat of the election, the *Journal* went even further, accusing him of having been a confederate of the detested Aaron Burr, of having unlawfully executed certain men under his command who claimed that their enlistments had expired and had consequently attempted to return home, of having caused another soldier, a Baptist minister, to be shot for a trivial offense; it said he had used his official position to increase his personal estate, and that he was a slave-holder. The *Journal* also reiterated the scandal that Jackson had married a woman who at the time was the wife of another man, the divorce not, as Jackson thought, having been completed. In any event, divorce was not considered respectable in Maine at the time.

Jackson had friends in Maine however and they brought up the failure of President Adams to support Maine's trade with the British West Indies. This was a serious matter, for Maine had once carried on a very lucrative trade with those British islands and felt the closing of them to American vessels very sharply. In 1825, the British offered to open the trade to American vessels once more under certain conditions. Adams delayed accepting the offer for one reason or another, perhaps hoping for better terms, and when he finally agreed to the conditions, the British administration had changed and the new officials shut the doors tightly again. Jackson's supporters had claimed that he would not have delayed but would have opened the West Indies to Maine vessels promptly.

Another difficult business, from Maine's point of view, was the Adams' tariff of 1828, usually known as the tariff of abominations. Jackson had arranged that, although he would please the high tariff states of Pennsylvania and her neighbors, he would please the low tariff states of the South and New England (then low tariff because of their foreign trade interests) by actually defeating the tariff in Congress. The trick was on the whole successful but it did hurt New England and Maine in particular because of additional protection given to manufacturing unexpectedly.

Among the provisions which Maine considered an "abomination" was the doubling of the duty on molasses. This was a very heavy blow at Maine's trade with the West Indies for Maine lumber, Maine ships and all the various industries employed in the trading of Maine products for West Indian molasses and the production of rum back home in New England from the molasses (a gallon of molasses would make a gallon of rum) were seriously affected. Portland went into mourning when the news arrived. Stores were hung with crepe, bells were tolled, and flags were half-staffed. This injury was squarely placed at Jackson's door and Maine was all prepared to cast her ballots for Adams instead of Jackson, despite the Democratic leanings of the State. When the result was finally known,

there was sorrow in Maine therefore, for while Maine as a whole did go for Adams, Jackson swept the country.

Cumberland had gone for Jackson and great was the joy of the local county Democrats. The National Republicans, as Adams' party was called, took their defeat badly and, to quote the *Kennebec Journal*, Jackson's victory was ". . . an event derogatory to our national character, injurious to the public interests, and of evil omen to the duration of the Republic, but we console ourselves with the reflection that we have done our duty in opposing his elevation . . . use every honest means to prevent his doing mischief in a situation to which he is incompetent. . . . If the country is not involved in war under the new dynasty, it will probably be owing to the firmness and prudence of Congress, and to a constant discriminating and patriotic opposition."

The *Portland Advertiser* added to the chorus, saying, "(Jackson) has been not only a brave but a cruel man. He has manifested not only some virtues, but many vices. If he has on some occasions exercised the kinder sympathies of nature, he has, on too many, been governed by ferocious barbarity. If he has at times respected and sustained the laws of his country, he has also been guilty of lawless violence, and gross infractions of the Constitution. It is these opposite traits of character which occasion our dread of his elevation." The *Portland Patriot*, for a final sample of Maine opinion, remarked, "Never since we have been an independent nation, was there more need of a firm, prudent, and independent Congress, than there will be for the next four years; for never before have we had a President so ignorant and incapable, nor one the tenth part so."

In Maine, the Adams supporters had carried the State Legislature and, feeling the way they did about Jackson, they set about making their power felt. They first elected a new Council composed solely of Adams' men, called National Republicans. While Governor Lincoln renominated most of the incumbents who had held office, the Legislature refused to confirm all who were Jacksonians. There was a loud howl forthcoming over this and the Legislature was accused of proscription. An issue was made of the treatment of Secretary of State Nichols, who was so deposed. It was pointed out, loudly, that he was an able official, highly respected, and needed his stipend for his livelihood; his only fault was being a supporter of Jackson. The National Republicans owned that the case of Secretary Nichols was unfortunate but argued that Maine was simply doing at home what Jackson was doing on a grand scale all over the nation. "To the victor belong the spoils" and if Maine could not be loyal to its friends, who then would be?

It so happened in this year of conflict that the Maine Legislature was faced with the election of a United States Senator to succeed General Chandler. Of course the man could not be a Jacksonian—no one who was stigmatized with that brand could have won the support of the Legislature. So the elegant Peleg Sprague of Hallowell was chosen. A native of Duxbury, Massachusetts, another Harvard man, he established himself in the practice of law at Augusta in 1816



and soon won himself a very large practice. Probably his most distinguishing characteristic was his astonishing command of language, his somewhat flowery style, and his studied perfection of gesture and posture. It may seem odd, today, but at the time, the citizens of Maine admired such elegance and he became immensely popular. Senator Bradbury said of him, "Everything he said, even to the making of a motion in court, was said with elegance and finish."

Sprague began his political career in 1824 as a representative to Congress and served until promoted to the Senate in 1829. In 1835 he ran for Governor on the Whig ticket but, defeated, resigned his seat as Senator and removed to Boston where he was appointed Justice of the United States District Court of Massachusetts, a position which he held for many years, although nearly blind. He died at the age of 87 in 1880.

For the 1830 State election, closing the first decade of Maine's existence as a State, the Democrats naturally attempted to renominate Governor Lincoln but he firmly declined the honor and the burden of yet another term. For a time no one could be found who would take the office among the party faithful, despite the fulminations of the *Argus* which accused all politicians of the Democratic Party in general of waiting to see what national prizes might be given by Jackson. Said the *Argus* in part, "Let no fence-rider, no timid eleventh-hour Jackson man, no twaddler, no vapping, scheming, double-faced politician, be selected." But, alas, eventually the Democratic caucus did just about that, for they picked out Samuel E. Smith, alleged to have been a supporter of Adams. A real compromise candidate, Smith was, of course, an able lawyer, well known for his industry and thrift, and professional and political success.

New Hampshire-born but Wiscasset-raised, Smith was yet another Harvard man, Class of 1808, and began his political activities as well as the practice of the legal profession while a young man, serving in the Legislatures of both Massachusetts and Maine. In 1821, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas, holding that office until Circuit Courts were abolished, and then being appointed an associate justice of the new courts, where he remained until his election as Governor in 1830. After serving as Chief Executive, he served as Justice of Common Pleas and then retired to serve as one of the commissioners charged with revising the public laws. After this final public duty he spent the balance of his life, until his death in 1860, "in literary ease and retirement, and in the enjoyment of an independent estate. He was a genial, pleasant companion." His passing was characteristic of the man. As reported he continued his passion in mathematical exercises all his life. One evening, "he left his study at 11 o'clock at night, having spent several hours enjoying the solution of a problem in algebra, and an hour later he had ceased to breathe."

The National Republicans, to oppose Smith, nominated at their caucus Jonathan G. Hunton of Readfield. He had been prosperous but lost his fortune in the War of 1812 and supported himself by working a small farm and by practicing "law"—apparently to the extent of collecting small bills. He had never been either prominent

or very active in politics and it is something of a mystery why, out of all the talent at their disposal, the Adams men chose such a comparatively insignificant and little known candidate. The Democrats of course had a field day over Hunton's obscurity, asking loudly at every opportunity "if any individual by the name of Jonathan G. Hunton is known to reside within the limits of Maine?" Indeed, the campaign proved to be a vicious one, probably one of the meanest ever waged in Maine. Democratic papers specifically accused him of immorality, of boasting of his amatory conquests, of employing filthy language, in short, of all such odious behavior and defied him to bring suit for libel.

Of course, the National Republicans defended their candidate and the *Kennebec Journal* expressed the keynote of the defense against the infamous charges by saying it was moved more to pity than to anger by the attempt to under-rate the character of "lawyer" Hunton, "merely because, like Cincinnatus and Washington, he had been seen following the plough."

When the ballots were counted, Hunton emerged with so small a lead it was feared for a time that the election would be contested by the elimination of enough votes for various legal reasons. The Legislature, too, was in doubt and in the Senate there were four vacancies. Hardly had the election fever begun to subside than the entire State was saddened by the death of Governor Lincoln. By his favor, the grounds for the new State House had been selected at Augusta and he was appropriately buried there with full military and civil honors.

Both the House and the Senate meeting on January 6, 1830, had grave difficulties in organizing for business, particularly the upper chamber with eight senators being National Republicans, eight being Democrats—and with four vacancies. Finally, after 49 ballots without result, on the 50th Joshua Hall was given the National Republican vote, although he was a Democrat. He himself did not vote and thus the Democrats had only seven votes against the other party's eight. Hall, who was "a short, fleshy, good-hearted, old gentleman, and a minister of the Methodist Church," denied that he had deserted his party and, in truth, once elected President of the Senate, hewed close to his party line thereafter.

The House and Senate then proceeded to confirm the election of Hunton as governor by a plurality of thirty-nine and then filled, with very considerable difficulty, the vacant seats in the Senate. The same difficulties continued all year and, while the struggle see-sawed back and forth endlessly, in the main, the National Republicans did manage, by one means or another, to really control the Legislature.

However, the next years, the Democrats turned the tables completely. Governor Hunton was renominated by Legislative caucus and the National Republican, or Whig, convention concurred and launched upon energetic efforts to assure his re-election. The Democrats once more put Smith into the running and this time, Smith won handily, with 30,215 votes against Hunton's 28,639. The Democrats also carried the Legislature and, to the anger of the Whigs, the new Legislature at once pushed through an act validating the laws of the previous year.



## 4. THE FERMENT OF THE JACKSONIAN ERA

For the year 1831, the major local interest of Maine politically was the campaign for governor. The Democrats put Governor Smith up for re-election and the Whigs, Hunton having declined to risk defeat once more, offered the people Daniel Goodenow, the Speaker of the House for 1830. The policy of Governor Smith in appointing members of his party to public office at the expense of office-holders of the opposite party was roundly attacked and as warmly defended. President Jackson's administration was also of importance in the Maine campaigning, particularly his Indian policy. Maine had two Indian tribes within its borders and while no actual trouble was feared, the settlers naturally did not wish to encourage any degree of independence among the red wards of the State. Thus when Jackson came out and insisted that Georgia was right in taking jurisdiction over the Cherokee and the Creek Indians within her border away from Federal control, Jackson's action was warmly applauded in Maine. The Cherokee claim to independence was considered a dangerous precedent—and Jackson's formal action in denying the Indians' claim was naturally well received locally and thus the Democrats of Maine were assisted.

And of course, Maine being largely agricultural and sea-faring and without manufacturing, comparatively, was naturally Democratic. Hence, Governor Smith received 28,912 votes against Goodenow, the National Republican—who received 21,821. The National Republicans were sad and the *Kennebec Journal*, their organ, murmured, "We are told there is a redeeming spirit in the people. We should like to see a little of it."

The 1832 election was of major importance for it was also presidential year and the ferment of Jacksonian Democracy was probably one of the warmest and most vital forces at work in the nation up to that point. Maine re-nominated the two gubernatorial candidates of the previous year and each party followed the national lead in supporting the presidential candidates—the Democrats re-indorsed Jackson and the National Republicans, now generally known as Whigs, selected Henry Clay.

Both campaigns were warmly waged, although the local standard bearers were, as is customary, subordinated to the presidential aspirants. Jackson was attacked with such opprobrium as these selections from the papers—"Our poor, feeble, super-annuated, ignorant, imprudent President outroars the most terrific lion of Numidia" and "The old dotard replied with every fury in the calendar depicted in his countenance." Clay was likewise attacked by the Democrats although with less violence. The campaign of course attracted a large turn-out of voters with the Whigs gaining the most. Governor Smith, however, won with 31,987 votes against Goodenow's 27,651. Maine and the nation went for Jackson.

One of the first duties of the new Legislature was to elect a United States Senator to succeed Holmes, whose term was expiring. Both Holmes and Sprague had been roundly censured for alleged failure to follow resolutions passed the year before concerning the

tariff and the United States Bank. As the Legislature was Democratic, their nominees were certain of election. After a struggle, the party caucus picked Ether Shepley of Saco over John Ruggles of Thomaston, and he was promptly elected by the Maine House and Senate. The Whig candidate was Simon Greenleaf, Reporter for the Maine Supreme Court for twelve years and subsequently a law professor at Harvard and author of a very famous work on the law of evidence.

Shepley, who had been born at Groton, Massachusetts, November 2, 1789, was a Dartmouth graduate and, admitted to the bar in 1814, settled at Saco. He served as United States District Attorney and resigned to accept election as United States Senator. Then in 1836, he resigned that office to sit on the Maine Supreme Bench, becoming Chief Justice in 1848 and in 1855 retiring to private life, although he did return to serve as one of the Commissioners to revise the Maine statutes. His son, also a prominent Maine lawyer, served in the Civil War and was appointed military governor of Louisiana. Judge Shepley died at Portland, aged 88, January 15, 1877.

The winter of 1832-1833 was remarkable for a local fight over the attempted nullification of the tariff laws by South Carolina. That State had declared the tariff laws of 1828 and 1832 void within her limits and President Jackson replied with his famous proclamation denouncing nullification and strongly asserting the powers of the Federal Government. Governor Smith of Maine heartily endorsed Jackson's action and the Whigs eagerly gave him their support on this point. This embarrassed the more energetic Democrats who found Jackson's assertion of federal authority on the strong side. The Maine Democrats were also low-tariff men but they were aware that most of Maine was strongly pro-Jackson—and also that Jackson was the sole dispenser of all Federal patronage.

This Democratic embarrassment resulted in a sharp split as the Legislature struggled for months with a set of resolutions designed to set forth Maine's position in the matter of tariff and nullification. The committee appointed to draw up the resolutions made it appear that the Maine Legislature heartily approved of Jackson's policy and looked to "his patriotism, vigilance and firmness as pledges that all his efforts will be directed to preserve unimpaired the union, happiness and glory of our Republic." This resolution could not be swallowed and various amendments were offered as well as substitute resolutions, as that by Timothy Boutelle which denied the right of a State or a people to secede and quoted Jackson on the condemnation of secession. This alarmed the Democrats and William D. Williamson of Bangor moved his amendment which approved of the President's proclamation, on the grounds not that it was in accordance with the Federalist doctrine of consolidation, but rather in agreement with the Democratic principle of State Rights. In the resulting debate, language was used of a rather discreditable nature, considering it was aimed at President Jackson, ". . . the life of Andrew Jackson is all black—one long catalogue of crimes and disgrace, but there is one bright spot, one glimpse of light in the proclamation. Of this we wish to take advantage, but gentlemen will not



suffer it." Williamson's amendment was accepted and the original resolution finally passed and signed by the Governor. When at Washington the compromise was worked out by which the tariff was reduced and the nullification ordinance repealed in South Carolina, it was received with relief in Maine but a split had been made in Democratic ranks.

This split was aggravated by the subsequent struggle over the nomination for a Democratic candidate for governor. Previous Maine governors, such as Parris and Lincoln, and to a lesser degree, Smith, had been chosen because they were men of moderate views and could hold the party together as well as conciliate to a degree the members of the opposition. But, now, opposition to moderation began to develop amongst the Democrats and there was a loud call for a "whole-hog" Jackson-man.

Said the *Maine Democrat* on this, ". . . throw to the winds all attempts at conciliating the opposition, by hitting upon a man who by a 'milk and water' policy would prove least obnoxious to them. . . . It is miserable policy for the party to pass by the merits and claims of their best men, because by their ardent and zealous devotion to the good of their party, these men have incurred the displeasure of our opponents."

Governor Smith, who by precedent doubtless felt he was entitled to another term, did enjoy the good will of the Whigs and thus proved such a drawback to the support of his own party that the Democrats of the Legislature refused to make him their nominee. Instead they called a party convention and this body duly gave Robert G. Dunlap of Brunswick 185 votes, Smith 79, scattering 7.

Dunlap, born at Brunswick, August 17, 1794, and a graduate of Bowdoin, 1815, proved to be an excellent selection. He had been an ardent and capable Democrat for many years, serving many terms in the House and Senate and was at the time of his nomination a member of the Governor's Council. He was always a loyal public servant and he was known for his outstanding ability—serving "with great accuracy, promptness and dispatch, and at the same time dignified impartiality." He was also highly placed in the Masonic fraternity, being master of the United Lodge of Brunswick, grand master of the Grand Lodge of Maine and general high priest of the General Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the United States. He was also a Knight Templar and is reported to have held the highest degree ever conferred under the Scottish Rite in America up to that time. He was still further a dutiful churchman, being "eminently a devout man, living and dying in the faith and hopes of the gospel. No one who knew him doubted the sincerity or the depth and power of his religious convictions."

However Smith's friends—and he had many—were angry at what they considered the shabby treatment the Governor had received and since it was known that the Maine Whigs were considering giving him their support, these Democrats determined to support Smith as an independent candidate for Governor. So far as is known, Smith neither approved nor forbade this action. Naturally, the election was hard fought and the results reflected the nature of the contest:

Dunlap, 25,731; Goodenow (Whig), 18,112; Smith, 3,024; Hill (anti-Mason), 2,384 and scattering, 101.

The year 1834 witnessed the culmination of Jackson's struggle with the United States Bank. His allegedly high-handed closing of this institution resulted in a panic, hard times and violent upheavals all over the nation—difficulties which Maine did not escape although, since Maine was agricultural, banks were not popular in the State and the bulk of the people escaped since they kept their money safely hidden at home. However, business men and wealthy persons, upon whose activities the welfare of the State in a large measure depended, were hard hit as a whole—and consequently everyone did suffer through loss of employment and the rest of the tragic cycle of depression. Many prominent Democrats, such as ex-Governor King, and James L. Churchill of Bath, revolted, and this had its effects in the next elections.

Serious, too, was the way in which National Republicans, or Whigs, took advantage of the political turmoil. Many Whig merchants proceeded to put pressure upon their employees to "vote right." At Portland, a well-known business man, accused of exerting undue influence, published an advertisement in the papers in which he flatly stated that he had been a strong supporter of the Administration until it had attacked the currency, and that he had said and did say, he would not employ any man who was against a national bank, for he could not conduct his business without one. Another prominent citizen declared that in employing men he would always give preference to such as voted in favor of what he himself thought were the best interests of the country.

The Whigs established an excellent State-wide organization and called a great convention at Waterville with no effort spared to obtain a large attendance. In addition to the fact that the dates were that of the college commencement, there was "a grand menagerie of living animals, not the convention, but a show provided by Waring, Tufts & Co." Ex-Governor King presided and Peleg Sprague was nominated for Governor. The Democrats once again nominated Dunlap but for all the trouble both parties put themselves to, the campaign failed to be very fierce. However, the voters turned out well and the results were: Dunlap, 38,133; Sprague, 33,732; Hill, 1,076; and scattering, 90.

The first business of the new Legislature, in which the Democrats held a clear majority, and hence were assured of electing their choice, was the selection of a United States Senator to represent the State in Washington. They chose John Ruggles of Thomaston, a lawyer, practising at Skowhegan and at Thomaston. He was active in politics, serving as Speaker of the Maine House for years and also as a judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He had strongly supported Dunlap for Governor, his enemies said, so that he would receive the United States Senatorship. However, he could not have found Washington much to his liking for he served but a single term as Senator and then, breaking with his party on the sub-treasury question, retired to private life.



One of the graver actions of the Legislature of 1835 was the passage of the "small bill law," a matter which proved to be a plague for the Democrats. As has been noticed, there existed in Maine a strong feeling against banks and the money the banks were issuing was considered not as good as it might be. So Governor Dunlap led a movement to curtail the right of Maine banks to issue bills under the \$5.00 denomination. Five dollars in those days was a comparatively large amount of money. The Legislature, believing that Maine's paper currency was dangerously inflated because of the banks' readiness to print paper money, agreed that if the small bills were driven out, the people would come to use coin instead of paper in most day-by-day transactions and thus Maine's money would be given a broad metallic base. Hard money was still considered better money than paper in those days.

One national matter aroused great interest in Maine at this time; this was the death of Chief Justice Marshall of the United States Supreme Court. Maine, being often at odds, at least as far as the Democratic majority went, with the great jurist's interpretation of the Constitution, did not feel any loss at his passing; but Maine was intensely interested in whom should be appointed by Jackson in his place. The word came that Jackson was considering appointing Daniel Webster—another really great man, for whom the Maine Democrats had little sympathy and less admiration. Webster would be a calamity for Maine, the papers shouted. But Maine had no real cause to worry. Whatever Jackson's faults may have been, he never could be accused of failing to reward his friends and so he nominated his friend and loyal supporter, Roger B. Taney, who had recently been denied appointment as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court by Congress. Jackson really brought pressure to bear this time and Taney was confirmed as Chief Justice by a strict party vote. Maine Democrats were pleased.

The State campaign this year was based upon internal improvements as the chief issue. There could be no question that the lack of adequate transportation was working a great hardship for Maine. Most travel had to be by water; and business, farms and fisheries on tide-water were using the lower reaches of the rivers, the inlets of the sea, and the Atlantic itself for roads. However, inland activities were greatly curtailed because of the high costs of moving anything over the very poor apologies for roads which then existed. Men commonly used horses to get about or else walked. Goods when they could not be moved by water, were jolted over rocks and jounced into ruts by carts hauled slowly by oxen and horses. New York had gained a tremendous advantage by means of her Erie canal and the first rails were being laid in Massachusetts and elsewhere. Transportation was at last coming into being as a cheap and useful public improvement and all of Maine clamored for canals and for railroads. "If private capital cannot or will not build them, then the State must"—that was the slogan of the farmers, up-state particularly. Some states had heavily burdened themselves with debt for this purpose but Maine so far, had been reluctant to do so.



The Maine Whigs, the business party, met the issue squarely in 1835 and with ex-Governor King as their candidate for Governor, campaigned on the issue that the state should undertake a program of internal improvements. The Democrats, who renominated Governor Dunlap, denied the necessity of undertaking canals or a railroad, but, being careful, took care to hedge on their statements so as to prevent the loss of too many votes to the energetic Whigs.

The Democrats accused the Whigs of taking a mean advantage of public sentiment, to abandon economy and common sense "and to float their candidate into office upon the temporary tide of internal improvements. Perhaps it would be more just to say (they) . . . contemplate running General King into the chair of state upon a railroad." The Democrats also pointed out that "unfortunately Maine was a poor, large, and thinly settled State, and the improvements which would most hasten its development would be very costly and would at first directly benefit only a few of its citizens." It was asserted that the Whigs were mad to think that the people of Maine would burden themselves with millions of dollars of debt to build a railroad to the Northern border "or were willing to go to Washington to beg aid from the National Treasury and thus practically adopt the American system of Webster and Clay."

Banks were also an issue in this exciting campaign and both parties had much to say. The Democrats took a positive stand on this issue, saying that the Legislature deserved high praise for the "small bill" law and that no person should be even considered for public office unless pledged to oppose the charter, re-charter, or increase of capital, of any bank in Maine. The Whigs were equally assertive, declaring that the nation needed a national bank and that the "small bill" act was an example of malicious meanness, unparalleled stupidity and blind subserviency to the Jacksonian party.

However, Maine continued loyal to Jackson and the Democrats, and fearful of banks, corporations and money in general. The Whigs lost heavily and the Democrats gained much, for Dunlap was re-elected by a vote of 45,608 and King, the grand old political master, polled but 18,680.

Next year, 1836, was another Presidential contest and Maine's local troubles were buried in national concerns. The Democrats had nominated Martin Van Buren for President and Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky for vice president. The Whigs, discouraged by their serious defeat in 1832, held no convention and planned to confuse the issue by placing a number of candidates in the field, each popular in his own section to the end that Van Buren would fail of a majority and thus, with the election thrown into the House, a compromise candidate could be found and elected.

Maine did not care for Van Buren at all but the best Whig candidate, William Henry Harrison of Indiana, "the hero of Tippecanoe," was another soldier and that did not sit well with those who had opposed the soldier Jackson. Webster was a candidate, too, on the Whig ticket but he fell far behind in the race. "He received the electoral vote of faithful Massachusetts, and that was all." It is one



of the great mysteries of American history why such a remarkable man as Webster failed of ever gaining his cherished goal, the Presidency, while much lesser men walked into the White House with comparative ease.

On the local stage, the Democrats nominated Governor Dunlap again, praised his character and his administration, and devoted most of the campaign to Van Buren's interests. The Whig caucus, for the first time, selected for a gubernatorial candidate a man who lived in the eastern section of the State. Ex-Governor King having refused the nomination, they chose Edward Kent of Bangor. Even the violent Democratic papers could not find much fault with Kent for the *Argus*, very moderately for it, remarked of him, ". . . a gentleman of respectable talents, handsome address, somewhat indolent in his habits and, as far as we know, of unexceptionable moral character." The Democrats did however lambaste Kent for coming from a family that was Federalist and as having been educated in that faith.

Kent was another Harvard man, and like most politicians, a lawyer, too, for his mother was a sister of Prentiss Mellen, the first Chief Justice of Maine. "His character was at once lofty and gentle. He hated covetousness and meanness, but fully appreciated the refinements and enjoyments of life. He was sociable by nature, and delighted in clean, quiet humor. He took thought of the happiness of others as well as himself, and was among the early opponents of liquor and slavery."

As both parties had anticipated, Governor Dunlap was re-elected although Kent did better than King had and thus became the titular head of the Maine Whigs. Dunlap received 31,837 votes, while Kent rolled up 22,703. In Congressional elections, the Whigs ran the Democrats so close as to prevent a choice in every district, but the Democrats were sure that in the Presidential election things would be better. They were: Van Buren received 22,990 votes and Harrison only 15,239.

During the year, United States Senator Shepley resigned, as noted, to become a member of the Maine Supreme Court and Governor Dunlap honored the elderly Judge Dana of Fryeburg to fill the unexpired term. This was a mere temporary business for the Judge was known not to desire a full term and so, in due course, the Maine Legislature elected Reuel Williams, born in Augusta, then a part of Hallowell, in 1783. With only a common school education, plus secondary training at Hallowell Academy, he proved to have exceptional legal talents and was made a partner by Judge Bridge while under 21 years of age and too young to be admitted to the bar of Maine. The Judge retired soon and gave the entire practice, a very large one concerned mostly with land cases, since the firm was the agent for the proprietors of the Kennebec Purchase, to his youthful partner. Thus Williams found himself established in an important and lucrative position without ever really having gained any formal knowledge of law. However, he was a very keen analyst, a sharp student, and he continued to act so well that his talents were

never questioned and his career always successful. Williams served four years in the Senate and then resigned, finding law more attractive than politics. He became much interested in the unfortunate railroad rivalries which soon divided the State and entered public life only once again, when he served on the committee to urge the Federal Government to adequately fortify the coast of Maine in 1861—when the Civil War brought the danger of Confederate raiders. He died at Augusta in 1862 at the age of 80.

Van Buren's inauguration as President precipitated another panic that prostrated business throughout the country, a depression that Jackson had hastened by his famous specie circular which required the purchasers of public lands to pay for them in gold or silver, or in land script. The Whigs of course blamed the panic to the Democrats and the Democrats blamed the people but voters never manage ever to blame themselves for trouble and so the Democrats were forced to shoulder the blame to the advantage of the Whigs.

In Maine the situation was unfortunate, especially for the local Democrats, because their "small bill law" had proved not only a nuisance but also dangerous for, with hard money scarce in the panic, there was no paper of any amount available for business. The "small bills" law was openly flouted as a matter of necessity but the people once again blamed the Democrats for their troubles. This double misfortune was not the only trouble that plagued the Maine Democrats in the elections of 1837. Governor Dunlap, then in his fourth term, had declined to stand again and so the Democrats selected Colonel Gorham L. Parks of Bangor over Rufus McIntire of Parsonfield. Parks should have been a good candidate, because he was a man to conciliate and to win over opponents because of his "most urbane and courteous manners and gentlemanly deportment." Edward Kent, who had again been nominated by the Whigs, was a man of less character.

However, Parks, like many another politician before and since, was unfortunate in his friends. Many of these were "Young Democrats," men of violent nature and poorly considered deportment. These friends of Parks alienated many of the Old Guard Democrats and the unfortunate man found himself fighting not only the Whigs, but other prominent Democrats who should have stood firmly by his side. Thus Parks offended, unconsciously perhaps, the politicians of Maine. He also offended against morality, again not by intent in all probability. It seems that he had been the attorney for the defense of a certain Colonel Joshua Carpenter, sheriff of Penobscot County, against a charge of adultery. Carpenter was found guilty and dismissed from office. Parks publicly quarreled with the verdict, and said further that no man should be removed from public office for such a thing as adultery. He added that the law on adultery should be repealed. The spirit of the times was such that many people took offense at Park's intemperate remarks and this was particularly true in his home town of Bangor.

There seems little doubt that this cost him the election for had he not failed to poll a good vote in his home town, where most





*Blaisdell Mansion, Belfast*



candidates for state office can be relied upon to be very strong, he would have won. As it was the vote was very close. Kent received 34,358 votes; Parks 33,879. Naturally, the Democrats objected to having Kent seated by such a narrow victory and they carried the fight as far as the Supreme Court on various points of law respecting the legitimacy of ballots and procedures. However, expediency was considered important, for unless the matter was promptly determined, Maine would be without a governor and so Kent was finally seated as Chief Executive.

Another vexing question irked the Legislature once Kent was seated; for 1837 brought a very sharp battle over the distribution of Maine's share of the surplus revenue of the United States. It is difficult to appreciate the fact, but the Treasury of the United States in Jackson's time, instead of borrowing money endlessly, had actually accumulated a large surplus. In 1836, Jackson signed a bill which distributed the money in excess of \$5,000,000 by "deposit" among the various states in proportion to the number of representatives in Congress. The money, while legally subject to recall, was actually a present to the various states from the Federal Government.

Immediately Maine legislators fell into trouble over ways and means of using this windfall. The Whigs urged vehemently that it be used for some public purpose, such as internal improvements. The Democrats demanded that the funds be divided among the people since money spent for public purposes should be obtained by taxation and thus every man would contribute his fair share, according to his means. However, if the Federal gifts were to be spent as the Whigs wanted, then the rich man would pay no more than the poor man, and each would *lose* the same sum. The Legislature straddled the issue by voting to divide it according to population among all the towns and plantations. The towns were to be permitted to use the money as they wished for any purpose for which money would normally be raised by taxation. However, each town was bound to return to the State the money so received in the unlikely event that the United States ever demanded the return of the "deposits."

So the towns took up the vexation and many of them voted to distribute the money amongst their citizens. This distribution was challenged and the matter was taken to the Supreme Court, where the plan to distribute the money was found illegal since the money could only be used for the same purposes as that which was raised by taxation. But human nature was too powerful for the Supreme Court. Pressure was brought to bear upon the next Legislature and that compliant body grandly voted to allow the towns to distribute the money as they wished and also released the towns from any obligation about returning the money.

The 1838 Legislature was divided; the House was Whig and the Senate Democratic so the session was frequently agitated. One trouble was the changes that Governor Kent made among office holders, for the Whigs, despite the horror they had expressed at the Democratic Party's exploitation of the spoils system, did fire every Democrat they could reach. The main quarrel however, was the troublesome "small bills" law. The Whigs, iterating the old



saw, "I told you so," pointed out that they had opposed the passage of the law and if the Democrats had only listened to reason, the State would have some \$600,000 more money available in bank-notes instead of being hard-pressed for currency. The law, of course, was being ignored by agreement but the Democrats wanted to keep it on the books for future use. However, a compromise was finally worked out by which Maine banks should be exempted from the operation of the law until the resumption of specie payment, inside of two years. In 1840 the suspension was continued until both Massachusetts and New Hampshire should pass similar "small bills" laws. Since these two states did not pass such laws, the "small bills" law was practically repealed.

For the next State election, the Whigs nominated Governor Kent but the Democratic candidate, Colonel Parks, refusing to run again, was rewarded with the gift of the office of United States Marshal of Maine. So the Democrats had to find a new candidate for themselves and soon there was no lack of able men in the field. Two candidates were outstanding in the race for the nomination; Rufus McIntire of Parsonfield, who had enjoyed generous support the year before, and John Fairfield of Saco. The meeting took but one vote and Fairfield won by a vote of 331 against McIntire's mere 17.

At the present time it is difficult to understand why McIntire made such a poor run for he was a loyal Democrat, a man of much experience in public life, and in possession of an excellent reputation for character, integrity and industry. Probably the reason was merely that he was elderly, and hence moderate in his views and thus lost the support of the younger and more radical Democrats. Also, McIntire did not enjoy the support of the bosses of his party. For example, Hannibal Hamlin, just becoming prominent in State politics, organized Eastern Maine for Fairfield; and Nathan Clifford, of Newfield, another up-and-coming political boss, worked zealously night and day for Fairfield, buttonholing every delegate to the convention and demanding that he vote for Fairfield. Of course, Clifford wanted Fairfield's seat in Congress and the only way to get it was to elect Fairfield Governor and thus have the seat vacated.

Fairfield, who was born in 1797, and served on a privateer in the War of 1812, entered the practice of the law only after a career in business. From 1823 to 1835, he was a reporter of the decisions of the Supreme Court and he was completing a second term in the National House of Representatives when he accepted the nomination for Governor. From the Governor's chair he continued on into the United States Senate but died there after only four years in office.

There was a third candidate, F. C. J. Smith, who was representing Cumberland County in Congress and was nominated by the "Conservatives." He was not a serious contender however, being merely the favorite son of a handful of bankers and business men who deplored the fiscal policy of the United States and also the policy of the Maine Democrats in regard to the state banks. He was also a political jack-of-all trades and as inconstant in his political allegiances as a weathervane.

The election was complicated by news of a famous duel in Washington, the celebrated Graves-Cilley affair. Representative Cilley of Maine had clashed on the floor of the House with Representative Wise over the attempted character assassination of James Watson Webb, editor of the New York *Courier* and *Enquirer*. The dispute originated in charges brought by the paper against an un-named member of the Senate who was accused of selling his influence with a department. The Senator turned out to be Senator Ruggles of Maine who was exonerated by a Senate Committee of wrong-doing in his rendering of legal services to a man seeking a patent. Webb came to Washington and challenged Cilley to a duel, which the latter refused to accept. The bearer of the challenge, Representative Graves of Kentucky, took the matter very seriously and himself challenged Cilley. This challenge Cilley accepted and named rifles as the weapons. The first two shots were exchanged without effect but on the third exchange Cilley was killed.

Maine received the news with indignation. "Murder Most Foul," the *Argus* shrieked. Indeed, the charge of murder was heard in various parts of the nation and the Maine Legislature requested an investigation to determine whether Cilley had been murdered because of his political opposition to the Whig's policy on banking. The Whigs, every Democrat in Maine believed, had removed Cilley because they feared his influence was becoming dangerous to the success of their plans. Of course, there were multitudes of people in Maine who considered a duel a crime in itself and the ministers of the State mounted their pulpits and inflamed public indignation with sermons crying "Shame! Shame! Shame!" Actually none of the participants in the duel suffered any punishment formally or informally.

Slavery, too, played a role in this Maine gubernatorial campaign for both parties attempted to win over the increasingly numerous anti-slavery citizens. The Whigs accused Fairfield of being a Yankee with Southern sympathies while the Democrats accused Kent of being an anti-abolitionist.

Personalities played a large part in the campaigning which became increasingly violent towards its conclusion, so it was not surprising that the largest vote in Maine's history up to that time was cast. The Democrats won by a majority of about 3,000, in a total vote of 89,599. Fairfield carried 46,216 votes, Kent 42,897 and, scattering, 846.

The year 1839 was quiet politically but the election of 1840 promised to make up for any previous lack of excitement—for this was another Presidential year. On December 4, 1839, the Whigs, strong in self-satisfaction at the mistakes of Van Buren's administration, held their national convention at Harrisburg. There can be no doubt that the logical candidate for president, and the man most of the Whigs wanted was Henry Clay—but like Daniel Webster, he had labored too well in the interests of his State and his Country and thus gained much unpopularity. In the opinion of the Whigs who controlled the convention, Clay was not the man to bring together the very heterogeneous opposition to Van Buren. What was needed was not so much a man of statesmanship, of lofty ideals, of unques-



tioned character, as a man who enjoyed great popularity. What the Whigs needed was a man about whom a slogan could be draped and the party thus assured of victory. So, by skillful manipulation, the convention was persuaded to forget Clay's qualities and to unite as harmoniously as might be in the choice of General Harrison, who had been the Whig's northern candidate in the election of 1836.

John Tyler of Virginia, a man popular in the South, and agreeable to most other localities because of his stout advocacy of State Rights, was named for vice-president. The real quality of the party management became even more apparent when, since the Whigs could agree on no political principles whatever, save that the Democrats must be defeated, it very wisely determined not to adopt any platform at all. Daniel Webster described the Convention's work as being the triumph of the "sagacious, wise, far-seeing doctrine of *availability*."

Maine had long supported its politics upon that very same principle and so the Whig nominations were very well received locally and all local politicians of the Whig persuasion agreed that it was wisest not to come out boldly upon such questions as the annexation of Texas and abolition ". . . for in such struggles party failure lies. Our first object is to save the country from utter ruin—to drive the hienas (*sic*) from the *capital*."

Indeed, the Whigs of Washington County proceeded to hold a convention for themselves and the meeting warmly praised the work accomplished at Harrisburg. It declared its warm approval of the choice of Harrison and Tyler and resolved, "that these nominations were made by a convention composed of judicious and patriotic citizens,—they were the result of a spirit of conciliation and compromise, and an earnest desire to place before the people of the country such names as would assure the largest amount of popular support." Astonishing frankness, this!

The Democrats held their national convention at Baltimore on May 4, 1840 and promptly and unanimously re-nominated President Van Buren, probably on the principle that a man in office is always easy to re-elect. Just as with the Whigs, the majority of the convention, although warmly disposed in favor of re-nominating Vice-President Johnson, listened to the voice of reason and turned him down cold because he had gained for himself much unpopularity in various sections of the country. The Democrats did not wish to injure their chances by loyalty to a servant who had won for himself a degree of unpopularity. In the resulting disunity, it was found impossible to select a running-mate for Van Buren so the convention adjourned, leaving the choice of a vice-president to the Democrats of various States. The idea was of course that when the Electoral College was gathered, the Democrats would be in control and they could then in perfect safety pick a vice-president, perhaps even Johnson. This was a mortifying situation but hardly more so than that of the Whigs who had not dared to present the nation with a platform. As the *Argus* remarked of the Whigs, "In money and in machinery it (the Whig Party) had implicit confidence, but no faith in its principles."

Despite the cautious beginnings made by both parties, the campaign of 1840 soon developed into one of the most boisterous in American history. Both parties were fearful of losing votes by attacking or advocating specific matters and so, the Whigs led off by resorting to sheer demagogism and to the plain abuse of the opposition. The Democrats, being themselves in the same delicate position as were the Whigs, followed the example set—but most unfortunately, they provided the Whigs with what they needed most, color for their candidate.

A Democratic paper in Baltimore fired the fatal shot when it printed a statement attributed to the jealous Clay, “Give him (Harrison) a barrel of hard cider and settle a pension of \$2,000 a year on him, and my word for it he will sit the remainder of his days in his log cabin, by the side of a sea-coal fire, and study moral philosophy.”

The Whigs at first denied the allegation but some wise publicity man in their organization seized upon the golden opportunity the Democrats had presented gratis. The Whigs put out the story that Harrison was honestly a man of the plain people scorned by the aristocratic Democrats for his extremely simple way of life. Then, instead of fighting against the sneer, the Whigs eagerly embraced it and paraded all over the country, including Maine, and organized mass meetings at which imitation log cabins were featured and very real hard cider was abundant. Country areas were urged to vote for “the honest farmer of North Bend,” while Van Buren was pictured as living in a magnificently furnished palace, eating from gold dishes with gold spoons and wearing only the finest English broadcloth. The Democrats, of course, struck back as best they could. They demonstrated that Harrison was not a farmer and did not live in a log cabin but in a fine house. Indeed, they pointed out, Harrison had been a salaried office holder all of his life. As for the General’s military record, which the Whigs glorified, on the principle that everyone loves a successful soldier, the Democrats pulled it apart. They tried to make him a most mediocre officer whose crowning success at the Thames was due to Vice-president Johnson who, at the head of his cavalry regiment, led a charge which routed the enemy.

In Maine there was some attempt by the Whigs to go ahead of the national party policy and bring out the real issues confronting the country. Notable was a speech delivered by Sergeant S. Prentiss, a native of Maine but a citizen of Mississippi, who had gained national fame as an orator. Prentiss spoke for three solid hours and held his audience in his hands all through that long sitting, basing much of his address upon a defense of the bank system on the thesis that, although banks are liable to abuse in self-seeking hands, they are none the less, essential institutions.

Maine also made much of the militia system—which had been established by Massachusetts Bay Colony way back in the early seventeenth century. The original and existing militia system left the control of the citizen soldiers all but completely in the hands of the state governors. Van Buren and Secretary of War Poinsett had



proposed a new system, combined with the sub-treasury law, which, the Whigs declared, would place both the sword and the purse of the entire nation under Presidential control. This proposed system they contrasted with the proposal drafted by Harrison which continued the power of the militia in the hands of the States. This argument the Democrats were unable to meet successfully.

Maine Democrats who were temperance advocates, publicly at least, made much of the "hard cider" slogan, declaring that Whig ladies were wearing little gold cider barrels on gold chains about their wrists. This custom, they declared, would lead to intemperance.

While the Whigs were shepherding the nation into the Whig camp with their parade and their log-cabins and their hard cider, plus the very poor but powerful song "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," Maine had also to run its State election. As in the preceding year, Maine Whigs put up Kent for Governor and the Democrats re-nominated Governor Fairfield. The vote was so very close that neither candidate won a majority. Kent received 45,574 votes and Fairfield 45,507 with 98 scattering. This was declared no election and so the voting was thrown into the Legislature which, since it was predominately Whig, ousted Fairfield and seated Kent.

The Maine Democrats were overwhelmed by this defeat but they rallied and did their best to carry Maine for the Democrats. Democrats in the Maine Legislature issued an address to the people which said, in part, "The result of the late (State) election has been to all a source of mortification and chagrin. Our partial defeat, however it may have been brought about, should now engage our attention, only so far as it may serve to throw light upon the future and guide us in the way of duty. Crimination and recrimination can do no good. If all have not done their duty, the approaching election (Presidential) affords ample opportunity for amends."

Then the circular went on, throwing caution to the winds, to allege that the Whigs had triumphed by means of fraud, slander and money, probably supplied from a British source; that the Whigs favored an assumption of State debts, a splendid and extravagant system of internal improvements, a high tariff for the protection of industry, and a United States Bank.

These last-ditch efforts of Maine Democrats were unavailing for Maine went for Harrison and Tyler by a majority of 411—and Maine Democrats had only the slender satisfaction of seeing that the Whigs also swept the nation. Out of the twenty-six states then in the Union, only seven chose Van Buren electors. Of course Maine Democrats were disappointed to an extreme. Their newspapers did not hesitate to voice the Party's emotions, either. Said the *Argus*, "The battle is over and Hard Cider is triumphant. . . . we record it with feelings of perfect amazement. It will be looked back upon . . . as the most remarkable event in the history of the Republic." The *Augusta Age* remarked, spitefully, that the Whigs had brought into Maine men who had voted legally in Massachusetts and then voted again in Maine and that, if these ringers could have been kept out, Maine would have given Van Buren a

thousand majority. "We repeat, Maine is still a Democratic State! A majority of her voters are still unseduced and unterrified."

As Senator Ruggle's term in the nation's capital was accomplished, the Whigs took advantage of the vacancy and their control of the Maine Legislature to send their strongest man to the Senate, George Evans.

Evans, who was born at Hallowell, January 12, 1797, graduated from Bowdoin in 1815 (college was not comparable with college today), and entered upon the practice of law at Hallowell in 1818—or as soon as he was twenty-one. He soon attracted attention because of his keen legal mind and his ability to sway juries. It has been said of him that he was the very best criminal lawyer in all New England during his lifetime. "In his trial of jury cases, his tact, knowledge of men, sound judgement, and practical common sense were conspicuous. He resorted to no tricks. He was careful not to prejudice his client's cause by badgering, or browbeating his adversary's witnesses. He conducted throughout as if he felt he was bound to secure the interests of his client . . . and bound to do his utmost to accomplish this objective consistent with honor and honesty. . . . When he addressed the jury he made his appeal to their reason, never to their passions or prejudices. . . . Few advocates have possessed in an equal degree the power of reconciling evidence apparently conflicting, or of reducing order out of chaotic complications."

Naturally, such an able man was drafted to give much of his time to politics. He served four years, from 1826, in the Maine House and then served six terms in the nation's Congress, refusing to take his seat for the seventh time in order to become Senator, as mentioned above. In the Senate he won wide approval amongst his fellows and served not only Maine but the nation with distinction, especially on the Finance Committee.

When his senate term expired in 1847, the Democrats had regained control of Maine and this conservative gentleman failed of re-election. His support of the Webster Ashburton Treaty, determining the northern boundary of the State in a manner found unsatisfactory to Maine, also clouded his popularity. Back in Maine he resumed his law practice, probably with pleasure, and distinguished himself in the building of the Kennebec Railroad. He served several terms as Attorney General of Maine but after the Civil War his public efforts were not distinguished. He died at Portland in 1867.

So far the sections of this chapter have been chiefly political history, as the necessary basis for the narrative of Maine development. Now arise several other relations of which the first is the determination of the northeastern border of the United States. This matter the Democrats had very wisely left to the Whigs.

##### 5. NORTHERN BOUNDARY ADJUSTMENT—1783-1842

As previously related, there was considerable difficulty in the settlement of the northeastern boundary between Maine and New Brunswick. The problem at issue was, first, the determination of



the real position and the identity of the St. Croix River; secondly, the ownership of the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay. The points were finally determined by international commissions which, in general solved the problem by compromise, although the determination of the St. Croix was definitely established by the discovery of the site of the first French settlement on St. Croix Island.

While the easterly boundary was thus determined, the northerly extension from the St. Croix River remained very much confused. In fact, there was no great need for having the line between Maine and New Brunswick and Quebec drawn exactly because most of the country concerned was wilderness—and wilderness only vaguely known by both politicians and "landowners."

A serious attempt was made, however, to determine the international boundary in the section in the closing years of Massachusetts' sovereignty over the District of Maine. The British Crown, in 1815, appointed Thomas Barclay to represent its interests, and President Madison, early in 1816, named Cornelius Van Ness, a native of New York, but at the time a citizen of Vermont. The commission thus formed labored for five years but, far from settling any of the problems charged to them, could not even agree upon a map of the Maine wilderness which would show the respective territories claimed by the United States and Great Britain. So, each gentleman agreed to admit defeat and they filed reports with their respective governments, stating the difficulties encountered and the reasons why agreement had not been made.

However, matters could not be left in this fashion for long and, after the War of 1812 had cleared away some misunderstandings, pressure for settlement grew rapidly. There were several reasons for this, from both countries. The northern sections of the new State of Maine were being comparatively rapidly cleared and settled. The same condition prevailed in both New Brunswick and in the Province of Quebec. This meant not merely that land titles were clouded, being under two flags, but business was handicapped—and that was really serious. Most important of all, under the terms by which Massachusetts had agreed to the separation of Maine, the Commonwealth had reserved to itself one-half of the unincorporated lands in the new State. Since Massachusetts wanted to sell these lands for as much as possible, and it was only possible to sell them with clear title, the General Court began moving heaven and earth at Washington to have the United States take the problem again in hand and settle it.

Representations were accordingly made to the Crown and when support for an immediate settlement was added from New Brunswick and the Province of Quebec, both the United States and Great Britain agreed that the border must be determined. So, under the terms of the Treaty of Ghent, which provided that points of difference between the two nations could be referred to a friendly sovereign, on September 29, 1827, America and Britain concluded a convention to that effect.

Albert Gallatin, one of the commissioners of the United States at Ghent in 1814, had become United States Minister at London and,

following many conversations with representatives of the Crown, he had brought about the agreement to arbitrate. He then proceeded to draw up the statements of the United States about the boundary dispute, with the assistance of William Pitt Preble of Portland.

Mr. Preble, a native of York, Maine, and a lawyer at Portland, following his graduation from Harvard in 1806, had served as United States District Attorney at Portland and in 1820, was appointed to the new Maine Supreme Court. In 1828 he resigned to enter the diplomatic service and was appointed by President Jackson Minister Plenipotentiary to the Hague. He continued active in the boundary dispute until its final settlement by the Webster-Ashburton Treaty.

For an arbiter, the United States and Great Britain agreed upon the King of the Netherlands. While of course the basis for his decision was the Treaty of 1783, many changes had taken place to complicate the issue. For example, Maine had separated from Massachusetts, Nova Scotia had been divided so that the Province of New Brunswick now bordered Maine, and the vast and indefinite Province of Quebec had been temporarily divided into two provinces, known as Upper Canada and Lower Canada.

More important, the rival claims were based upon documents which, since they were made in England and in France back in the period when no one, least of all the Kings of France and of England, had the slightest ideas about American geography, were extremely vague and conflicting. Of course, since lawyers were concerned, a mass of various types of precedents was accumulated. For example, just because a lawsuit in the territory under dispute had been brought into a New Brunswick Court, the British representatives tried to convince the Dutch king that this was proof that the territory was Canadian. Naturally, the Americans had their own legal precedents and, as was so often the case, one balanced off the other—leaving the bewildered King just where he was in the beginning.

Difficult and confusing as the data may have been, it seems clear, at least from here and now, that the King had but to interpret the provisions of the Treaty of 1783. He had to determine various points such as: 1. What was the North-west angle of Nova Scotia? 2. Where was the source of the St. Croix River? 3. Which and where were the "highlands (that) . . . divide those rivers that empty themselves into the River St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean? 4. What and where was the "northwesternmost head of the Connecticut River?" These points which the Treaty of 1783 had cited as the points to determine the boundary, were clear enough in Europe—but in America they were as stuffed with question marks as a porcupine with quills. There were other questions, too, many of them, and each side presented the Dutch King with masses of evidence which would give the most favorable determinations respectively.

All the unfortunate King of the Netherlands had to do was to make a decision; on the facts, of course, but also one which would be acceptable to both governments—because if the decision was not ratified by both, it was not binding.

The documents in the case are both voluminous and arid and little value would come from extensive quotation. In general, it



suffices to say that, if the American claims had been finally victorious, all the rich valley of the St. John River plus a very large stretch of territory to the north, east and northwest of that lovely river, would today be part of the State of Maine. On the contrary, if the British claims had prevailed, all of the present Aroostook County, north of Mars Hill, together with most of what is now Piscataquis County, would be parts of New Brunswick and Quebec.

It was very seldom indeed, in modern times or ancient, that an international dispute has been so thoroughly and so carefully and so painstakingly argued as this boundary. Usually, such a vexation would be determined by war. Our Gallatin said in his later writings, that he devoted nearly two years just to studying the data and to preparing his case. Also, he said that he gave the matter more of his time than he ever did any other question.

Finally, on January 10, 1831, the King of the Netherlands published his decision. It was a surprise to both governments and to all parties of interest.

It should here be pointed out that the major bone of contention between the two governments was the interpretation of the word "highlands." The British, probably with ample justification, said that the word, which appears in the Treaty of 1783 as a point of boundary determination, applied to mountainous areas—probably in modern language to a line drawn along the "height of land"—that is, the highest point in series. The Americans, with equal determination, had insisted that "highlands" meant the points at which the rivers divided, that is, to flow into the St. Lawrence and into the Atlantic. The Dutch King supported the American point of view but in point of fact the boundary could not be determined on this basis alone. He pointed out that neither the American nor the British claims on this basis satisfied the boundaries as described in the Treaty of 1783. Thus, he rejected the Treaty of 1783 as being of any value in fixing the international boundary and instead found for a "line of convenience," which was, of course, an arbitrary line not previously in existence, also not to be found in any land grant, treaty or maps used by either party to the controversy. His decision was simply a compromise.

Mr. Preble on January 12, 1831, in office then as Envoy Extraordinary to The Hague, addressed the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, protesting the decision and reserving all the rights of the United States on the ground that the arbiter's decision was a departure from his powers. Mr. Preble pointed out that the King of the Netherlands exceeded his authority since he was bound to determine the dispute on the grounds provided by the Treaty of 1783. Instead, Mr. Preble suggested that if the Treaty could not serve to fix the boundary, it became a matter for the two nations concerned to adjust rather than to submit it again to a friendly sovereign.

President Jackson was inclined to accept the King's decisions, because Mr. Preble had acted without instructions from Washington. Thus the official attitude at Washington was towards acceptance but there was enough doubt so that the government hesitated. The

British Government also was ready to acquiesce, but London was basically displeased as much as was Mr. Preble and he was told privately that the Crown would not object to modification of the award by "mutual exchange and consideration."

In Maine, as the terms of the award became published and generally understood, feelings became very bitter and criticism grew grave. Such was also the case in Massachusetts. President Jackson was on the point of issuing a public proclamation accepting the award when representatives from Maine managed to persuade him that if he did so he would alienate the people of both Maine and Massachusetts and thus, probably, cost the Democratic Party the coming elections in both states. It is understood that he subsequently regretted his willingness to bow to the pressure from Maine.

So, he submitted the question of ratification to the Senate and that body in June of 1832, rejected it roundly by a vote of 35 to 8. Conversations were then entered upon with Great Britain with the hope of determining the boundary line by mutual agreement. The British government expressed a friendly spirit and both sides stipulated that they would refrain from exercising any jurisdiction over the territory in dispute.

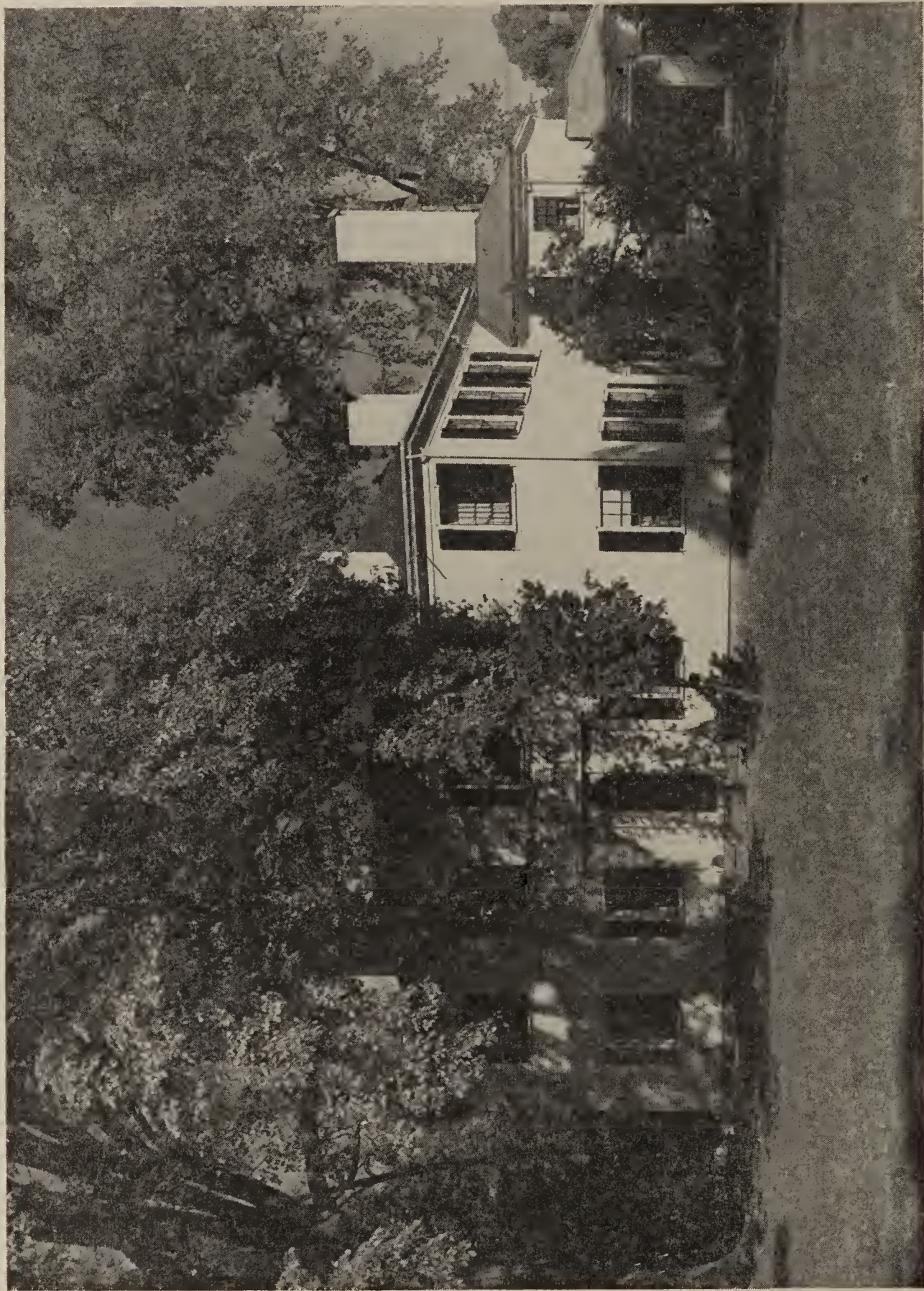
Washington made an earnest attempt to have the State of Maine surrender to the Federal Government temporarily all her rights to the disputed areas so that the hands of Washington would be freed of any embarrassment. The British Crown shortly withdrew its offer to compromise and so the matter again rested as a stalemate.

For a decade in fact, the matter for practical purposes rested as it had from the beginning. President Van Buren in 1838 requested the Senate's assent to a new attempt at arbitration but on the insistence of the State of Maine Legislature that the original grounds of the Treaty of 1783 be followed, once again nothing came about of importance. Again, in 1839, the British Government ran a survey of a part of their interpretation of the boundary and Washington in 1849 provided for a survey of the American proposals. So in general, nothing occurred save talk. In Boston, the General Court made various reports and passed various resolves. In Maine, the Governors in their annual messages urged action and the Legislatures made several exhaustive reports.

Meanwhile, of course, tension in both Massachusetts and in Maine, among parties, mounted. Such was also the case in New Brunswick and in Quebec. This tension reached a point not far from open hostilities over the arrest, imprisonment and punishment of John Baker, a resident of what was known as the Madawaska Settlement.

The ownership of the Madawaska section and adjacent lands along the Aroostook River was well recognized, following the establishment of the source of the St. Croix River by the Convention of 1794—as previously related. Massachusetts had given grants of land along the Aroostook to the town of Plymouth and to General Eaton. Another was to John Baker ". . . of a plantation called and known by the name of Madawaska Settlement, in the County of Penobscot,





*Revel Williams House, Augusta, Lately Razed*



and State of Maine," the deed being executed jointly on October 3, 1825 by "George W. Coffin, agent for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and James Irish, agent for the State of Maine." Another deed for land nearby was given to James Bacon who established himself on a farm, opened a store, and built a grist mill and a saw mill. Other settlers drifted in and soon Madawaska became a thriving little village, the center of American occupation of the region.

In the New Brunswick village of Tobique, in the parish known as Kent, there resided a magistrate named George Morehouse. For some reason, possibly as alleged at the time, he was led by New Brunswick authorities to harass the Madawaska settlers—probably, if so, because New Brunswick regarded the Americans as trespassers upon British soil. For example, lumber that had been sawed at Bacon's mill was seized and confiscated while being transported down the St. John River.

Early in the spring of 1827, Morehouse forbade the Madawaska citizens to work their farms and seized piles of logs in their woods, which they had cut during the winter. Apparently Morehouse did not treat the Americans even as British subjects but just assumed them to be outlaws and trespassers, men without any right to due processes of law.

In July of 1827, Morehouse sent his deputy sheriff, Daniel Craig, to summons all the inhabitants to appear before the New Brunswick court at Fredericton to answer to charges of trespass on Crown lands. Some did go to Fredericton, after much hardship, only to learn that the cases were postponed until the following winter. Others started but turned back. The wise did not leave their homes at all—which delighted them when they learned that one man who had gone, James Armstrong, had been seized and forcibly transported out of the territory.

All evidence bears out the statement that the Madawaska settlers were bent on living honorable and peaceful lives. Instead of turning to an armed revolt, which would unquestionably have brought to their aid all the hot-heads in Maine, they sought to come to an agreement with the New Brunswick authorities. Situated as they were in a remote wilderness, without any hope of legal or military aid from the nation to which they persisted in loyalty, and yet persecuted constantly by the Canadians, they all signed a pact in which they offered to adjust disputes with Canada by virtue of impartial referees for a period of one year, during which time they would also appeal to the government to obtain a clarification of their legal position.

Morehouse, as soon as he learned of this document, saw it as ground for charges of alleged conspiracy and sedition. Forthwith he appeared at Madawaska and demanded the paper—but the sturdy Americans refused and, when pressed, failed to locate it.

Then in the fall, events came to a crisis, over a very minor matter—as is often the case. The Americans on their "village green" had erected a staff or flagpole, although there is no evidence that they ever displayed the Stars and Stripes from it. However,



atop the staff was a crude effigy of an eagle, which was, after all, the symbol of the United States. The villagers used the staff as something of a rallying point and, as was the frontier custom of the times, these meetings were often boisterous. Very likely, remarks were made uncomplimentary to Morehouse, to Canada and to the Crown, and Canadians who happened to be in town were gaily jeered. John Baker was something of a leader among the settlers and doubtless had failed in courtesy towards the unpleasant Morehouse.

That magistrate ordered Baker to remove the staff. Baker refused to do so. So, early in the morning of September 17, 1827, while the village was asleep, an armed force of Canadians arrested Baker and hauled him before Morehouse, who without trial, sent him to jail at Fredericton. The January 1828 term of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, with the Grand Jury sitting, found cause to indict Baker along with James Bacon and Charles Studson:—the latter two were never arrested.

The indictment read:

“Being persons (the village of Madawaska) greatly distressed to our said Lord, the now King . . . and being factiously disposed . . . with force of arms, . . . did amongst themselves conspire, combine, confederate and agree together, falsely, maliciously, factiously, and seditiously and to bring hatred and contempt on our said Lord, the King . . . did cause to be raised and erected, a certain flag-staff, and did place thereon a certain flag, as the Standard of the United States of America . . . Had applied to divers liege subjects of our Lord, the King, and had presented to the same subjects a paper writing, which they, the said John Baker, James Bacon and Charles Studson, then and there requested the said subjects to sign, then and there declaring that, by the said paper, they the said subjects, would bind themselves to oppose the execution of the laws of Great Britain . . . in the Madawaska settlement. . .”

Baker, who appeared without benefit of counsel, was found guilty and sentenced to two months' imprisonment and fined 25 pounds. The United States at once protested the case and demanded Baker's release on the ground that New Brunswick was assuming jurisdiction over American territory, but the demand was refused and Baker served his sentence and paid the fine.

Response in Maine was immediate. Governor Lincoln, while promising aid, urged the citizens of Madawaska to be patient and not to commit acts of violence which might strengthen the Canadian case. The Maine Legislature resolved that financial relief be given to Baker and his family, demanded that the United States take immediate action to defend the Madawaska settlers, and threatened that, if the United States failed to prevent further violations of American soil by the Canadians, the State of Maine would certainly do so.

Serious trouble threatened in 1831, when the people of Madawaska attempted to hold an election under the laws of Maine. New Brunswick authorities arrested several men, sentencing them to fines and to imprisonment, but, by prompt action, the United States government obtained their release.

And then, war trembled on the verge. In June of 1837, Ebenezer Greeley of Dover, Maine, was employed by the State of Maine, to take the census at Madawaska and to give to the people he found there, their proportionate share of the surplus money distributed by the United States Treasury. Of course, this was a red flag in the face of the New Brunswick border officials and they promptly arrested Mr. Greeley but, on delivering him to Fredericton, they found that arresting an official of a sovereign state was a much different matter than persecuting the humble residents of remote Madawaska. The Fredericton sheriff refused to accept Greeley as a prisoner so the gentleman returned to Madawaska to resume his census labors.

However, Governor Harvey of New Brunswick, considering that the distribution of Federal money to Madawaska was nothing short of a bribe to assure the allegiance of the village to the United States, ordered Greeley re-arrested and this time he was jailed at Fredericton.

Maine at once went wild. Governor Dunlap announced that the soil of the State of Maine had been invaded by a foreign power and he called upon the militia to prepare to march at short notice. President Van Buren however, intervened and caused British officials to compel New Brunswick to once again release Greeley. That stout-hearted man once more returned to Madawaska and completed his labors there in peace.

When the Maine Legislature of 1838 assembled, it reflected the exasperated feelings of Maine over the Madawaska persecutions and also at the long stalemate on the border problem. New Brunswick was becoming increasingly arrogant and flagrant in disregard of American laws and rights. The situation was actually dangerous.

The Whigs, as related, had taken over Maine and their Governor, Edward Kent, was a most able jurist. He took pains to inform himself thoroughly on the border dispute and he, as Governor, demanded that the Federal Government immediately bring the controversy to a conclusion. "Maine has waited with exemplary patience, until even her large stock is almost exhausted." Then, he concluded, in very careful phrasing of course, that if the Federal Government did not look after Maine's interests, if the Federal Government did not cease placing political values above the injuries that Maine was suffering, then Maine would look after things herself, ". . . she will throw herself entirely upon her own resources, and maintain, unaided and alone, her just rights, in the determined spirit of injured freemen. . ."

Massachusetts also was greatly upset, at least among parties of interest. The land agents for the Commonwealth, acting with those of Maine, employed George W. Buckmore to proceed into Aroostook and, while investigating trespasses by New Brunswick, to prevent them if possible. He reported various inroads by Canadians in Maine and very importantly added that "the quantity of timber which the



trespassers will cut the present winter is estimated in value, by the Land Agent, at one hundred thousand dollars." Governor Fairfield, presenting the report to the Legislature in 1839, remarked that not merely property was at stake but that "the character of the State is clearly involved." He proposed that the Maine Land Agent be instructed to enter the area with a suitable number of men and equipment "to seize the teams and provisions, break up the camps, and disperse those who are engaged in this work of devastation and pillage." The Legislature assented and gave ten thousand dollars for expenses.

Late in February, an expedition went north out of Bangor and into the Madawaska Territory but on February 12th, Land Agent Rufus McIntire was arrested at gun point and jailed by the Canadians at Fredericton, along with other American agents, Gustavus Cushman and Thomas Bartlett, both of Bangor, who were subsequently seized in Madawaska by the Canadians.

Maine was angry, however, and on Sunday, the 17th, Maine militia appeared in Bangor with two prominent Canadians under arrest—New Brunswick's Land Warden McLaughlin and Captain Tibbets, leader of the Tobique Settlement in New Brunswick. Unlike the Canadians, the Bangor authorities did not jail the two prisoners but lodged them very well at the Bangor House.

In March, news was received at Bangor that a regiment of 800 British soldiers, the Fusileers, from Cork, had arrived at St. John, and were under orders to march into the Madawaska area. Earlier 500 British regulars had arrived at Madawaska from Quebec and cannon were being transported up the St. John River from Fredericton. Maine newspapers, particularly the *Bangor Whig* made much of this "Aroostook War," even sending special war correspondents to Houlton and describing events in great, if hardly objective detail.

Unfortunately, the defense of Madawaska was embroiled in Maine politics and continued delays prevented aid from being rushed to the scene although Major Strickland, Sheriff at Bangor, went to Augusta and urged Governor Fairfield to act immediately.

However, despite the time wasted by the Democrats blaming the Whigs and the Whigs seeking to blame the Democrats for the dangerous situation, Maine did finally act, for the Legislature appropriated \$800,000 for the Governor to use in protecting the public lands. A militia draft of 10,343 was ordered and the men were placed under an alert. Many volunteers drifted into the area and within a week after the arrest of the Americans, there were about 10,000 armed Americans in and about Madawaska spoiling for trouble.

Washington could no longer ignore the situation, for if Maine opened fire then the entire United States was involved. Congress appropriated \$10,000,000 for expenses if war should develop and authorized the raising of 50,000 Federal troops to go to the assistance of Maine. Major General Winfield Scott was ordered to go into Maine to "maintain the peace and safety of the entire northern and eastern frontiers." He arrived with his staff at Augusta on March 5, 1839.

There it was discovered that he also had powers from the President of the United States to mediate between Maine and New Brunswick and to initiate negotiations which would prevent further hostilities.

Accordingly, the General immediately informed Governor Fairfield of Maine and Sir John Harvey, Governor of New Brunswick, of his powers and suggested a settlement to prevent open hostilities. The result was that both governors agreed to the terms and by the end of March, all prisoners were liberated and all troops recalled. The Aroostook War was over—and conditions remained just as they had been before.

However, this much had been gained. The handful of Americans in remote Madawaska had seen that they were not orphans. When the crisis came, thousands of Maine men had left their farms and their firesides and marched some 200 miles through deep snow-drifts and in bitter cold to defend the rights of their fellow-citizens. Then too, the stone-deaf ear of Washington had finally been opened and Federal intervention had prevented bloodshed.

The third benefit of the Aroostook War was that both the United States and Great Britain were made to understand that the border dispute could no longer be postponed. So, negotiations were undertaken at once which resulted in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, proclaimed November 10, 1842.

Maine was very impatient, however. In 1842, with the Whigs again in national office, with John Tyler President and Daniel Webster Secretary of State, and with Governor Fairfield again governor of Maine, it was clear in Maine that the business must be expedited. Governor Fairfield deplored delays and said that it was the clear duty of the United States to purge American soil of Canadian encroachment. He added, “. . . When a reasonable expectation can no longer be entertained that the general government will . . . (act) —if Maine is true to herself, she will take possession of the whole territory, and, if need be, use all the means which God and nature have placed in her hands, to maintain it.”

The Maine Legislature called upon Fairfield to learn what, if anything, Webster was doing and on April 11, Webster informed Governor Fairfield that Lord Ashburton, a Minister Plenipotentiary and Special, had arrived at Washington, with full powers to negotiate and settle the different matters in dispute between the two governments. In regard to the boundary dispute, Lord Ashburton “had authority to treat for a conventional line, or line by agreement, on such terms and conditions, and with such mutual considerations and equivalents, as may be thought just and equitable.”

Mr. Webster then requested that Maine and Massachusetts should appoint commissions to treat with Lord Ashburton and himself; the plan being that these commissioners should both present the case for the United States in so far as the two States were concerned, and also that matters should be expedited by having these commissioners given authority to assent to such an agreement as Lord Ashburton and himself might work out.



Governor Fairfield immediately called a special session of the Maine Legislature and the matter was debated with spirit for several days. Maine was fearful of losing both her rights and her territory if she gave her commissions such authority as Webster requested. A very respectable minority felt that there was no question involved at all; Maine should insist upon the terms of the Treaty of 1783 and any compromise would be on the terms of a sacrifice of Maine citizens and Maine land.

Finally, Maine did send four commissioners armed with full authority. Two were appointed from each political party—William Pitt Preble and Edward Kavanagh represented the Democrats and Edward Kent and John Otis the Whigs. At Washington, they were joined by the Massachusetts commissioners: Abbot Lawrence, John Mills, and Charles Allen.

Maine's commissioners assented to the terms of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty on July 22, 1842, with very grave unhappiness. Massachusetts's commissioners had assented two days previously, which weakened the position of the State of Maine men. The four Maine men expressed themselves in words of considerable emotion in their reports, displaying the grief and shame they felt.

In their report they said in part:

“Considering then, this proposition as involving the surrender of more territory than the avowed objects of England require as removing our landmarks from the well-known and well-defined boundary of the Treaty of 1783, the crest of the highlands, besides insisting upon the line of the arbiter in its full extent, we feel bound to say, after the most careful and anxious consideration, that we cannot bring our minds to the conviction that the proposal is such as Maine had a right to expect.

“But we are not unaware of the expectations which have been and still are entertained of a favorable issue to this negotiation by the government and people of this country, and the great disappointment which would be felt and expressed at its failure. Nor are we unmindful of the future, warned as we have been by the past that any attempts to determine the line by arbitration may be either fruitless, or with a result more to be deplored.”

The Convention treated of several subjects besides the boundary between Maine and Canada. Included were the slave trade and matters concerned with extradition.

The first and third articles which define the boundary follow, in part:

*Article I*—. . . the line of boundary shall be as follows: Beginning at the monument at the source of the river St. Croix as designated and agreed to by the Commissioners under the fifth article of the treaty of 1794, between the Governments of the United States and Great Britain; thence, north, following the exploring line run

and marked by the surveyors of the two Governments in the years 1817 and 1818, under the the fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent, to its intersection with the river St. John, and to the middle of the channel thereof; thence, up the middle of the main channel of the said river St. John to the mouth of the river St. Francis; thence, up the middle of the channel of the said river St. Francis, and of the lakes through which it flows, to the outlet of the Lake Pohenagamook; thence, southwesterly, in a straight line, to a point on the northwest branch of the river St. John, which point shall be ten miles distant from the main branch of the St. John, in a straight line, and in the nearest direction; but if the said point shall be found to be less than seven miles from the nearest point of the summit or crest of the highlands that divide those rivers which empty themselves into the river Saint Lawrence from those which fall into the river Saint John, then the said point shall be made to recede down the said northwest branch of the river St. John, to a point seven miles in a straight line from the said summit or crest, thence, in a straight line, in a course about south, eight degrees west, to a point where the parallel of latitude of 46 degrees 25 minutes north intersects the southwest branch of the St. John; thence, southerly, by the said branch, to the source thereof in the highlands at the Metjarmette portage; thence, down along the said highlands which divide the waters which empty themselves into the river Saint Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the head of Hall's Stream, thence, down the middle of said stream, till the line thus run intersects the old line of boundary surveyed and marked by Valentine and Collins, previously to the year 1774, as the 45th degree of north latitude, and which has been known and understood to be the line of actual division between the States of New York and Vermont on one side, and the British province of Canada on the other; and from said point of intersection, west, along the said dividing line, as heretofore known and understood, to the Iroquois or St. Lawrence River.

*Article III*—In order to promote the interests and encourage the industry of all the inhabitants of the countries watered by the river St. John and New Brunswick, it is agreed that, where, by the provisions of the present treaty, the river St. John is declared to be the line of boundary, the navigation of the said river shall be free and open to both parties, and shall in no way be obstructed by either; that all the produce of the forest, in logs, lumber, timber, boards, staves, or shingles, or of agriculture, not being manufactured, grown on any of those parts of the State of Maine watered by the river St. John, or by its tributaries, of which fact reasonable evidence shall, if required, be produced, shall have free access into and through the said river and its said tributaries, having their source within the State of Maine, to and from the sea-port at the mouth of the said river St. John and to and round the falls of the said river, either by boats, rafts, or other conveyance; that when within the province of New Brunswick, the said produce shall be dealt with as if it were the produce of the said province; that in like manner, the inhabitants of the territory of the upper St. John, determined by this treaty to



belong to Her Britannic Majesty, shall have free access to and through the river, for their produce, in those parts where the said river runs wholly through the State of Maine; provided, always, that this agreement shall give no right to either party to interfere with any regulations not inconsistent with the terms of this treaty which the governments, respectively, of Maine or of New Brunswick may make respecting the navigation of the said river, where both banks thereof shall belong to the same party."

Thus the boundary dispute of Maine was settled once and for all. Maine did not like it in the least; for one reason, it was less than the State would have received if the United States had accepted the original award by the King of the Netherlands. That Maine was in a large part responsible for President Jackson and the United States Senate refusing that award did not help the feelings of Maine in the least. In effect the final decision was another one of those compromises by which the territory in dispute between Maine and New Brunswick was divided almost equally. Of course Maine had hoped to gain the St. John River valley and if such had been the case the present State of Maine would be much wealthier. However, feelings eventually cooled and the matter was laid at rest gratefully after some fifty years of dispute, trouble and almost open war.

#### 6. REFORM MOVEMENTS

Everywhere in America, the nineteenth century was a period during which various more or less fanatical movements took shape, flourished and passed. Some were wise and necessary; others were stupid and wrong. They were in simple terms just demonstrations of the development of the nation—growing pains. In general these are classed as reform movements. The term is not too good but it serves its purpose in that it describes activities by groups of people who wanted to make things better or reform them, according to their own ideas.

Maine during this period suffered four such reform movements which were of importance because they played a part in politics, as reforms usually do. These four were—anti-Masonry, prohibition, anti-slavery and Know-Nothingism. The first to take political form was anti-Masonry, although it was the least important of the four.

This movement had its particular beginning about 1826 in New York when a mechanic in that city, named Morgan, announced that he was about to publish a book which revealed the secrets of the order. The book did not appear and Morgan disappeared. His fate is a mystery. It was not unreasonably assumed that the Masons were concerned with Morgan's vanishing; anyhow the incident served to point up a surprisingly large amount of feeling against the order.

A wave of popular resentment swept across the country and Masonry became somewhat unappreciated. Not merely was the allegation made that the Masons had murdered Morgan to preserve their secrets—which must therefore be rather discreditable secrets—but the order was accused of setting itself not only above the Church

but also beyond the State. These were grave accusations in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Some Masons renounced their membership, if such be possible, and many lodges either dissolved or ceased meeting. Actually, a political party was established for the purpose of completely destroying Masonry in the United States and in 1832 it nominated a candidate for President. He carried but one state, Vermont; a defeat which caused the party to vanish almost as quickly as it had mushroomed into being.

In Maine, anti-Masonry was scarcely less active than in Vermont; at least popular feeling against the order ran high for a time. Of course, the actual facts are not available for publication but in his "History of Portland Lodge" Josiah H. Drummond wrote, "The Grand Chapter of Maine failed to meet for some years, and had merely nominal meetings in other years. The Grand Lodge, from 1834 to 1843, met annually, but once without a representative from a single lodge, and had representatives but twice during that time from more than four lodges. Indeed, almost all the lodges suspended their meetings and became dormant, even if they did not surrender their charters."

Politically in Maine, Masonry ran about the same fever as elsewhere. In 1831, 1832 and 1833 there were anti-Masonic candidates for governor who received in the respective years, 869, 2,384 and 1,076 votes. In 1835 there were 615 scattering votes in the gubernatorial contests, a number much larger than usual. Probably many of these were anti-Mason votes cast against the two principal party candidates. Thus the sudden rise and the rapid fall as elsewhere and by 1840 anti-Masonry had just about vanished and the order revived and has since grown mightily.

Just about the time anti-Masonry faded, a much more serious and important reform movement appeared—the anti-slavery agitation.

Slavery was never of any importance as a fact in Maine, in common with the other New England States. Very likely enough, Maine ship-captains, voyaging far and wide, with the tacit if not the open consent of their owners, followed the lead of all ships of most maritime nations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and did some slave trading when profits offered. Sailors in those far-off days followed the old sea-rule of "No Sundays off soundings"—which means simply, that the laws and customs of the home port ceased to be of importance once the ship had deep water under her keel. Planters in the West Indies and even in the Southern States, for a time, when the British Navy was not trying to prevent the practice, offered a very rich market for a cargo of negroes bought or captured in Africa—and there was no moral obligation and little if any legal objection to the practice, then. A fast run to London or the Continent with a cargo of Maine lumber or salt fish, then a trip down to the blackness of Africa, next a whisk across the Atlantic with a human cargo chained below decks, and finally, a dash up the Gulf Stream home with a cargo of molasses for rum, that was a log of many a Maine ship in common with those of other sections of the English colonies.



Such a voyage would often harvest enough profits to pay for the cost of the ship two times over, or even more, if luck was good.

Slavery in point of fact was an universally accepted practice then. Captives in war, white women and children as well as men, could be sold into slavery by their captors—as for instance were many Maine people seized by the Indians during the long series of French and Indian wars so called. The courts of Great Britain could sell a convicted criminal into slavery, usually overseas to America; indeed,



*Penobscot River Bridge, Bucksport*

slavery was as much an integral part of the economic and social systems then as the wage system is today. Further, despite modern ideas, the system, although grossly abused of course, was far from being as bad as it is now popularly considered to have been. It was bad, of course, and it is a triumph of modern moral development that it has been abolished from much of the earth; but for the day and age, when many other brutalities as bad if not worse existed, slavery was perfectly normal and natural.

The Spanish in their portion of America and the English and French in theirs, very naturally tried to enslave the Indians. The attempt failed everywhere, not because anyone thought it bad morally or legally, but just because it proved not profitable. Whatever qualities the Indians had of bravery, strength, hardiness and the rest, it was impossible for the white race to teach them the dignity and the value of hard and continuous labor. The Indian mind could not make sense out of the idea that a man should work at all, other than to fill his



stomach and to house himself properly. Once that was accomplished, from day to day, why work any more? So red slavery failed because it was uneconomic.

White slavery faded quickly in America, too, largely for economic reasons also. A man, for example, would buy the services of a "transported" man or woman or child, for the period of years such a bondsman had been sentenced to serve by some British court for some crime, usually relatively minor, for death was the usual sentence in those days for what seem to have been unimportant misdemeanors. During the years of bondage, the "slave" could be made to work but, and especially in New England, the magistrates watched that the servant was properly fed, housed and clothed and was not abused. Children, too, had to be allowed to attend the public schools. Then, the term over, the "slave" became free and, commonly, could obtain land of his own and establish himself on equal economic and social footing with all respectable citizens. This was bad enough, the expense entailed hardly being worth the labor received, but what was worse was the fact the whole world lay before the "slave" as his oyster. In most cases, he had but to put on his hat and vanish into the wilderness and in some remote frontier settlement, he would be welcomed with no questions asked. Men and women were scarce, labor was all but impossible to obtain, and so a man with a strong back, and a woman willing to do her share of a household's chores, were welcome everywhere. Of course, such an escapee was legally still a "slave" and if captured could be brought back and fined or otherwise punished. But the prize was well worth any risk, particularly since due processes of law hardly ran much beyond the larger towns. So, the white slave system also failed because it was not profitable.

With negroes, however, the case was different. Their black skins made them identifiable anywhere and somehow, people had the idea that their color made them a lesser order of humans. So a black slave remained a slave with little or no hope of escape. Laws for humane treatment existed in the North generally but here again, the institution of black slavery did not flourish because the cold weather and the susceptibility of the negro to white diseases, especially those of the lungs and throat, ruled them out from farm labor—which was about all they were good for as a part of the economic system. In the warmer South, the case was different and negro slavery there became firmly established, even to the point of secession.

Thus, in Maine, as in most New England states, black slavery failed to flourish. It was perfectly legal, of course, and morally right as rain for some two centuries, but the small Yankee farmer could not afford to support black labor. Thus the relatively few slaves in Maine were confined to the larger cities where they were mostly house servants of families wealthy enough to support the luxury.

The legal history of slavery in Massachusetts and Maine as a part of the Colony, Province and State, epitomizes this fact. There is no reference whatever to slavery of any kind in the early days. Indentured servants, or "white slaves" were of course British products and accepted as such by Boston as part of the British system. In 1645, the General Court of Massachusetts did however, take action



against slavery; probably the first in official law in existence in what is now the United States. This Act, which specifically did not mention negroes, forbade slavery excepting captives taken in a "just" war (whatever such may be) and such persons condemned to such an estate as punishment for crime. However, negroes were gradually brought into the Colony and in 1705 the General Court officially recognized negro slavery.

Conditions of negro slavery in Maine may be understood by a few examples. There were practically none on the farms. Sir William Pepperell, who maintained an elaborate establishment at Kittery, did have them as house servants. The Rev. Smith of Portland found it necessary to advertise that he wished to purchase "a negro man and a likely young negro woman." In 1764, a count shows that in the District of Maine the inhabitants totaled 23,686 whites and 322 blacks but there is no indication how many of these negroes were slaves or free—for in Maine negroes could have freedom, either by being set free by the owners, usually in their wills, or by gaining freedom as a reward for some special service. Of course, the children of free negroes were born free, too.

Massachusetts as early as 1774 felt stirrings of conscience and the General Court passed an Act forbidding the importation of slaves—but the British Crown promptly vetoed the law. Thus in 1780, when the Constitution of the State of Massachusetts was written, it was declared that "all men are born free and equal," an insertion it is reported included by the persuasion of Judge Lowell who was aiming a legal lance at the institution of negro slavery. Naturally, with negro slaves limited to the houses of wealthy persons for economic reasons, slavery in Massachusetts, and in Maine, had become greatly alleviated with the passing of the years, particularly after the Revolution.

Barry in his "Massachusetts" wrote:

"During the last years of the institution . . . (slaves) suffer no greater hardships than hired servants. They were admitted as church members. They could hold property, both real and personal. They testified in courts of justice. Their family relations were seldom disturbed, although negro children, when weaned, were sometimes given away like puppies as an incumbrance."

When Maine debated the ratification of the Federal Constitution, anti-slavery feeling for the first time seriously entered politics. Maine representatives to the Convention started the political ball rolling when the Rev. Mr. Neal of Kittery, speaking against the section which would forbid Congress from abolishing the Slave Trade, said, in part, that his profession obliged him to bear witness against anything that should favor the making of merchandise of the bodies of men, and, unless this objection was removed, he could not put his hand to the Constitution. General Thompson exclaimed, ". . . shall it be said that, after we have established our own independence and freedom, we shall make *slaves* of others? O! Washington, what a name he has had! How he has immortalized himself! But he holds those in

slavery who have as good a right to be free as he has. He is still for self; and in my opinion, his character has sunk fifty percent."

Then the slavery issue over the admission of Maine, which, as was previously related, was linked with the Missouri Compromise, both incensed Maine and greatly strengthened the State's anti-slavery feeling.

This feeling was ripened still further in 1825, when Rufus King, representing Maine in the United States Senate, offered a bill which would have set aside proceeds from the sale of public lands by the government, excepted such as were pledged for the redemption of the national debt, as a fund to be pledged to assist in the emancipation of slaves in such states as did permit emancipation. Senator Hayne of South Carolina of course objected, strongly. The *Kennebec Journal* had this to say, "Have we not some reason to suspect the people of the southern states are not so anxious to rid themselves of the evil as they pretend to be when we see them reject so generous an offer?"

Finally, the pot was put on to boil about 1831 when Garrison, the great anti-slavery publicist, began to find himself in hot water and needed support. Garrison, at the time assistant to Benjamin Lundy of Baltimore, in the publishing of the paper, *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, was sued for libel. He came into New England in search of funds and among the contributions received was \$100 from Deacon Dole of Hallowell. The sympathy he found in New England led Garrison to establish himself at once at Boston and to initiate the publication of his famous newspaper, the *Liberator*. This led directly in 1832 to the establishment of the New England Anti-Slavery Society at Boston and, a year later, to the founding of the first anti-slavery society in Maine. This was at Hallowell and, as might be suspected, Deacon Dole was elected the group's first president.

Naturally, even in New England, Garrison's unquestioned violence, and his bitterness which seems so strange to modern journalism, aroused immediate and equally violent and bitter opposition—especially as the South was one of the increasingly important markets for New England produce and manufactures. It was said that every slave in the South was fed on New England cod-fish and corn meal and was dressed in New England spun cotton cloth. Then, too, New England cotton mills, and indirectly or directly, much New England business and many commercial enterprises were concerned with the prosperity of the Southern cotton crop. The plain fact is: the United States was entered upon a vicious economic circle of manufacturing, cotton production and slavery, which only a war could have broken within the span the impatience of Northern moralists and reformers permitted.

Much of the opposition to the abolitionist movement in the North was cloaked in various disguises. One such was the fear of endangering the Union. The *Portland Argus* claimed to see, "... indications of a spirit in the South, to seize upon the most trifling provocations (for) a rupture of the Union of the States. . . . The people of the South are beginning to be sensible of the true character of slavery.



The people of the South will overrule it, in due season, for the general happiness of both masters and slaves, *provided they are left alone by us of the North.*" The *Augusta Age* somewhat stolidly declared that it was utterly impossible for the Abolitionists to benefit the slaves in the South, and that most moderate abolition propaganda would endanger the Union. All of which was true enough. In time the South would have adjusted its slave problem and the abolitionists did endanger the Union.

However, Maine and most of the North has had experience with the power of moral and religious indignation and there was no stopping the abolitionists—as by this time they were called generally, rather than anti-slavery people. In December of 1833, when the first national anti-slavery society was formed, one of its vice-presidents was General Samuel Fessenden of Portland and the following year, the Maine State Anti-Slavery Society was formally established with Samuel M. Pond of Bucksport as president. This organization at its convention in Portland, gave great offense to many and supported the anti-Abolitionists by having as its principal speaker the inspired and eloquent English abolitionist, George Thompson. He spoke to wildly enthusiastic gatherings at Portland, Brunswick, Augusta, Waterville and Hallowell. The chief trouble with Thompson was, of course, his being English. His vigorous language also provided opponents with a whip which was used to thrash him. He was denounced as a mischief-maker come from across the Atlantic to teach Americans their business and their political duties. An attempt was made at Augusta to instigate a riot when he gave his scheduled address, the second in a proposed series. He was warned of the plot and gave in to the persuasion of his host, the Rev. Dr. Tappan, not to give the opposition the advantage of civic disorder. So Thompson and the entire Convention moved two miles down the Kennebec to Hallowell and several "grand meetings" were held without any trouble.

Armed with indignation and moral convictions, the Abolitionists launched themselves upon a vigorous publicity campaign the length and breadth of Maine, seeking to win political support in each election as it came along. Their opponents were equally vigorous and countered with their own meetings. Such an anti-Abolition meeting, a large one, too, was held at Portland, August 18, 1835, and it passed resolutions viewing with alarm the abolitionist agitation. ". . . its result was to excite the passions of the slaves and to make free persons of color not only dissatisfied with the condition in which they were placed by the established orders of society, to make them repine and murmur at the Order of Providence which by an indelible color has marked them and will forever mark them as a peculiar people. . . . we have seen with feelings of indignation, itinerant, intermeddling foreigners, impertinently obtruding themselves upon our people. . . ." Finally, the meeting expressed the opinion that, however honest the Abolitionists were, in reality they were preparing the way for civil war.

Of course, the meeting agreed that slavery was morally wrong as well as politically and economically evil but insisted that ". . . its immediate eradication would produce evils which cannot be contem-

plated without dismay. Since Independence, the sphere of slavery has contracted from natural causes and will continue to do so, if not unreasonably and injudiciously agitated. . . . (The meeting trusted) the generous and chivalrous South to give the attention demanded and that, in due time in the way their better information shall dictate, slavery shall gradually disappear from our country and that only stain upon our national escutcheon be wiped away." Finally, a committee was appointed with a member in each parish in the State to request the various parish committees not to permit any person to lecture in their meeting houses on the matter of the abolition of Southern slavery.

Naturally, the Maine Abolitionists could not refuse such an opportunity for propaganda and, shortly, they arranged for a great meeting of their own right in Portland. The Mayor gave permission for the use of the City Hall but he found reason to subsequently withdraw the favor. The Quaker Meeting-house at once opened its doors. Mob violence was feared and leaders of the meeting appealed to the Mayor to request police protection. Despite the fact that General Samuel Fessenden and the Reverend Mr. Thurston waited upon the Mayor in person, the politician replied, that although he would be delighted to grant the request, there was nothing he could do. The meeting was held and, as anticipated, a mob did assemble outside the doors. They threw stones, hooted derisively and brandished clubs—but this did not prevent the meeting.

The Abolitionists welcomed this show of violence as demonstrating their need for support of the reform. This was made clear by the *Bangor Whig*, a paper certainly not sympathetic with abolitionism. Said the *Whig*, "What consummate folly! This (violence) usually attendant on a meeting of the Anti-Slavery advocates is building them up more rapidly than can be estimated."

Then in 1837 oil was poured on the flames, not in Maine alone but all over America. This was the murder of Elijah P. Lovejoy, a native of Maine and a graduate of Colby College at Waterville. Lovejoy had attempted to publish an abolitionist paper in Missouri but his press was destroyed. He tried again at Alton in Illinois but once more his press was destroyed. Undaunted, he bought a third press and, when it arrived mounted guard over it with several armed friends. An armed mob attacked the little group furiously and Lovejoy was killed, defending his property, as well as the rights of a free press, one of the Great American Freedoms.

This outrage aroused many people who had previously only been lukewarm on the subject of abolition. Violence stilled the voice of reason—as it so often does. When the news reached Maine that the Alton mob had been acquitted, as everyone expected, Maine was greatly angered. The *Bangor Whig*, anti-abolitionist though it was, trumpeted, "Illinois should close her halls of justice; for their forms of law are but a farce, and their pretended administration of justice but a mockery."

However, the time was not yet ripe for Abolition to sweep triumphant. Especially in the sea-port towns of Maine, where trade



with the South was very important, there was stiff opposition. A meeting at Brunswick, in 1838, a meeting in which both the faculty and student body of Bowdoin College took part, was comparatively violent and struggle resulted in a close vote not upon slavery particularly but upon the right of Maine citizens to talk publicly on any question as their convictions and consciences dictated. Similarly at Brunswick, there was stiff opposition to the Rev. Doctor Adams, highly-respected minister of the Brunswick Congregational Church, for inviting the Rev. Mr. Cone, a widely known anti-slavery minister and a visitor at Brunswick, to occupy the pulpit in the meeting house. The Governor of Maine, the faculty of Bowdoin and many wealthy ship-owners were in the audience finally, when Doctor Adams persisted in his course. Some of them walked out in the midst of the sermon and the Governor remained only because of the dignity of his office. Mr. Cone finished his sermon in dignified silence but all over town "nigger-man Cone" was roundly denounced. Cone spoke also at Machias, whereupon a large meeting led by merchants and ship-owners pushed through a resolution "that it is unconstitutional and inexpedient to form societies in non-slaveholding States for the immediate abolition of slavery in the slaveholding States."

Meanwhile the abolitionists were making steady progress. Away from the coastal centers of trade and shipping, everyone of importance was at least in sympathy with abolitionism and the clergy to a man in the agricultural towns were stout advocates of some kind of reform. Anti-slavery societies were well organized in each county of Maine and warm advocates lost no opportunity to speak out, loudly. The intemperate violence and the extreme demands of the South, expressed at Washington in particular, aroused much opposition in Maine and many men, who while they disapproved of slavery on general principles had no intention of ever taking any active part in its overthrow, were angered into such activity by the violence of the anti-abolitionists.

It would be idle to continue to describe the various activities of the Abolitionists and the counter measures of those opposed. The pattern had been set. What is of concern is the political activity of the Abolitionists.

One of the first major struggles was concerned with demands to suppress anti-slavery papers made upon Maine by the Legislatures of South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Georgia and Alabama. Courtesy demanded an official reply, if nothing more and so, in 1836, a committee was appointed to consider the matter. The report of this committee, which was accepted by the Legislature, was lengthy but essentially it asserted, "Slavery is a question in which we (Maine) as a state have no concern, it is unknown in Maine, and those states which recognize its existence, have exclusive control of the subject within their borders. . . . Under these circumstances, and in consideration of the fact that no abolition paper is printed in Maine, . . . any legislation on the subject is uncalled for, unwise, and inexpedient as tending to excite a discussion which has subsided (sic)."

One of the chief causes of friction between the South or Slave States and the Free States of the North was the seizure of fugitive slaves—unhappy creatures who were being brought north and given freedom via the famous underground railroad. Even today, many old houses which served as stations on this underground railroad, are still to be distinguished by the black band painted upon white chimneys. This was a sign which meant that a fugitive slave was welcome to food and shelter and protection inside.

Of course, the seizures were made under Federal law and when so, there was little or nothing that Maine authorities could do to prevent seizure, supposing they wished to do so—which was not always the case. Maine had been troubled by some Southern States seizing negroes employed as cooks or stewards on State of Maine ships when in Southern waters but attempts to adjust the trouble with South Carolina had ended in failure and insult. So Maine was well disposed towards thwarting the seizure of fugitive slaves within its borders as well as expediting their escape into Canada.

The matter came to a head in 1837 when a fugitive slave was apprehended at Thomaston. The slave, Atticus by name, the property of James Sagurs of Savannah, had been employed on some repairs on the Thomaston ship, *Boston*, while berthed at the Southern City. Atticus, inflamed with a passion for liberty, and being assured that he could be free in Maine, stowed away aboard the *Boston*, probably with the knowledge of some of the crew, and was brought to Thomaston, where, released by Captain Daniel Philbrook of Camden, he found employment in the town. James Sagurs suddenly arrived at Thomaston, hot on the fugitive's trail and obtained a warrant for the negro's arrest from the town officials—as was the law. D. N. Piper, constable, was ordered to serve the writ but he shortly reported back that he was unable to discover the fugitive, although everyone in town knew the black very well. So Atticus was hidden in a barn and Sagurs advertised a reward of \$20 for anyone who would give information leading to the slave's arrest. Two men, who have never been named, fortunately, gave the information for the \$20 and Atticus was arrested. Sagurs embarked for Savannah at East Thomaston but "not without strong marks of natural sympathy and just indignation from the crowd who witnessed the departure."

Maine was aroused by the incident so close to home and a resolution was passed by the Legislature in 1838 which provided imprisonment and a fine "for every person who without lawful authority shall assist in the seizure of a fugitive slave." Yet, such was politics, the same year the Legislature, instead of accepting or rejecting various petitions concerned with slavery, quietly referred them all to the next annual session. Slavery had become a hot potato in Maine!

The same year, the House of Representatives of the Maine Legislature refused the use of the State House for an evening meeting for the Maine Anti-Slavery Society and yet voted, 69 to 62, to accept a resolve declaring "that the continuance of slavery within the sacred enclosure (The District of Columbia) . . . is inconsistent with a due regard to the enlightened judgement of mankind, and with all just



pretensions on our part to the character of a free people, and is adapted to bring into contempt republican liberty, and render its influence powerless throughout the world." This resolve was defeated by one vote in the Maine Senate.

In 1840 the anti-slavery group attempted to enter national politics seriously and formed the "Liberty Party" with James G. Bierney as candidate for President. In Maine, unlike other States, it was generally considered that there was no need for running a candidate for Governor on the Liberty Party because the Whig candidate, Edward Kent, was sympathetic with the anti-slavery movement and was supported by most Abolitionists. Hence, the group felt that to run a Liberty Party candidate would be harmful to Kent's interests and thus cost the anti-slavery group dearly. This loyalty of Maine abolitionists to the Whig Party was injured by Harrison's inaugural and they were alienated when, at his death, Tyler, a Virginian slaveholder, succeeded to the presidency.

So, in the 1841 election campaign, the abolitionists held a party convention at Winthrop and nominated Jeremiah Curtis of Calais for Governor. He received 1,662 votes at the election. This entry of the anti-slavery movement into politics was roundly criticised by members of the party itself and by the anti-abolitionists. It was felt that since the movement was closely identified with the churches and since church people composed most of the abolitionist membership, this was a violation of the principle that the church was and should be apart from, and above politics. Of course the Liberty Party leaders replied that while the principle of the separation of the church and the state was well established and universally respected, yet the real criticism of their opponents was not just—they were not a church or religious organization in any way; they were a moral movement, a reform.

From this point on the history of the anti-slavery movement in Maine becomes chiefly mixed with politics and must be considered under that heading subsequently. It is enough to say that Maine abolitionists kept their Liberty Party valiantly active until 1854, when it was absorbed into a coalition group, called the Republican Party, which soon captured the Legislature and the Governor's chair.

Closely linked in spirit with the anti-slavery movement was the third reform activity of this period in Maine's development. This third reform was the Prohibition crusade.

In the beginning, it was socially proper to drink liquor or beer and wine. Rum, because of its potency and its relatively low price, became practically the universal beverage of New England. When Maine separated from Massachusetts most men indulged freely and thought nothing of it. Not only good church members, but elders and deacons, both used liquor, sold it and manufactured it openly and without the least shadow of criticism. Business, indeed, floated upon liquor as many trades, such as shipwrights, received as part of their wage a daily gill of rum morning and afternoon. Indeed, public buildings and churches were put together at building bees in which the strong right arms of the volunteer workmen were aided by copious

draughts of rum and there was scarcely a public or private meeting which was not well lubricated by frequent libations.

Of course, all this was conducted with due regard to temperance, which in those days meant that alcohol was not to be abused. Drunkenness was severely frowned upon and it was the tendency of many men to over-indulgence that probably brought the temperance, and then the prohibition, movement into being.

Regulation of liquor sale was the first shadow of what was ahead; manufacturing was, of course, under Federal control as a means of tax revenue. On March 20, 1821, the new Maine legislature among its first acts, passed a law regulating the sale of liquor under the license laws which were in effect in Massachusetts at the time. This was of course, the natural thing to do. The license fee was \$6.00—for the States and Towns in those days did not need as much revenue as is the case today. Licensees had to be persons of "sober life and conversation" and they could not allow gambling on the premises, they must not permit excessive drinking, and the sale of liquor to minors without the consent of the parents was strictly forbidden. Incidentally, nothing alcoholic could be sold to college undergraduates without the consent of the college authorities. Then, after various modifications, in 1829 the first local option law was passed and the sale of beer, ale, wine and liquor was restricted to taverns—that is, if it was to be imbibed on the premises. In 1834, the laws had become so confused by much patching and amending that the entire body of relevant material was annulled and a new law was passed which made the restrictions and rules clear. This new law more or less summarized existing statutes but it differed sharply in one respect in that no restriction was placed upon the sale of beer, ale, cider and the like—light beverages, so called.

Meanwhile, Maine had been moving in the direction of a strong temperance movement. The clergy was instrumental in most cases although they did receive generous support from various wealthy men who, having been immoderate drinkers in their youth, or the sons of men who were intemperate, were well acquainted with the evils of over-indulgence. Then, too, as manufacturing and the emergence of skilled labor, grew, mill owners and proprietors of business establishments were in a position to appreciate the economic value of temperance amongst their employees.

One of the first direct moves came in 1815, or so, when some sixty-nine citizens of Maine assembled at the Quaker Meeting-house and formed a total abstinence society, commonly called from the membership, the Sixty-niners. Among the leaders was one of Portland's leading clergymen, the Rev. Dr. Payson and he, in 1818 persuaded his church to resolve that it considered the use of intoxicating liquors for purposes of entertainment, refreshment, or traffic, as a cause of immorality, and requiring discipline. If church members persisted in such a course, they could be suspended from church membership and even excommunicated.

This was an extreme example, however, for while there was a large and growing body of opinion in favor of temperance, the advocacy of total abstinence was something else again. So a sort of



compromise was worked out, without any specific agreement, by which a distinction was made between the use of wine, beer, cider and the like, and "ardent spirits" such as rum and whiskey. In 1827, societies were formed in New Sharon, Windsor, Buckfield and Gorham by citizens who pledged themselves to abstain from distilled spirits.

So far, the advocates of temperance and of total abstinence had worked purely on moral grounds, plus a little help from enlightened business men. The stage was being set for political adventure, however, and the first move in that direction was made as early as 1828 at Gardiner, when a society was formed by men who "pledged themselves that they would not 'knowingly vote for a man for any civil office who is in the habit of using ardent spirits or wine to excess'."

In 1834 a state convention of temperance societies was held and a State Society was organized. Next, in 1837, at a state convention of this state organization it was moved that total abstinence be made a condition of membership. This drastic move was defeated by a group of the more prominent members of the temperance group, including ex-Governor King but the extremists, naturally enough, seceded and formed the Maine Temperance Union. Members of this new organization included such men as: Rev. Dr. Tappan of Augusta, Samuel M. Pond of Bucksport, Dr. Isaac Lincoln of Brunswick, future governor of Maine in 1862, Abner Coburn, Judge Richard D. Rice and John F. Potter, of Augusta. Mr. Potter later became famous as the man who, when a member of Congress from Wisconsin, accepted a challenge from Roger A. Pryor of Virginia, over a slavery debate, to fight with bowie knives. The duel did not take place as Pryor's seconds would not allow the use of such barbarous weapons, but the incident served to make Potter one of the most famous of anti-slavery advocates.

The Temperance Union was based upon a strict pledge of total abstinence and it was reported that four-fifths if not seven-eighths of the old Temperance Society joined the new group. The Union at once voted to begin discussions on petitioning the next Legislature "for prohibiting . . . the sale of intoxicating liquors as a drink." This was the first official use of the word prohibition Maine heard.

This same year, 1837, a committee of the House of Representatives, to whom the Union's petition was referred, did bring in a report favorable to prohibition. The report stated that the system of State license made liquor dealing respectable and that experience had proven it was impossible to enforce regulations concerned with the sale of liquor. "The people will never understand that if the taverner may rightfully vend the article by the glass, to the ruin of his neighbor, it is criminal for the retailer to do the same." The report continued to say that the license system would not have been established by the "fathers" and that liquor would probably have been forbidden entirely had they not wrongfully believed that alcohol was useful and necessary to humanity.

So a bill was introduced which prohibited the sale of brandy, rum, or strong liquors, unless in greater quantities than twenty-eight gallons, excepting to physicians and apothecaries. This provi-

sion of the twenty-eight gallons was written in because the committee considered that while the Legislature could regulate the sale of liquor, it could not prohibit it constitutionally. Various amendments were offered, such as one somewhat jocular suggestion that the proposed law should carry life imprisonment for any violator, but all were lost.

Governor Kent, in his address to the Legislature made the first reference to prohibition by any governor in office, when he said, "The cause of temperance and that philanthropic movement which has already done so much to check the ravages of the fell destroyer of individual health and happiness, and prolific source of crime and misery—depends mainly for the ultimate and perfect success upon moral causes, but may yet receive aid and support from legal enactments which shall put the seal of public reprobation upon the traffic in ardent spirits whenever public sentiment will sustain the strict enforcement of the provisions of such a statute."

Evidently public sentiment was not yet ready for such sustaining for the Legislature failed to enact the proposed prohibitory law and nothing of importance was accomplished for some time to come.

Meanwhile the new Temperance Union itself was sharply divided into two camps. The conservatives wished to rely for progress only upon moral influence; the radicals favored prohibition. Finally in 1846, after the more radical element won the contest, and a declaration that "individuals engaged in the liquor traffic are the most guilty of any criminals known to us," Neal Dow and John T. Walton were appointed to present "the views and wishes of the thousands in our state who have asked by their petitions the passage of a law which shall effectually close up the drinking-houses and the tippling-shops." The two presented the Legislature with a petition from prohibitionists which was fifty-nine feet long and was signed by 3,800 citizens of Portland. The pressure exerted by the prohibitionists upon the representatives and the senators was enormous and, eventually, the first prohibition laws was passed. The vote in the House was 81 to 42 and that in the Senate was 23 to 5. The law forbade the sale of spirituous liquors excepting for medical and mechanical (sic) purposes. Governor Anderson signed the bill forthwith and prohibition had come to Maine.

For several years the prohibitionists found themselves in very hot water indeed. The anti-prohibitionists, as has happened since and on a national scale, believed that the temperance cause was merely talk and fuss and the liquor business was in no danger of more than regulation. To regulation, no one of any degree of responsibility had any objection—provided the regulation was "reasonable." However, with a prohibitory law on the books, although comparatively toothless, the liquor interests were really aroused and they began exerting pressure. This pressure made itself felt in two ways—an agitation for the repeal of an unenforceable law and pressure to prevent what law there was from being enforced. So the Temperance Union organization found it had its work cut out to have the law enforced and to obtain laws which would make prohibition effective.



One result of pressure was that many former ardent supporters of temperance and even of prohibition became less active and even ceased to support prohibition at all. However, there was a solid group of stalwarts who had battled for prohibition through the years and these were joined in sufficient number by younger and more active men to the end that prohibition remained an ever increasing force of very considerable political influence. Of course, Maine women could not vote but they could and doubtless did influence their men who could vote.

In 1849, the prohibitionists obtained a law which punished by imprisonment any persons not properly licensed who should sell or expose for sale liquor at any cattle show or fair—or within two miles thereof. This was the first instance of the punishment of imprisonment being provided for illegal liquor sale.

The following year, strengthened by their progress, the prohibitionists obtained another law which greatly increased the penalties for violation of the liquor laws. Previously the fine for violation by illegal sale had been a mere “not less than one dollar nor more than twenty dollars.” Now the fine was increased to a fine not less than twenty dollars nor more than three hundred dollars, or imprisonment for not less than thirty days nor more than six months. A temperance-minded judge could now make liquor violations unprofitable and unpleasant.

There was of course considerable opposition to this increased severity, and enforcement was most difficult, as no one could be found in office who really tried to enforce the laws. Indeed, a bill filed in 1849 by the prohibitionists, which allowed search and seizure and permitted private citizens to set the law in motion, was vetoed by Governor Dana. He remarked that the bill was much more stringent than was advisable, that prohibition could not be enforced anyhow, and that instead of helping to prevent drunkenness, prohibition had actually increased the evil by placing drinking beyond the supervision of public officials. How familiar these remarks sound in the light of national prohibition seventy-five years later!

Defeated but not in the least disheartened, the prohibitionists gathered behind the man who had emerged as their leader—Neal Dow. In the spring of 1851, Dow was elected Mayor of Portland and supported by a dry City Council. He at once sprang into action. He addressed his Council, declaring that prohibition, though necessary, could not be enforced without the aid of a stringent law which would be summary in its processes, and he requested his Council to place him at the head of a committee to go to Augusta and inform the State officials of Portland's views. The Council agreed and suggested that Dow take with him a law stringent and summary enough to make prohibition really work. Dow, who had exactly such a law in his pocket, accepted the commission but, first, being an astute gentleman, he asked a temperance lawyer, Judge Edward Fox (later a member of the United States District Court), to examine his proposed law and to straighten out any legal technicalities. Judge Fox obliged.

At Augusta, Mr. Dow descended upon the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House and, according to the historians of the period and the event, arranged to have the joint committee of the Legislature, appointed to report upon the proposed bill, composed of persons that Dow forthwith named. This packing was arranged and, with Dow at the reins, the House passed Dow's bill by a vote of 81 to 40, and the very next day, under a suspension of the rules, the Senate passed the bill by a vote of 18 to 10.

With the ink still wet on the bill, Mr. Dow rushed over to the chambers of Governor John Hubbard to do a bit of urging in the way of gubernatorial approval. Dow evidently believed that haste would prevent the slowly-moving liquor interests from making their influence effective. However, Dow had been anticipated. As he entered the Governor's Chambers, he met the shock-troops of the liquor interests, a half dozen leaders of the Democratic party, on the point of leaving. They had demanded that the Governor veto the bill. Some of them had in point of fact voted the bill through the Legislature but this they said they had done, because their districts were very close and if they had dared to vote wet, the prohibitionists in their municipalities would have caused their defeat in the next election. However, they explained, since Governor Hubbard had twice received a plurality of more than nine thousand, he could safely veto the prohibition bill without endangering his political future.

Now Dow reports his conversation with Governor Hubbard, in part, as follows: "Governor Hubbard informed me that he had reminded these gentlemen that they had voted for the bill. . . . He was bound to believe that their vote, as thus recorded, represented their convictions. It was neither his duty nor his desire to relieve them from the position in which they had placed themselves. . . . They must not ask him to disregard the public will that they had obeyed, and heed their private opinions and personal wishes, which they had concealed by their votes. . . . Two sessions of the Legislature, the Governor said, had been occupied in discussing and maturing the subject. It had passed both houses by a vote of about two thirds. It could not therefore be looked upon as hasty and inconsiderate legislation, which alone would authorize the interposition of the veto, a power which the Constitution did not contemplate as a part of the ordinary process of legislation. He would not use it in the case unless upon a careful examination of the bill he should find in it defects too grave to be overlooked."

Apparently the argument with the Governor by both parties to the controversy was bitter and attempts made to frighten the Governor into using his veto. However, two days later, the Governor signed the bill and Maine had a prohibitory law with teeth. From this time on, as might be expected, prohibition in Maine became a major political issue, with both sides lining up so far as possible both to attract votes and so as not to lose any support. Later phases of prohibition will be considered in subsequent chapters.

The final major reform movement, so-called, of this period, which reached political prominence, was Native Americanism, or, as it is



usually termed, Know-Nothingism. It is far from being one of the brightest pages of American history—and indeed, remains an unpleasant matter to many Americans.

It was primarily a movement which had its scope in the larger towns and the manufacturing cities where, from time to time, considerable anti-foreign feeling and, particularly, anti-Catholic feeling was voiced. Often this situation was expressed not only in political reactions but in actual mob violence. In some sections, the Irish were singled out as objects of attack. They had come to America in large numbers, mostly as laborers and were comparatively poverty-stricken, intemperate and politically active, at least in the original generation. The anti-Irish and anti-Catholic groups declared that the Irish were clannish, that they acted directly as a group under the influence of Catholic priests, and that they were a grave charge upon the public economy as they supplied a large proportion of paupers and criminals. The Irish were usually Democrats, and being able men and equipped with astute leaders, they frequently gained public power and prestige, as in the pivotal city of New York. As the Irish-Americans became more and more powerful, they added fuel to the dislike a large number of Americans of other descents and other religions held for them by criticizing the public school system and by trying to have tax money devoted to the support of parochial schools.

It was not difficult to convince many persons that the Irish and the Catholics in particular were not only objectionable but dangerous to American principles and institutions. So, in 1850, an organization was formed in secret called the Order of the Star Spangled Banner. It was specifically anti-foreign and anti-Catholic. Another society, very similar, was formed under the name of United Americans and these two shortly united. The movement grew in popularity and became known as the Know-Nothings. The name came about because the membership and the activities of the organization were secret and every member was instructed to say whenever he was asked about the business, that he "knew nothing."

From its center or origin in New York, Know-Nothingism gradually spread out and grew greatly. The Whigs, as a party, had long stood for nationalism and its members and leaders had frequently been definitely anti-foreign. Since the Whig Party was breaking up, as the New Republican Party was forming, it happened that many stout Whigs disliked either to become Republicans or to join the old Democrats. So, these gentlemen joined the Know-Nothings. As a national political party, it was neither long-lived or important. The slave states tried to use it against the North. In the north, the Abolitionists tried to capture the group for their purposes. One grave difficulty was its secret nature which gave its leaders despotic powers they were far from loath to use. The gravest fault was, of course, its narrow-minded attitude and its harsh exploitation of religious prejudice and racial discrimination. For a time, the Know-Nothings did win local successes and, until the movement simply faded away, its radical members embraced the golden opportunity to add to the long lists of riots and mob-violences which made the middle of the nineteenth century in America so disgraceful.



In Maine, the Know-Nothing movement did attract support and several "lodges" of the order were established. The members as a rule were strong abolitionists and ardent prohibitionists and thus, more or less under the influence of the church membership. Hence there were few excesses such as occurred in New York, for example. However, there was considerable excitement against the Catholics.

A characteristic of the Know-Nothing group, as of other such movements, was the violent language used by street "evangelists,"



*Marie Antoinette House, Edgecomb*

who publicly exhorted audiences on street corners to "awake." One such exhorter was known as the Angel Gabriel, because he attracted people to his soap-box meetings by blowing lustily upon a silver trumpet. One day at Bath, he was violently denouncing Catholics to an audience which became sympathetic and finally extremely sympathetic to his declarations. A hack happened to drive through the crowd and then, shortly, returned. This time the crowd believed that the Catholics were using the hack to break up the meeting. So the vehicle was halted. Someone raised the cry "To the Old South Church" and the crowd, becoming a mob, streamed towards that building.

This old structure, originally built under the leadership of Governor King, was made available to a Catholic congregation, although not owned by them. The mob, waving American flags, burst into the building, set it afire and watched it burn to the ground. No other damage was done although the mob roamed about threatening harm to the person and property of various Catholics. The city



authorities took prompt action, an extra hundred policemen were sworn in, and the town militia company was placed under orders. This quieted all further tendency to outrage and quiet was restored very quickly. Maine in general denounced the mob action, opposing mob-action, bigotry and persecution of a minority. Papers throughout the State joined in a chorus of denunciation and demanded punishment for the leaders if they were found.

Another outbreak of Know-Nothingism, or at least a riot inspired by the ideas of the order, occurred in Ellsworth. In that town there had for some time been considerable trouble over the use of the Bible in the schools, the reading of which was required by law. Catholics objected to their children being forced to listen to the Protestant version and the Catholic priest, Father Bapst, saw fit to publicly protest to the School Committee in language which was considered provocative. The School Committee refused to grant the demand of the Catholics and, finding several Catholic children guilty of disorderly conduct, expelled them from the school. Father Bapst again used strong language and, indeed, is reported to have cursed the members of the Committee. He also sued them, and the town promptly provided the Committee with funds for legal defense.

The alleged curse of Father Bapst was played up largely by certain towns-people when the Ellsworth Bank, of which a member of the School Committee was president, failed. Fortunately, Father Bapst at this moment was transferred to Bangor. But a town meeting at Ellsworth passed resolutions abusing the priest and threatening him with tar and feathers if he ever dared show his face in the town again.

The priest was no coward and on Saturday, October 14, 1854, he arrived back at Ellsworth. A number of men came to the house where he was lodging, took him out into a heavy rain storm, rode him on a rail and administered the threatened coat of tar and feathers. His wallet with \$50 inside was taken and so was his watch, perhaps worth as much. Some of the mob tried to hang him but the leaders of the crowd prevented that.

Undaunted, on the next day, Sunday, Father Bapst twice celebrated mass with his parishioners protecting him with pitchforks and such other rude weapons as they could muster. A prominent citizen of Ellsworth, Charles Jarvis, induced the mob attacking the Catholics to disperse and took the priest into his own home. Father Bapst was not further molested. He celebrated mass the next morning and returned in peace to Bangor.

Criticism of the outrage was widespread. Protestant leaders of Bangor took up a collection and purchased a new watch, chain and seal, as a token of their distaste for violence and Ellsworth was accused of extreme intemperance and intolerance throughout the East. Ellsworth did not meekly bear the blame showered upon it. A meeting of townspeople regretted the physical violence but roundly assailed Bapst as deserving punishment for the provocations he had offered. His watch was also recovered and returned.

Bangor had somewhat similar trouble over the use of the King James version of the Bible and the School Committee there agreed

to substitute an edition to which the Catholics did not object. A Miss Thayer, who had been a school-teacher at Bangor for fifteen years, refused to use the substitute Bible, and resigned in protest. The citizens of Ellsworth raised a subscription and, at a public meeting there, presented it to Miss Thayer with appropriate remarks.

Isolated difficulties continued to occur in various parts of Maine throughout the Know-Nothing party's activities but the cases at Bath and at Ellsworth were the only two serious outrages.

#### 7. WHIGS, DEMOCRATS AND PROHIBITIONISTS

The ten years following 1840 were, politically, largely a period of struggle between the Whigs and the Democrats, with issues clouded and complicated by the upsurge of the prohibitionists. The final result was, of course, the emergence of the Republican Party. Abolitionism played its part, too, particularly in the ten years following 1850 and the outbreak of the Civil War. Maine had been a state for a generation by this time, and 1840 marks not only a stage in political party shift but also a maturity of political manipulation within the State.

When the Fall campaign of 1841 opened in Maine, politics, confused by the death of Harrison and the succession of Tyler, were very delicately poised. The Whigs were gravely weakened by the internal quarrel of their party while the Democrats were too flushed with anticipated success to do much more than squabble among themselves over the division of expected spoils. Governor Kent had removed many Democrats from office and these martyrs felt that they should be reappointed as soon as possible. Other Democrats, who had not held office, declared loudly that the men who had held office had had their turn at the pork barrel and should not expect reappointment but should help new men to a share of the political plums.

The Democrats nominated Fairfield and the Whigs Kent. The campaign was bitter, particularly with an anti-slavery candidate, Jeremiah Curtis, added to the field, but the Democrats won easily—Fairfield received 47,354 votes, Kent 36,790, and Curtis 1,662.

In 1842, Fairfield declined to stand for re-election but such a serious split developed amongst the Democrats that he finally consented to stand once more. Kent refused the Whig nomination again and the convention of that party nominated Edward Robinson of Thomaston, a sailor, merchant and legislator. The anti-slavery party put up its stalwart, Appleton. Evidently the Whigs were slipping badly in Maine for Fairfield received 40,855 votes, Robinson only 26,745 and Appleton 4,080. The vote was light for the campaign issues were of small importance.

The important political event of the 1843 session of the Legislature was the naming of a new United States Senator to succeed Senator Williams, who had served long and faithfully. A lawyer of eminence, he announced his purpose to return to the practice of his profession at home. Governor Fairfield had clearly the inside track for the appointment to Washington and the House sent him there with a vote of 88 to 20, the Senate agreeing unanimously.



Governor Fairfield of course resigned and his office fell to Edward Kavanagh who was President of the Maine Senate. An experienced legislator and politician, he had served Maine at Augusta and at Washington, and the country as charge d'affairs at Lisbon, where he distinguished himself in negotiating an important commercial treaty. A Catholic, he was the first member of that faith to serve the State as governor. He was also one of the American representatives who participated in the Webster-Ashburton treaty, which, as reported previously, was highly unpopular in Maine.

Thus, although as acting-governor he had every reason to expect that the Democrats would follow their custom and name him for their gubernatorial candidate in the 1843 election, considerable opposition to him developed. At the party caucus at Bangor in June, Hugh J. Anderson of Belfast was given the nomination on the first ballot, receiving 162 votes to 124 for Governor Kavanagh. Mr. Anderson was distinctly a self-made man, which means that his estate was personally earned and his education gained without the benefit of academic instruction. He had served only two years in Congress but like most self-made men, he was possessed of the ability to win friends and to influence people. He was described as being suave and courteous—and a skillful politician.

Kavanagh, while himself taking no part in the resulting activities, was given the warm support of many influential and ordinary men who felt that he had been badly treated. The religious prejudice against him was strongly denounced and his conspicuous abilities and his lofty character were cited as reasons for electing him to a full term as governor. The Democrats themselves were much perturbed over the situation because they feared the vote would be considered by Catholics to be a religious issue and thus the Democrats would lose the support of the Catholic members of the party. Various meetings and conventions were held throughout the State which declared for Kavanagh.

The Whigs quarreled over their nominee but finally selected Edward Robinson again over William G. Crosby of Belfast. The campaign was listless and both parties were afraid of the religious issue and so the vote was light. Anderson received 32,029 votes, Robinson 20,973, Appleton (anti-slavery) 6,746 and Kavanagh 3,221.

The campaign of 1844 was complicated by its being a presidential year. The question of the annexation of Texas was a serious one. Texas had revolted from Mexico and had been recognized in 1837 as an independent nation by President Jackson. England was threatening to take advantage of the weakness of Texas and the South wanted to bring the vast territory in as a slave state. The North was perfectly willing to spite Britain and bring Texas into the Union but the abolitionists wanted slavery forbidden. Van Buren went into his party's convention with his renomination practically assured but his fence-straddling stand on the Texas issue cost him dearly and the nomination went unanimously to James K. Polk of Tennessee. Senator Fairfield of Maine was also just about assured of the nomination for vice-president but again Texas reared its Hydra head and

Fairfield, who was not pro-slavery, was energetically opposed by the South and George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania was nominated instead.

The Whigs nominated the famous Henry Clay and for vice president Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey—an exceptionally strong ticket as opposed to the weak Polk and Dallas, who were scarcely known outside of their own states. Clay had come out strongly against the annexation of Texas because it would necessarily be a slave territory which would lead the North to annex Canada, even if another war were required.

Maine Democrats and Whigs accepted the nominations of their respective parties willingly and each party began campaigning with even more than the accustomed belittlement of its opponents. The anti-slavery party in Maine refused to vote for Clay since Maine people believed that Clay was one of the most effective supporters of the black slave system in the United States. New England business men were also opposed to Clay because he was only moderate on the question of a tariff that business wanted to protect the infant industries just gaining momentum.

Maine's gubernatorial candidates were, as before, Anderson for the Democrats, Robinson for the Whigs and Appleton for the abolitionists—but the national issues overshadowed any local arguments. Polk carried Maine by 11,000 votes and the race for governor was no closer—Anderson received 48,942 votes, Robinson 38,501 and Appleton 6,245. The Texas problem still continued. The famous Texas resolution in Congress provided that the territory might be divided later into not more than five states, all of which states north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes must be free. The struggle was prolonged and severe and various meetings were held in Maine to argue the matter of annexation.

The matter of a cabinet post for Maine in Polk's cabinet was also of concern to the State, for the Pine Tree State had never been so honored. Senator Fairfield was thought to deserve such an honor and the Maine Democrats were insistent that their loyalty to the party deserved such a reward. However, Fairfield was re-elected United States senator and lost interest in pushing his claim. Then, in 1846, Maine did win a post in the cabinet. Upon the resignation of Bancroft as Secretary of the Navy to become Minister to England, Attorney-General Mason was given the Navy post. Polk felt that since New England deserved a place in the cabinet, Nathan Clifford of Maine should be considered for the vacant office of Attorney General. Polk offered the position to Clifford and he accepted it, but shortly became doubtful of his ability to discharge the heavy duties of the office. But, in March of 1848, Clifford was made joint commissioner to ratify the treaty with Mexico and later became minister to Mexico, a post he resigned in 1849 to return home to Portland.

Two Maine men were considered for the once-again vacant post of Attorney-General, Judge Shepley and John Anderson, then collector of customs at Portland. However, the appointment finally went to ex-Governor Toucey of Connecticut.



The 1845 campaign for Governor in Maine was a quiet one. The Whigs ran Freeman H. Morse of Bath and the Democrats re-nominated Governor Anderson. Anderson was re-elected with 34,711 votes against Morse's 26,341. The anti-slavery leader, Sam Fessenden, received 5,687 votes.

The annexation of Texas and Polk's treatment of boundary claims resulted in the War with Mexico. Maine was opposed to the war, especially the Whigs, who feared damage to Maine vessels at the hands of European vessels given letters of marque by Mexico. However, when the war was won easily, Maine papers were more war-like—although most Maine men of position felt somewhat ashamed that the United States should fight with Mexico. The Maine leaders realized that the Mexicans were fighting in defense of their country and considered the United States to be in the position of a big bully mistreating a little boy. The 1846 election was fought in Maine mostly on national issues, particularly the war with Mexico. The unpopularity of the war was demonstrated by the fact that Maine did not raise a regiment to go and fight. There were some volunteers; many Yankees are always ready to fight but, this time, there were very few of them willing to enlist. The Whig convention bluntly condemned the war. The Democrats declared that war or not, the support of the Union was the vital point. Another national issue which figured in the Maine election was the Oregon treaty. The Democrats had claimed that the entire Oregon territory belonged to the United States and that, instead of arguing about it with England, we should march into the area in force and defy Great Britain. Polk had accepted a compromise and the Whigs had helped him obtain Senate ratification of the settlement. Since Governor Anderson was completing his third term and custom prevented his running again, the Democrats, compelled to select a new man, picked John W. Dana of Fryeburg. He was very popular for his conservative record won him the respect of many men on both sides of the party alignment. Morse was to have been the Whig candidate but he refused at the last minute and the Whig nomination finally went to David Bronson of Anson. Dana received 36,031 votes, Bronson's total was 29,557, and the anti-slavery Fessenden had the large vote of 9,938. The Democrats carried the Legislature so even if Dana failed of the necessary majority, his election was assured.

The United States Senatorship in 1846 was bitterly contested and anti-slavery feeling mounted among the Maine Democrats. These abolitionists sought to have the strong anti-slavery Congressman Hannibal Hamlin elected to the Senate. The House picked Hamlin but the Senate chose Governor Anderson by a vote of 14 to 11. The issue became stalemated and after six weeks Hamlin withdrew as did Anderson, and a compromise candidate, James W. Bradbury, was chosen. Bradbury, a distinctly minor politician, rests his fame upon his long survival. He lived to be the oldest alumnus of Bowdoin College, class of 1825, which class included Longfellow and Hawthorne, and was also, when he died in 1901 at the age of 98, the senior ex-United States Senator.

The great question of 1847 was the Wilmot Proviso, which President Polk had arranged so that Mexican territory, to adjust the boun-

dary dispute, could be purchased. David Wilmot of Pennsylvania in his provision arranged that the territory thus purchased should be forever free. Maine was determined that "not another inch of slave territory should be added to the United States." The South was equally firm that the territory should be acquired without the proviso. The Maine Legislature declared itself in favor of the freedom provision and Hannibal Hamlin, seeking the United States Senatorship from Maine, at the next opportunity led the fight for the provision in Congress. His leadership proved successful and his famous three resolutions passed the House amid loud cheers from the folks at home.

The campaign for governor in Maine proved to be another quiet one, with the same candidates as ran the previous year being re-nominated. The election was about the same, save that Governor Dana with 33,429 votes against Bronson's 24,246 tally, won election by the people directly. Dana's popularity was due at least in part to his strong expression of anti-slavery sentiments.

The close of 1847 was marked by the sudden death of Senator Fairfield. Since the Legislature was not in session and did not meet until the following May, Governor Dana had the privilege of naming a temporary Senator. It was an embarrassing situation for the official thus appointed would have the advantage of being in office at the time of the next election—and many of Dana's friends and supporters would undoubtedly seek the office. Dana solved the problem neatly by naming W. B. S. Moore of Waterville, attorney-general of Maine. Moore promised to be satisfied with a few months in office and thus leave the field clear to serious candidates. Moore was subsequently appointed by President Buchanan as consul-general to Canada.

The Senate vacancy aroused the friends of Hannibal Hamlin to exert themselves in his behalf and all the anti-slavery sentiment in Maine rallied to their leader's support. Four other Democratic candidates also appeared and pressed their claims—Attorney-General Clifford, the extreme pro-slavery Democratic standard bearer; ex-Governor Anderson, who was a most influential party leader; Samuel Wells, a former Whig; and John D. McCrate, an able politician and perennial office-seeker.

When the Democratic caucus met, the House promptly nominated Hamlin but in the Senate there was no choice. Hamlin's machine, fearing party disunion, concealed its candidate's strength and declared that the election was so doubtful that the caucus should agree that, whoever was selected, all the candidates should agree to support the victor. This motion was easily carried. Then Hamlin's supporters flexed their muscles and Hamlin was readily nominated. The loyalty thus arranged proved potent and Hamlin went to the United States Senate an easy victor over the Whig candidate, George Evans.

A native of Paris Hill, Maine, Hannibal Hamlin, one of Maine's great men, was a son of a distinguished and widely respected family. Following a sickly childhood, Hamlin grew to robust manhood, a quality he found very valuable in his twenty-five years of service in the United States Senate. Disappointed in his education because of the death of his father, after refusing to go to college and to West



Point as a cadet, he cultivated the family farm with much success, taught school a little, did some surveying, and published a short-lived newspaper. His spare time, what there was of it, he devoted to reading law, and after a year's study with the famous legal team of Fessenden and Deblois at Portland, he was admitted to the Maine bar. The very same day he went into court and won his first case, defeating his future father-in-law, Stephen Emery, a leader of the Oxford County bar. Mr. Emery made a gracious acknowledgement of his defeat and, standing up in public, announced the formal engagement of his daughter to the victorious Hamlin.

Hamlin established himself at Hampden, a much more active town then than now, and specialized in admiralty law—of which there was plenty of need. However, he soon turned from law to politics and found at last his real profession. He began his political career in 1835 by election to the Maine House of Representatives and served there for five years, three of them as speaker. In 1842 he was sent to Congress and served the usual two terms. He then began to work for the United States Senate and in 1848 won his coveted prize. Up to this point, his campaigning had been distinguished by a very vigorous and florid style of oratory—a common trait of most politicians of the time. But in the Senate he found the great masters—Webster, Clay and Calhoun—were in fact coming to the end of their influence. The interminable spate of words these gifted gentlemen erupted was boring to the younger and more energetic Senators and so Hamlin switched abruptly from his former models of eloquence and adopted a brisk practical, common-sense manner of speech which soon won him attention. When he completed his final term as Senator in 1881, he was the last of the anti-slavery Senators in service, he had served in the Senate longer than any other member, and his influence in the body was unequalled by that of any other statesman.

The presidential campaign for 1848 in Maine was marked by an attempt by various Democratic leaders to replace the favorite son, General Cass, by Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire. Hamlin urged the nomination of Woodbury strongly but General Cass walked away with the vote on the fourth ballot. The Whigs, following Clay's defeat in 1844, determined to repeat their strategy of 1840 and select a candidate who could win easily. The politicians urged the nomination accordingly of General Taylor, Old Rough and Ready, whose victories in the Mexican War had made him a national hero. Taylor was as much a Democrat as a Whig but that was of no consequence.

Maine Whigs leaped into the campaign and many Democrats wanted him for their presidential candidate, too. So the preliminary maneuvers were somewhat confused, especially at the state levels. The Whig caucus chose two Taylor men, ex-Governor Kent and George C. Getchell of North Anson. At the National Convention, Governor Kent made the nominating speech for Taylor and Maine voted solidly for the General, who was chosen as the party candidate on the fourth ballot. Clay and Webster were supported by the other New England states on early ballots.

Van Buren, who, although out of office still commanded warm support amongst many Democrats, also entered the Presidential race

upon the formation of the Free Soil Party, which demanded the exclusion of slavery from new territories.

For Governor, the Whig Maine State Convention chose Elijah Hamlin, a brother of Senator Hamlin, but also a distinguished and able gentleman in his own right. The Democrats had much difficulty in picking their gubernatorial candidate. Senator Hamlin supported Dr. John Hubbard of Hallowell, a very popular physician and citizen. The party split over this choice and extremists wanted Colonel John Hodgdon of Houlton, a well known moderate Democrat. At first so bitter was the feeling that it seemed likely the Democratic Party would split in two with two separate conventions and two candidates. However, Senator Hamlin and other leaders put their heads together and, for the sake of party unity, Hubbard was nominated and Hodgdon graciously promised his support to the victor. The union plan worked well, for in the election Hubbard received 37,636 votes, Hamlin 28,056 and Talbot, the Free Soil candidate, 7,978.

In the national election, however, Van Buren's third party campaign was fatal for the Democrats as Taylor carried New York State and so won the election. Taylor had been expected to reward Kent and other Maine Democrats for their stalwart efforts in electing him and although Taylor made a clean sweep of Democrats in national office, wherever possible, he failed to reward his friends in Maine fittingly. This injured the Whig Party in Maine as, for example, at Bangor, a strong Whig city, the voters sent Hastings Strickland, a prominent Democrat, to represent them in the Legislature.

The important political event of 1850 in Maine was the re-election of Senator Hamlin after a very bitter battle. Hamlin apparently was to be re-nominated without question but suddenly sharp opposition developed with Governor Dana active in particular. Dana had for years been a moderate on the anti-slavery problem but he did an about-face and joined with the radical abolitionists, called Hunkers. Possibly he had hopes of replacing Hamlin on the Free-Soil ticket if he could not capture the Democratic nomination itself. However, Dana was evidently a poor vote getter and so the political leaders dropped him quickly and selected a very skilled politician instead, Bion Bradbury of Eastport. Hamlin, who had become an astute politician himself, planted seeds of suspicion amid the Hunkers and, without the leaders of the sect knowing what had happened, the rank and file simply refused to accept Bradbury.

At the Democratic Party caucus, charges were made against Hamlin of lack of support in the anti-slavery cause, and, most serious of all, that he was not really a Democrat but a disguised Whig—as his voting record in the Senate demonstrated. This attack made a considerable impression amongst members of the Maine Senate where Hamlin had enemies in plenty as it was. The Hunkers especially were anxious to defeat Hamlin and with the slogan, "anything to beat Hamlin," they worked out a coalition with the Whigs. Even a Whig senator from Maine would be better than Hamlin, they announced. The Whig candidate was Evans and the Free Soilers put General Fessenden into the field again. On the first ballot in the Maine House,



Mr. Hamlin received 67 votes (eight less than a majority), Evans 42 and Fessenden 15 votes. Among the Hunkers, 20 voted for Governor Hubbard and there were 5 scattering votes. Hubbard requested that his name be dropped so the Hunkers put John Anderson into the field. The vote in the Maine Senate was about the same as that in the House so, after eleven ballots had failed to make a choice, the election was postponed for a month.

Hamlin was faced with the problem of winning over the necessary votes without, at the same time, doing anything to lose the votes he did have. So, although he worked out a deal with the Free Soilers, he managed to keep the arrangements a deep secret. Senator Ozias Blanchard of Blanchard, was instructed by General Fessenden, the Free Soil candidate, who was willing to withdraw in Hamlin's favor, to make a signal during the actual moment of the election—so the Free Soiler votes would go to Hamlin. And so it was worked; the help of the Free Soilers was enough to swing the balance and Hamlin was re-elected, with just one vote to spare in the Maine Senate.

The Governor was to hold office for two years, beginning with the 1850 election, so there was something of an edge to the campaign. The Democrats renominated Governor Hubbard, the Whigs picked William G. Crosby of Belfast and Talbot stumped for the Free Soil Party. The vote was close: Hubbard 41,203, Crosby 32,120, and Talbot 7,267.

The next year, 1851, was quiet politically, as there was no Governor to be chosen, and as the anti-slave issue was more or less quiet. The politicians, however, were busy building up their fences for the Presidential campaign of 1852. Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire, was strongly urged by Hamlin and other New England political leaders as the party choice for the Democratic nomination but his sudden death stopped the campaign in full stride. This left the Democrats stranded high and dry but by very careful planning and political strategy, the dark horse, Franklin Pierce, also of New Hampshire, was maneuvered into the nomination after forty-eight ballots.

The Whigs had three important candidates for their nomination—Fillmore, Webster and General Scott. Scott, a compromise candidate, and "available," was generally well supported in Maine. Fillmore was tainted with his popularity in the South. Webster, considered less than enthusiastically by the anti-slavery group, was also hated in Maine for the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. On policy, the Whigs were badly split in Maine, especially over the Compromise of 1850 which the South demanded. A group which supported the Compromise in the interests of maintaining the Union, called themselves the Silver-Greys and campaigned actively in several sections of the country. In Maine the Silver Greys at Portland tried futilely to send delegates to the State Convention, but not disheartened by this failure, held a great mass-meeting at Portland and urged Maine voters to weigh the welfare of the nation against prejudices and personalities.

The Whig State Convention however endorsed Scott and elected George Evans and William Pitt Fessenden delegates-at-large. For Governor, the Whigs picked William G. Crosby of Maine, a zealous

and efficient public official in public school matters. The National Convention, after 53 ballots, finally gave the nomination to General Scott.

It was an empty victory, however, for the Whigs went down to smashing defeat with Pierce, the Democratic dark horse, sweeping all but four states, Massachusetts, Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee.

This campaign marked the end nationally of the Whig Party. The organization had been formed to deal with problems which by this time were either obsolete or had been settled. Like other political parties, the Whigs were so inflexible and Whig leaders were so lacking in imagination, that the party could not be adapted to meet new issues—and so it faded away. Strangely enough, the year 1852 also marked the passing of the two great men of the Whig Party. Henry Clay, his work done, died at a Washington hotel in May and Daniel Webster, bitter over his failure to win the Presidency and despondent over the failure of his party in the election, passed away at his home at Marshfield, Massachusetts, in September. With the two great leaders dead, everyone suddenly became mindful of their virtues and accomplishments and the two were universally eulogized. Maine also lost a leader that same year: Governor William King, the first chief executive of Maine died.

The election of 1852 was also marked by a struggle in Maine for Governor. While it was customary for a Governor to have three terms, the Democrats found many party members opposed to the re-nomination of Governor Hubbard. His advocacy of prohibition as shown by his public orations, and his signing of the Prohibition Law of 1851, as previously related, created many enemies, especially among the older members of the party. The Hunkers demanded that a convention be called to consider nominations but the rank and file of the party were strong enough to push a nomination for their Governor through by legislative caucus. The Hunkers promptly called their own convention and nominated Anson G. Chandler, son of General John Chandler.

Hubbard, of course, won the stout support of all the prohibition interests in the State and they sought to have their candidate, Crosby, as previously mentioned, attract the anti-liquor interests, too, hoping thus to split the Democratic party wide open. However, Hubbard won with 41,999 votes to Crosby's total of 29,127. The Hunkers' choice, Chandler, took 21,774 votes and the Free Soil party leader, Holmes, collected only 1,617 votes. This was not a choice by the people and so the contest was thrown into the Legislature, where the parties were so divided the choice was still uncertain. The House had the duty of choosing two candidates from the four with the largest popular vote. Then the Senate would pick the Governor from the two the House selected.

The Whigs had a clear majority in the Senate so the Senate's choice of Crosby was certain but the House was very difficult indeed to steer. So the Whigs and the Wild Cat faction of the Democrats made a secret deal by which that division of the Democrats would be given preference by the Whig Governor. Thus Crosby was made Governor and the Wild Cats with three votes on the Council against



only two for the Whigs held a firm grip on the apportionment of State patronage.

If a Governor had finally been managed into office, there was still no choice of United States Senator. Senator Bradbury declined to stand for re-election, so the choice was deadlocked between the Whig choice, William Pitt Fessenden, and the Democrats divided between ex-Governor Dana and Nathan Clifford.

The next campaign for Governor of Maine found the Whigs easily placed; they followed custom and nominated Governor Crosby. The Democrats, however, found their choice difficult. The convention was held in a mammoth tent hired from Boston and the delegates found the prohibitionists out-ranked by the pro-liquor interests. Eben F. Pillsbury of Machias stood out amongst the candidates strongly and after the third ballot made it clear that he alone had a chance of winning the nomination. Counsels of unity prevailed and Pillsbury was nominated. According to the *Bangor Whig*, the close of the convention was well celebrated and Pillsbury entertained "his visitors in his liquor-spread room."

The prohibition forces disliked Pillsbury and held their own convention at Portland and entered an independent candidate, Anson P. Morrill of Readfield. The election, as in the year before, did not result in a people's choice. The vote was Pillsbury 36,386, Crosby 27,061, Morrill 11,027 and Holmes, the Free Soil Party man, 8,996. When the Legislature met in January of 1854, there was not a quorum in the Senate, for the people had elected only 13 Senators.

The House determined to get along without a Senate at all, and pick the Governor but the matter was brought before the Maine Supreme Court which found that the Senate, although a minority, could organize, and exercise all the powers of the Senate in filling vacancies. The matter of picking a Governor was therefor taken up. Just as the year before, astute Whig politicians labored with unhappy representatives of the opposing party and the dissenting Democrats and Free Soilers with the result that Crosby received 16 votes and Morrill but 15.

The problem of electing a United States Senator now came to the fore and the angry supporters of Mr. Morrill sought revenge. To placate them, the regular Democrats nominated Morrill's bother, Lot. Morrill said he could not openly oppose his brother but thought the Democratic Party should vote for Fessenden. The Whigs were opposed to Fessenden so the Democrats were forced to gain votes secretly and be able to surprise the Whigs when the time came. The strategy proved successful and Senator Fessenden was voted into office.

William Pitt Fessenden, born in New Hampshire, October 16, 1806, was a son of General Samuel Fessenden, and a godson of Daniel Webster. Like his namesake, Fessenden was a man of high personal integrity, austere in manner and more admired than loved by his friends and associates. He frequently expressed distaste for public life but denied himself the pleasure of "returning to his home and garden" for the sake of what he considered to be his duty to his state and his country. After some service to the Whig Party as

an organizer in 1840 he was elected a Congressman but after one term in the House refused another term because of his disgust with conditions at Washington. He never took kindly to professional politicians.

For years, beginning in 1832, he served with some regularity as Portland's representative in the Maine Legislature, and in 1843, '45 and '53, he was the Whig's candidate for United States Senator. His career in the United States Senate, following his election in 1854, was distinguished by universal respect for his character and abilities. He was always an honest man—first of all to himself. He once said, "did I know that the opinions of every one of my constituents differed from my own, if I acted at all I would act according to my own honest convictions of right were it directly in their teeth. Those whom I represent would despise me if I acted otherwise. I might in such a case resign my office, but I would never violate the dictates of my own conscience. I am willing to be the servant of the people, but I will never be their slave."

Early in his senatorial career he thrilled the North and won the respect of the South by his firm stand against the Kansas-Nebraska bill. When the Republicans gained control of the Senate, Fessenden, widely respected for his ability, became chairman of the committee on finance, which then had charge of both the raising of revenue and appropriation bills. The Civil War made his work a heavy burden, but he discharged his responsibilities so well that in 1865 he was elected chairman of the joint committee on reconstruction—a job which exposed him to fierce attacks from both the North and the South.

Essentially conservative, although Yankee enough to throw caution to the winds when principles were involved, he was known as a "business" Senator. He disliked talk and hated bombast and desired only that his work should speak for him. He was often called haughty, austere and cold; the fact seems to be that he was badly overworked and, in addition, suffered from an illness which would have led many a lesser man to retire to the ease of semi-invalidism. He was proud. He was independent. But he was one of the best servants of the nation that Maine has ever contributed to national affairs. He died after only a brief confinement in bed at his Portland home on September 8, 1869. His death came in the midst of a great storm which caused much damage in New England. "Streams were flooded, bridges carried away, trees uprooted. The great brick house in which he lay was shaken by the blasts, and a favorite tree which he had planted in front of it was broken down by the tempest."

## 8. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The early years of the Fifties saw the breaking up of the Whigs and the fatal split in the ranks of the Democrats—both parties being smashed on the rock of slavery. When Senator Stephen A. Douglas reported a bill for organizing the territory of Nebraska, which was to be free or slave as its citizens might decide, the North considered the plan a violation of the sacred Missouri Compromise. Anger



boiled over throughout the North and the South grew just as indignant. The battle became the beginning of the end in the long and miserable controversy over slavery.

The Democratic President was strongly in favor of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. This left the Maine Democrats in a sorry position. Many Maine Democrats urged that the party in the State should disregard the national policy and come out against slavery—that is, insist upon the continuance of the Missouri Compromise. Harmony was necessary if the party was to win the next election and so the party managers took refuge in the golden rule of silence. They adopted no platform. Governor Pillsbury was by custom entitled to an uncontested re-nomination but he feared trouble and so he offered to withdraw if Albion K. Parris could be nominated unanimously. This was done.

Parris was well liked personally and being a total abstainer, he was acceptable to the temperance advocates. His defeat of Neal Dow in the contest for the election of Mayor of Portland had given him political prominence—if some opposition from extremists of the prohibitionists. The anti-slavery Democrats, however, were not too well pleased with Parris so they withdrew from the party and nominated their own candidate, Anson P. Morrill, for Governor on an anti-slave and a temperance platform.

The Whigs were in confusion. Actually, many Whigs saw no reason for continuing to exist as a party at all. Eventually, it was determined that the party flag should be kept flying and so, after carefully hedging on most national and local issues, including prohibition, the convention nominated for Governor Isaac Reed of Waldoboro. Many of the Whigs had wanted to throw the party's support to Morrill, the Free Soil leader—and it was clear that many Whigs would vote for the man.

The election resulted in no choice by the people. Morrill had 44,565 votes, Parris 28,462, Reed 14,001, Cary 3,478. The House in January selected Reed and Morrill as their two candidates and the Senate emphatically selected Morrill as Governor. When the news was announced in the House, "Mr. Heald, of Troy, moved that three hearty cheers be given for the success of the New Republican Party just organized in the State of Maine." He was ruled out of order.

However, the time was ripe for a new party to develop. The national Republican Party, the one still known by that name despite recent misfortunes, is considered to have been founded at a meeting at Jackson, Michigan, in June of 1854.

The formation of the Republican Party in Maine began the very next month. Discontented members of the Democrats, especially the anti-slavery element, together with representatives of the Whigs, the Free Soilers and the Independent Democrats, met and organized to support Morrill—but they did not adopt the name Republican until the following year, possibly for fear of confusing the voters.

Triumphant although the new Republicans were, they were faced with many difficulties, for as is always the way with a coalition at first, the various interests concerned all had their own ideas and each its own men to put into appointive office. Naturally, Morrill

and the Legislature could not avoid offending many politicians, for there were not enough jobs to go around and, in addition, the practical necessities of operating a state government required that some ideas be subjected to others. Some academies were given generous grants of public lands; others failed of obtaining anything at all. A geological survey was proposed but was attacked as being a waste of money; the proposal to give the bodies of paupers to medical schools was most violently opposed. The Know-Nothing section of the Republicans pushed through a bill forbidding naturalized citizens to vote unless they submitted their papers to local authorities at least three months before an election. This was also attacked bitterly as unconstitutional. The prohibitory law was the cause of a great deal of trouble. The right of search and seizure was considered to be a violation of the rights of privacy. The law was also alleged to be bad for business.

Trouble really flowered when a liquor riot in Portland required the Governor to call out the militia. The mob was fired upon, one person was killed and several were injured. Liquor had been bought for a city department and it was claimed that Neal Dow, the great prohibitionist, as Mayor was technically the owner of the liquor and so had violated his own prohibitory law. Handbills were distributed which spared no means of castigating Dow—such as the sentence “. . . Let the lash which Neal Dow has prepared for other backs be applied to his own when he deserves it.”

The actual riot broke out because, despite a court order for seizure, the liquor was not removed from City Hall but left there under charge of an officer. The mob gathered quickly, stones were thrown and an attempt was made to break into the City Hall and seize the liquor. The police fired and one man was injured. Mayor Dow himself led the militia to the scene and without warning, the soldiers fired. Jonathan Robbins, of Deer Isle, was killed and seven of the mob were wounded. The whiff of bullets calmed the mob quickly and it soon dispersed.

Public meetings followed in which Mayor Dow was attacked in strong language. In court, Dow was cleared, naturally, of the charge of having illegal possession of liquor and the death of the Deer Isle man was charged off against rioting. The final outcome of the riot was very injurious to the Republicans for the anti-prohibition forces took every possible advantage in their efforts to inflame Maine against the prohibitory law—and the Republicans included the temperance people and the prohibition radicals in their ranks.

However, what the Republicans lost in liquor they gained in national politics, for “popular sovereignty” in Kansas had proved to be a cheat. Many New Englanders had gone to Kansas in an effort to keep it free but when election time came, pro-slavery interests flooded their adherents across the border from Missouri in 1854 and elected a pro-slavery governor. The same procedure was repeated later when a pro-slavery Legislature was elected. This was considered treachery by the North and as Maine Democrats necessarily adhered to the pro-slavery Democratic National Party, the Maine Democrats suffered heavily.



In the State election, the Democrats could not therefore speak against slavery so they made the most of the triumph they had gained over the Republicans in the Portland liquor riot. They selected Samuel Wells of Portland as their standard bearer.

The Republicans made the most of the Kansas-Nebraska treachery to win abolitionist support and said nothing about prohibition until the very last minute when pressure within the party brought out a platform plank which declared that the "perpetuation and execution of the Maine Law (prohibition) are among the fundamental issues of the Republican Party in Maine." Morrill was, of course, re-nominated for governor.

The vote although the largest ever up to that time, did not give a choice by the people. Morrill won 51,441, Wells 48,341 and Reed, the Whig candidate, 10,610. As the Maine Legislature would be Democratic, the Democrats were triumphantly celebrating the election immediately.

The House sent up to the Senate the names of Reed and Wells, since they had to name two by law, and the Senate elected Wells. Having expelled all Republican officeholders, the Democrats filled the state jobs and then proceeded to undo as much of the Republican legislation passed the previous year as possible. However, the great job facing the Democratic legislators was the drafting of a new liquor law. In this they faced serious difficulties. There was no agreement possible at all by ordinary procedures so a special committee was appointed to draw up the new law. Finally, after long delay, the committee reported and the Legislature at last repealed the prohibitory law of 1851 and substituted a new law which allowed the sale of liquor to a limited number of persons in each municipality, according to the population under local option. This liquor could not be drunk upon the premises save by strangers who were travelers lodging at an inn. Minors could not be sold liquor without the written direction of those responsible for them, nor could liquor be sold to Indians, soldiers, drunkards or intoxicated persons.

While many Maine citizens approved this change in the Maine law, the issue injured the Democrats greatly—as did the Kansas question in its various developments. Outrages in Bloody Kansas continued and when on March 22 Senator Sumner exposed the fraud of the South in a bitter speech on the Senate floor, the subsequent assault by Representative Brooks of South Carolina, caused the entire North to explode. The whole State turned abolitionist and this just about ruined Democratic hopes.

The next election was a Presidential one but there was not much excitement over the issue in Maine. The Pine Tree State had already made up its mind. The Republican party nominated John C. Fremont and Maine followed suit willingly, so far as the Republicans went. The Democrats put Buchanan into the race as their candidate and Maine Democrats had to support him although two leading Maine politicians promptly deserted the Democratic Party. They were Senator Hamlin and State Chairman Morrill. Hamlin's loss was regarded calmly as he had long failed to meet Democratic desires and the Republicans welcomed him with open arms.

The Whigs realizing that they were as good as moribund met in convention and nearly determined to dissolve the party on the spot. Nevertheless they continued as the "loyal opposition" and put up George F. Patten of Bath as their candidate for Governor of Maine. They determined not to take ground against the extension of slavery and carefully dodged other issues.

The gubernatorial contest naturally was a complete triumph for the Republicans. Hamlin led Wells, the Democrat, by some 26,000 votes. However, in the Presidential election, the Democrats were successful. Maine went for Fremont but Buchanan carried the country.

The first choice the triumphant Republicans faced was that of sending a Senator to Washington. It was understood that Hamlin, whose term would expire in March, 1857, wished to continue in Washington even though he had been elected governor of Maine. The Democrats howled that such a process would be most improper and, indeed, dishonest, for having offered himself to the people as Governor, he was compelled to honor their confidence and serve his term.

Most Republicans, however, approved of the Governor's resigning and going back to Washington—as did the few Whigs who were left as such. Hamlin was accordingly returned to Washington. The three months gap in his unexpired term needed to be filled and so the Republicans in control of the Legislature gave Dr. Amos Nourse of Bath the honor.

The result of all this was that the most important office in Maine became that of the President of the Senate for that official would succeed Governor Hamlin when Hamlin resigned to go back to Washington as Senator. The Republicans selected Joseph H. Williams of Augusta and, in due time, he did become the acting-Governor of Maine.

While the Republicans in control of the State were fighting amongst themselves over the distribution of State patronage, the Democrats were busy obtaining gifts of office for themselves from the Democratic administration at Washington. Nathan Clifford, one of the Democratic Party managers in Maine in December, 1875, was nominated to be Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court—an office he hardly had sufficient qualifications to fill, in the opinion of his enemies. Many Maine Democrats were open in their criticism of his nomination.

However, he was confirmed and he proceeded to confound his critics despite the grave difficulties he faced because of his inexperience. He lived to conquer prejudice, serving fairly and impartially, and became an able and useful justice. The amount of labor he endured to win honor and confidence was, however, stupendous.

Other faithful Democrats who were rewarded with national offices included: John Appleton, editor of the *Argus*, who was appointed Assistant Secretary of State; W. B. S. Moore, who became Consul-General for Canada; Representative Moses McDonald, who was appointed Collector at Portland; and George F. Shepley, who was appointed United States District Attorney.

In the next gubernatorial campaign, the Republicans, flushed with victory, determined to seek another victory on the same grounds as



they had used successfully the year before. They came out firmly against the extension of slavery and held that the liquor law of the Democrats, passed in 1856, had proven inadequate for the suppression of the evils of intemperance. The party platform suggested that instead of leaving the liquor problem in the hands of the legislators alone, the new law the Republicans would offer, when elected, should be submitted to the people of the state for ratification at the subsequent general election. The party convention then nominated Lot M. Morrill by an overwhelming vote after two contending candidates had gracefully withdrawn as their hopes of victory faded. A native of Belgrade, Maine, Morrill from an early age had determined to follow the legal profession and, after being admitted to the bar established himself in practice at Augusta. He served in the Maine House and Senate for several years.

The Democratic nomination was secured by Manasseh H. Smith who, although not politically prominent, had political ambitions. The campaign was not exciting and the vote was light but it went to the Republican Party with Morrill taking 54,655 votes and Smith 42,968. The victory was won easily but the Republicans found themselves committed to do something about prohibition. The Party felt that if they could surmount this hurdle, they had control of Maine for years to come. As a matter of fact, such proved to be the case for the Republicans elected their regular candidates until 1879, a period of twenty-two years.

The struggle over a prohibitory law was bad enough but what Democrats there were in the Maine Legislature did their very best to complicate things and did manage to write into the bill various somewhat strict measures which the Republicans did not want for fear of embarrassing many party members who were at best luke-warm in their temperance ideas. Finally the new law was drawn, a very mild affair which had practically no teeth and it was submitted to the people, who had been given by the Legislature a choice between the license law of 1851 and the new law of 1858 which was hardly much better. However, the prohibitionists thought that the new law was an improvement over the 1851 provisions and so prohibition won. The vote was very light indeed: the dry side had 28,864 votes and the wets a mere 5,912. Actually, no one cared to campaign too much for fear of obtaining a decisive vote which might prevent a new law being drawn up later.

During the election of 1858, the Democrats had another burden to carry in the "Lecompton Case." Slave interests in Kansas had held what was alleged to be an illegal constitutional convention in Kansas, at the town of Lecompton, and provided for slavery under certain restrictions. The anti-slavery interests in Kansas boycotted the convention and the national Democratic Party was split assunder in the resulting controversy. Maine Democrats argued amongst themselves over the problem and the Republicans made the most of the situation, triumphing over the Democrats in the State election when their candidate, Governor Morrill, won 60,380 votes and Smith, the Democrats' leader, 52,440.

The year 1859 was very quiet politically in Maine, something like the lull before the storm. The Republicans and the Democrats exchanged the usual recriminations in their campaigning but the first forty years of Maine's life as a State closed on a peaceful note in general. The Republican convention re-nominated Governor Morrill without opposition and he won the election easily, receiving 57,230 votes to the re-nominated Democratic standard bearer Smith's 45,387.

There was one extremely bad situation which came to light in 1860. The State Treasurer, B. D. Peck, was in default for a very large amount. In those carefree days, State officials commonly mixed official funds and private capital and used the one as freely as they did the other. Nothing was thought of the practice until Peck fell into financial difficulties and was unable to make good to the State for public money he had used privately. Bondsmen were required to make good to the definite amount of \$37,581.41 with a questionable additional amount of \$4,038.44. After long delays, only a relatively small proportion of this was finally collected.



## CHAPTER VII

### *The Civil War and Its Aftermaths*

#### THE EVE OF THE WAR

THE national campaign of 1860 was, probably, one of the most important this country has ever experienced. William H. Seward, Governor of New York, and Senator from that State, was a favorite candidate of the professional politicians who had finally managed to take over control of the Republican Party.

Maine had plenty of support for Seward, too, but two outstanding Maine political leaders, Hannibal Hamlin and James G. Blaine, were opposed to him. Hamlin, the old leader, had been convinced that Lincoln was the man of destiny. He came to this opinion after hearing Lincoln's Cooper Union speech. James G. Blaine, the rising Maine leader, had heard the Lincoln-Douglas debates and had come to have a great admiration for the long and lanky westerner. Governor Morrill was not at all enthusiastic about Lincoln and was inclined to use his influence for Seward. But Blaine labored with him and by the time the Governor reached Chicago with the rest of the Maine delegation, Blaine had won them all over to Lincoln's cause. Hamlin went up and down Maine preaching the gospel of Lincoln so that while all the Maine delegation went unpledged, Hamlin's preliminary caucus showed that Lincoln had a large majority. Seward of course only needed a token vote, which he received and from then on, Maine joined in the Lincoln parade to victory.

The vice-presidential nomination, after two ballots, went overwhelmingly to Hannibal Hamlin, for in addition to his national reputation and prominence, he was the Easterner required to balance the ticket. Maine received the news of Hamlin's nomination with joy in most quarters—although many Maine leaders, soured by the defeat of Seward, could not be pleased at anything Hamlin accomplished. These unhappy Republicans felt that Seward, because of his experience, his education and his abilities should win the nomination over a Western provincial. There was much tendency to blame Hamlin for Seward's defeat, too—as was probably just.

The Democratic Convention met in Charleston, a fact which the abolitionists used with pleasure as political capital, and, after fifty-seven ballots had failed to select a candidate, finally picked Stephen A. Douglas. Despite the efforts of the Democrats to dodge the issue, they were tarred with the pro-slavery brush.

A third party, the Constitutional Union Party, composed of old Whigs, met and nominated John Bell of Tennessee for president, and Edward Everett of Massachusetts for vice-president—a weak ticket, but then the party's purpose was chiefly propaganda.

In Maine, both the parties put up new men for Governor. Ephraim Smart of Rockland was picked by the Democrats and Republicans selected Israel Washburn, Jr. He was a stalwart son of a

solid old Yankee family. Indeed, while such other well-known Maine families as the Kings, the Hamlins and the Morrills have given two or perhaps three unusually able brothers to the service of the state and nation, the Washburns gave four—Israel, Elihu, Cadwallader and William. The four were representatives in Congress from Maine, Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota respectively, while two of them, Israel and Cadwallader, were governors of their states. Elihu was Secretary of State and Minister to France while yet another brother, Charles, was minister to Paraguay. Both Cadwallader and William accumulated large fortunes.

Israel, the oldest of the seven brothers who survived to manhood, was born on the family farm at Livermore. Denied a college education because of the family's lack of means, he studied law privately and was admitted to the bar when only twenty-one. He settled at Orono where his practice with lumbering interests soon became lucrative. In 1848 he entered politics as a Whig candidate and, after an initial defeat, won a seat in Congress the next year, holding it for ten years thereafter, until his nomination for Governor of Maine. He was a clear and logical speaker and whole-souled in his opposition to slavery. He is credited with having provided the name "Republican" for the GOP at the time of its establishment.

He aspired to the United States Senate after serving as Governor of Maine but never accomplished his ambition. He had consolations, however, as when President Lincoln appointed him to the lucrative post of collector at Portland, where he remained for nearly 14 years, when he was succeeded by Lot M. Morrill, retired from the United States Senate.

The campaign between Washburn and Smart was a vigorous one. The Republicans enlisted the capable aid of the Republican State Committee Chairman, James G. Blaine, who stumped the State, violently attacking the twistings and turnings of Democratic machinations. Similarly, the Democrats attacked the political and legislative records of Hamlin, Blaine and Washburn. They were searched and presented to the public ear in as uncomplimentary manner as possible. A picturesque bit of color was given to the campaign by the formation of Republican marching clubs known as the Wide-awakes. These were formed of young men, many just boys in their teens, who wore firemen's hats and coats, carried torches and red fire, and aroused the State to the danger of Democratic corruption.

There was no doubt of Washburn's election for even then the country had gained the idea that "as Maine goes so goes the nation"—possibly because Maine's early election provided a national barometer of political weather. Lincoln was anxious that Maine give the Republicans a thumping majority and Hamlin was worried lest the Republicans spend their time in idle oratory while the Democrats were out working for votes. However, this time the Republicans worked, too, and the vote in the election was the largest cast up to that time—124,135. Washburn took 70,030 votes and had a majority of 15,925 over Smart's vote of 52,350. The other candidates were unimportant.



November fulfilled the Maine promise and Lincoln was given a large majority in the electoral college and led in the popular vote, although he failed of an absolute majority.

Instead of the election being followed by a period of relaxation and good feeling, as is usually the case, Lincoln's triumph was the cause of mounting excitement and alarm. The dread question of the lawfulness of secession and the legal and moral right of the United States to compel a dissatisfied state to remain within the Union became the burning issue in everyone's heart and mind. The North began to be willing to compromise, especially in sections where business and industry were influential. Ardent abolitionists were willing to accept secessions in preference to civil war. Maine argued through the winter and waited until Lincoln was inaugurated. The question then became: what will Mr. Lincoln do?

Lincoln made it clear that he felt it was his duty to enforce the laws of the United States and to ignore the secession of all states from the Union. That left the next move up to the South and the reply was not long in coming. In the early morning of April 12, 1861, General Beauregard opened fire on Fort Sumter. On the evening of the 13th, the fort surrendered. On the 15th, President Lincoln issued a call for volunteers to save the Union—and the North arose.

#### POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR

Maine rose promptly to Lincoln's summons. Public meetings were held everywhere to pledge support to the President and Democrats joined with Republicans in working to save the Union. Just as Pearl Harbor in 1941 united the nation against aggression, so Fort Sumter in 1861, consolidated all public opinion in the North behind Lincoln. Abolition helped to bring on the armed conflict—but it was the preservation of the Union that caused the willing sacrifice of blood and tears.

However, as is always the case, there were some citizens, and influential ones, too, who were opposed to Lincoln and to the war. Some Republicans even favored concessions in the hope of repairing the Union without war and as a starting point, they proposed to drop Governor Washburn and select a candidate of less strong views. This move was promptly condemned and Washburn was renominated unanimously for Maine's governor. The Republican platform, however, was conciliatory.

Marcellus Emery, editor of the *Bangor Democrat*, was one of Maine's most prominent opponents of war. He helped organize a proposed convention at Bangor to try to prevent the war. Bangor became very angry and Emery and his few local supporters were named traitors. Deeds soon followed words. The Bangor Merchants' Association purged its reading room of disloyal journals which meant Emery's *Democrat* and also his *Daily Union*, formerly a Whig journal. Both these papers had been abusive and offensive. The Association's notice read in part, "... the *Union* and *Democrat* by unblushing advocacy of the cause of secession and rebellion, and their violent denunciation of the Government, have justly brought upon themselves and their supporters the contempt and detestation of all

honorable men. . . ." This meant loss of advertising, too and the *Union* was forced to suspend publication.

But the *Democrat* managed to continue and some hot-heads, stirred by Emery's call for a "traitorous" convention determined to resort to violence. Prominent men signed pledges to indemnify all persons concerned in the affair for loss of time and damages. The owner of the building occupied by the *Democrat* ordered Emery to vacate but he refused. On noon of Monday, the 12th, a fire alarm was sounded from several churches as a signal for the "riot" and very soon the mob swarmed into the paper's offices. A blacksmith with a sledge hammer smashed the press, and the contents of the editorial and business offices, carried out into the square, were burned. Emery tried to save his property but his friends took him safely away by a rear entrance and hid him. No further damage was done.

Emery, despite his unpopular views, was a man of courage and conviction and in January of 1863, he resumed the publication of his *Democrat* and it continued undisturbed, an able if unreconstructed sheet.

Emery brought civil suits for damages against several prominent citizens and the court allowed him a total of \$916.60. The property destroyed was worth much more than that but the jury found that the paper had been a nuisance and deserved destruction. The sum allowed was given because the mob destroyed that much more property than was necessary to assure the destruction of the paper.

A more serious anti-Lincoln movement was the "private" Breckenridge convention which assembled at Norumbega. Had not prudence and moderation prevailed this meeting might have resulted in a very serious riot, particularly since, following the session, the procession was formed which marched through the streets under military protection. Bangor's common sense held any civic disturbance in check, however.

Next the Breckenridge men attended the Douglas meeting at Augusta, where, after much controversy and wholesale desertions, a platform was adopted by which the Breckenridge Democrats declared that the reconstruction of the Union by force was a palpable absurdity and an utter impossibility, and that they wanted a national convention of all the states to draft measures for the immediate and amicable settlement of all difficulties. The meeting then chose Governor Dana as its candidate in the pending state election.

Seceders from this convention assembled in another hall nearby and nominated Colonel Jameson, the commander of the Second Maine Infantry, for governor. Their platform, while firmly supporting the Union and declaring that no neutral ground was possible, that a man must either be a patriot or a traitor, favored ". . . twining around the sword of governmental power, the olive branch of fraternal peace."

Of course, with a war underway, the election was a glorious triumph for the Republicans. Their candidate, Washburn, collected 58,689 votes, Jameson, the "war Democratic candidate," won 21,935, and Dana, the pacifistic Democratic standard bearer, collected 19,901 votes.



The Democrats continued to use the fortunes of war and the shifting sands of political circumstance to embarrass the Republicans, although the question of slavery was side-tracked and everyone agreed that the war was being fought to preserve the Union and thus merited the support of everyone. The Republicans did give the Democrats ammunition to use—as when the Republican House passed resolutions promising the full support of the State in crushing the rebellion and calling for the confiscation of the property of the rebels, for the emancipation of the slaves, and for the use of negroes as Federal troops. These were overwhelmingly voted by both the House and the Senate but the use of such radical ideas gave the Democrats something with which to alarm more timid Maine souls.

The Democrats made efforts to reunite their two factions—the Dana men and the Jameson men. The Jamesonites refused the attempt at conciliation and called a “People’s Convention” at Bangor on June 26. However, it turned out that nearly half of the delegates were members of the Dana group. So debate was sharp and rivalry bitter. Jameson, however, won the re-nomination for Governor and the attempt to steal the convention by the Dana men failed. The Dana convention was held on August 14, 1862, and Bradbury was nominated as the section’s Democratic candidate for Governor.

The Republican convention was held at Portland on June 5th and, after Governor Washburn declined re-nomination, Abner Coburn of Skowhegan was nominated on the first ballot. Coburn was a man of strong character, sound sense and business ability. He and his brother, Philander, joined their father, Eleazer Coburn, in founding the firm of E. P. Coburn, which later was known as the firm of A. & P. Coburn, a lumber organization which became one of the richest and most influential in all Maine. Abner Coburn played a large part in the building of the Somerset & Kennebec Railroad and until his death he was a leading railroad man in Maine.

Despite his wide business interests, Coburn devoted himself to the public service and he progressed from the National Republicans to the Whigs and then on to the Republicans. He served in various official capacities and was ever willing to give time and money to the public interest. He was always firm in defending the interest of Maine, as for example, when the control of the Maine Central Railroad passed into Massachusetts hands, it was proposed by the Boston directors that all the meetings of the board should be held in Boston. Speaking for the several Maine directors, Coburn squashed the proposals with the remark that Portland was no further from Boston than Boston was from Portland. He was a man of great philanthropies, leaving hundreds of thousands of dollars to schools and colleges, to hospitals and to various other institutions of related character.

The 1862 campaign was a failure from the point of view of the Republicans for, although Coburn did lead Bradbury, the Democrat, by 11,000 votes, the total was a falling off from the previous year. The Republicans announced that the party was as strong as before, the smaller vote being due to the fact that the Republicans were so sure of winning, many members of the party refused to vote. Also,

the Republicans pointed out, many members of the party were away from home in the military service. Of course, the Democrats replied that Republican corruption in Washington and the failure of the Union armies were the real causes for Republican losses.

Had the election come a little later, the Democrats might even have won because on September 22nd, the President issued his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. The Democratic papers gleefully hailed this great document as proving that the Democrats had been right all along. Lincoln was really not fighting a great war to preserve the Union but actually to free the slaves.

In the next election, 1863, Republican State Committee Chairman James G. Blaine, thought it would be wise to drop the name Republican for a while and adopt the name of the Union Party. This he said, would demonstrate that the interests of the party were primarily concerned with the suppression of the rebellion and the preservation of the Union. Blaine was such an accomplished politician that he had his way and in Maine the Republican Party became the Union Party—of course a change in name only.

The Democrats proclaimed with great joy that the Republican Party had been annihilated and many Republican leaders regretted the change but, since it was an accomplished fact, there was nothing to be done but to go along with Blaine as usual. As the Union Party candidate for Governor, Blaine picked Samuel A. Cony of Augusta who had won popularity by advancing money from his own pocket to pay Maine soldiers when there was no law authorizing Maine's State Treasurer to do so. Cony carried the convention after a sharp contest which resulted in Governor Coburn withdrawing his name. Cony was a member of a prominent and distinguished Maine family. A lawyer, he had served in the Maine Legislature and Council and had served as a judge, as land agent and as State Treasurer for five years, as well as being Mayor of Augusta from 1850 to 1855. A Democrat, he had joined the Union Party in the interest of advancing the winning of the war.

Bion Bradbury was renominated by the Democrats after serious opposition. The campaign was a very vigorous one but with Blaine directing the Union Party the outcome was certain. Samuel Cony polled 68,339 votes and Bradbury 50,676.

The victory of Cony, based as it was upon the policy of crushing the rebellion, gave Lincoln much encouragement and was a disappointment to the South, looking for the North to weary of the War.

The year 1864 was another presidential one and of intense political importance in its effect upon the prosecution of the war—of which everyone was weary. Maine's Legislature in March passed a resolution which declared that “. . . for their eminent services to their country in the years of its greatest peril, President Abraham Lincoln and Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin are deserving of the confidence and regard of the American people, and [that] in the opinion of this Legislature the loyal citizens of Maine desire their re-election to the offices which they now so ably and faithfully fill.”

Lincoln was renominated on the first ballot by the Republican Convention but Hamlin was voted down in favor of Andrew Johnson





*Custom House and Post Office, Belfast*



of Tennessee. Mr. Hamlin suffered because Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire and Connecticut did not support him as he had every reason to expect his neighbors would. The reasons were undoubtedly both personal and those of party expediency because the Republicans did not need votes from the North but the party did need them from the border states, which Johnson commanded.

Hamlin was doubtless disappointed but he took his defeat in good spirit and at a Republican ratification meeting at Bangor he gave a magnanimous speech in which he eulogized both nominees.

The Democratic National Convention nominated General McClellan, an opponent of Lincoln in the conduct of the war. The Democrats came out bluntly in their platform holding that, since four years of war had definitely failed to compel the South to return to the Union, hostilities should be suspended and a convention of the States held so that the Union could be restored without further bloodshed. This was wonderful campaign material for the Republicans, this Democratic declaration that the war had failed and that all the sacrifices endured should be abandoned just at the time when, in fact, the South was all but brought to her knees.

The Democrats nominated Judge Howard for governor of Maine. The Union (Republican) Party held its convention at Augusta and re-nominated Governor Cony by acclamation. The Union Party was firmly entrenched and carried the election easily, although the vote was lighter than had been anticipated. Cony received 65,583 votes and Howard 46,403.

In November, Lincoln and Johnson won an overwhelming majority in the Electoral College but the popular majority was not so large, as the Democrats did make considerable gains in several States. In the shuffle of federal appointments after the election, Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, resigned and was shortly made Chief Justice of the United States, succeeding Justice Taney who died on October 12. The vacant Treasury post was filled by Judge Fessenden, chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance—without his knowledge or consent. Fessenden was an ill man and felt that he was not strong enough to discharge the duties of his office and wanted to refuse it but Maine friends urged him to accept, as his duty to the nation.

Fessenden's resignation as Senator left Maine's second seat open so the Legislature had to select his successor. Governor Cony had appointed Nathan A. Farwell of Rockland to fill the unexpired balance of Fessenden's term but in March the full term came up again and there was a controversy over whom the Legislature should elect. Vice-President Hamlin and Fessenden each put himself forward as candidate. Fessenden declared that his duties as Treasurer were too arduous for his health and that he had accepted the post only on condition that he would shortly be allowed to resign. Hamlin, of course, had powerful influence at work in his favor, although he was roundly criticized as being a professional politician, indeed being named a demagogue. Hamlin began to doubt his ability to defeat Fessenden and so, wisely, he withdrew from the contest, leaving Fessenden to be elected unanimously. Upon Fessenden's resigna-



tion from the Treasury, Hugh McCulloch, a native of Maine, was appointed the Secretary, largely through the recommendation of Senator Fessenden. It was rumored that Hamlin wanted the Secretaryship but he withdrew his name because of Senator Fessenden's opposition.

In February, 1865, Maine had the duty of acting on the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution—the abolition of slavery. The Legislature acted promptly: the Senate unanimously and the House with only a stubborn handful of glum Democrats voting nay. The occasion was gay with cheers and applause and, at the end, tearful, with the members, and ladies and gentlemen guests in the galleries singing "Old Hundred."

In April came the news of the surrender of Lee and Maine went wild with joy at the end of the fighting. Very soon, however, Maine was plunged into grief with the news of Lincoln's murder. There had been opposition in Maine to Lincoln personally and considerable criticism inevitably of his policies but his tragic death silenced all opponents and Maine, in common with the rest of the nation, mourned the great and good man who had led in the preservation of the United States.

#### MAINE'S MILITARY HISTORY IN THE CIVIL WAR

President Lincoln's call to save the Union found Maine, like most other northern States, completely unprepared. In the old days, the threat of Indian troubles and, subsequently, danger of English raids during the War of 1812 and the border disputes, kept the Maine militia on their toes. But decades of peace had demoralized the organization. The old-fashioned muskets had been discarded as worthless and had not been replaced. Musters were still held but far from being serious were mere opportunities for dissipation. All but a few men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five were still required to register for militia service but the law was generally unenforced. Maine on paper had some 60,000 unarmed militia and about 12,000 more in "crack" volunteer regiments. These last were drilled and equipped more for parade duty than service in the field.

Maine was asked by Lincoln to furnish a regiment (about 1,000 men) and Governor Washburn requested ten of the state's militia companies to volunteer to fill the requisition. Eight did so; the two others delayed and so two new companies were raised. The Governor however felt that he did not have the necessary money and authority to carry out Maine's obligation so he called a special session of the Legislature and received a grant of \$10,000,000 (to be borrowed of course) and authority to raise and equip a total of ten regiments. Six Maine regiments were organized and sent out on duty but the Federal government was unofficially informed that six were enough for the moment, as the United States could not organize, arm and equip a greater number from Maine.

Some of the Maine regiments engaged in conflict to the hilt and suffered heavy losses. Other Maine regiments never saw the enemy. The first Maine Heavy Artillery Regiment, (about 1,865 men) suffered very severely. Lieut. Col. William F. Fox, Civil War historian

of Maine, said that this regiment had more men killed and wounded than any other regiment in the Union Army and that a greater percentage of men were killed than in any other regiment, save for the Seventh Wisconsin. However, it appears that this exception was in error for corrected casualty lists add eighteen more dead to the regiment's list, giving it the greatest percentage of men killed. This same regiment also had the greatest number of men killed in any one action. Another Maine regiment, the First Cavalry, had more men killed in action than any other cavalry regiment in the Union Army. Colonel Fox's report lists some 300 "fighting regiments" in the Union Army, regiments whose losses entitle them to that distinction. On this roll of honor, he includes eleven Maine regiments—First Cavalry, First Heavy Artillery, and the Third, Fourth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Sixteenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth and Thirty-first Infantry. Maine's men served especially in the campaigns in Virginia and in the deep South while the Pine Tree State's highest ranking officer, Major General Oliver O. Howard, served with distinction in the Mississippi campaigns and with Sherman during the famous march through Georgia.

When the brief Bull Run campaign opened, five Maine infantry regiments had reached Washington and all but the First, then but three months in the service, took part in the unhappy excursion. Green as the troops were, they nearly won the day despite the flagrant errors in command. The Second Maine, which suffered heavy losses held firmly to the position at the Van Vliet House and if reinforcements had been handled properly, the Battle could have been won then and there. Instead, Howard's Brigade which included the Third, Fourth and Fifth Maine regiments, was rushed up and although these green troops were exhausted from a forced march, they were ordered to attack a heavily reinforced Confederate position. Most of the Union Army was in retreat when Howard led his gallant attack and the raw Maine troops could not fight the battle alone so they too were forced back to Washington.

When in 1862, McClellan attempted to take Richmond, he carried into the peninsula seven Maine infantry regiments, the Second through the Seventh, and the Eleventh. The Sixth distinguished itself at Yorktown and later, the Sixth and Seventh at Williamsburg defeated an enemy charge which, if it had broken through, would have routed the Union Army once again. The two regiments were personally thanked for their courage and service by McClellan. At the Battle of Fair Oaks, three companies of the Eleventh Maine charged and lost two-thirds of their commissioned officers, and 52 out of 93 non-commissioned officers and privates were killed or wounded. The Third Maine also led another charge and lost a third of its membership. The Fifth Maine served with distinction at the Battle of Gaine's Mill, suffering severe casualties, and it continued to fight well through all the Seven Days battles. At White Oak Swamp it held the rear and narrowly escaped being captured.

Meanwhile, Union Armies fighting in the Valley of the Shenandoah included Maine troops—as for example at Cedar Mountain,



where a gallant assault was made and the position held until reinforced Confederates reoccupied the field. Banks, in command, was a poor general and he ordered repeated and useless charges. One of the victims of this condition was the Tenth Maine, ordered across an open wheat field commanded by enemy fire. The regiment lost nearly a third of its numbers in the worthless gesture. Four Maine batteries were in Banks' army; the Fourth and the Sixth, although under fire for the first time, fought particularly well, saving the division from capture by repelling enemy assaults.

In the Second Battle of Bull Run, the Second, Third and Fourth Maine regiments were engaged, with the Fourth suffering heavy losses. In the Antietam campaign four Maine regiments were used. The Tenth suffered heavily because it was ordered to advance into enemy fire in solid column rather than being properly deployed. The Seventh, with its senior officers absent from illness, went into battle under the command of a major. Only 181 strong, instead of its full complement of about a thousand, it covered itself with glory when it gallantly advanced under heavy fire to clear an area of skirmishing Confederate troops of Hood's Division. The Seventh lost fully half of the men who charged that afternoon.

At Fredericksburg, six Maine regiments were in the line of battle but only three were seriously engaged. The Second suffered a loss of nearly a third of its strength and the Sixteenth, under fire for the first time, lost more than half its men. At Chancellorsville, the Seventeenth Maine experienced hot fighting and suffered severely. The Fifth Maine Battery, covering the retreat on the second day, was cut to pieces. Every officer was disabled, six men were killed and twenty-two wounded while every horse was hit. The battery was abandoned by all but Corporal James H. Lebroke who, standing alone, fired the final shot. Captain Leippen was fatally wounded but he was promoted to lieutenant colonel just before his death. Lieutenant Kirby of the Regular Artillery was sent to take charge of the guns with a detachment of Pennsylvania troops. His thigh was shattered upon his arrival but, lying on the ground, he directed the removal of the guns before he allowed himself to be carried to safety. One of Maine's best officers, Major General Berry, was killed in this battle, while carrying out a bit of reconnoitering which he properly should have ordered done by a subordinate. General Oliver O. Howard, Maine's distinguished officer, who commanded the Eleventh Corps, was routed by Stonewall Jackson but there is considerable question of where the fault for the disaster should be placed. Intelligence work that day was exceptionally poor.

During the second battle of Fredericksburg, the Sixth Maine stormed Mary's Heights and planted its flag on the bloody ground only to be driven back on the second day, escaping across the river at night. The regiment lost 23 killed, 111 wounded and 35 missing. The Fifth Maine, also engaged in this battle, lost a third of its strength during the two days.

During the decisive struggle at Gettysburg, Maine men in blue played a very active part. The First Maine Cavalry, used in screen-

ing maneuvers during preliminary struggle, engaged in four fights and in two of them at least covered itself with glory. On the actual field of Gettysburg itself, Maine had ten regiments, a company of sharpshooters, one cavalry regiment and three batteries. The Twentieth Maine, Colonel Chamberlain, was with Vincent's brigade when that outfit hastily occupied Little Round Top to prevent the enemy from seizing it and so gaining a commanding advantage over the entire Union position. That battle was very sharp and victory and defeat fluctuated between the Blue and the Grey for hours. But the enemy finally retreated and Gettysburg was saved then and there. Colonel Chamberlain, later a General, was given the medal of honor for the "daring heroism and great tenacity" displayed.

To the right of Round Top, the Third Maine, Colonel Lakeman, then only 210 strong, honored the State when it successfully advanced beyond the Union position and with great tenacity held off for some time an advance by the Confederates. The time thus gained enabled the Union General, Sickles, to prepare for the attack and to fight it off. The Third was highly honored for its courage and tenacity in holding the skirmish line so ably. After being withdrawn, the Third continued to distinguish itself in the famous Peach Orchard.

Like the Third, the Fourth Maine suffered heavy losses and accomplished excellent services. The Seventeenth, also heavily engaged, lost many men—as did the Nineteenth. On the final day of the battle, the Nineteenth was rushed into the line at the point where Pickett's celebrated charge was halted. This charge has been called the high tide of the Confederacy. The battle was one of the utmost desperation, the enemies engaged at rifle's length. Union soldiers even resorted to using stones as the melee reached its height. The ground was soaked with blood and bodies were piled on top of one another. Maine certainly did its share in the crucial battle and the honors bestowed upon the Maine regiments were richly deserved.

Any great battle is full of irony. For example, the Fifth Maine, held in reserve, marched thirty-six miles and seventeen hours to reach the field and then was not called into action. But it was there, and ready.

After Gettysburg, the campaign was one of maneuvering rather than of major battles but some minor engagements were hard fought. Such was the Rappahannock Station, when the Sixth Maine was one of the regiments used by General A. D. Russell in the hot assault upon Lee's rear guard.

Maine regiments were busy all during this time in other campaigns elsewhere. The Eighth fought gallantly at Fort Pulaski at the mouth of the Mississippi and was honored by having its flag the first to be placed above the captured fort. The Ninth served with distinction on Morris Island and in the assaults on Fort Wagner. A detachment from the Eleventh served the mortars and siege cannon, including the famous "Swamp Angel," in the capture of Charleston.

In Louisiana, eleven Maine regiments were in service. The Fourteenth suffered extremely severe losses in the battle of Baton Rouge and seven Maine regiments shared in the bloody and ill-advised assaults of the Port Hudson campaign.



The unfortunate Red River expedition included four Maine regiments in its force. The Twenty-ninth and the Thirteenth took a particularly honorable part in the fighting; the Thirtieth suffered heavily at the battle at Pleasant Hill. As a sidelight on old fashioned fighting, members of the Maine regiments, who happened to be lumbermen, felled quantities of trees and built a dam at Alexandria and so increased the depth of the Red River as to enable Union gunboats to escape being stranded in the shallow stream.

These Maine regiments were shortly transferred North to join with other Maine regiments under Grant in the final assault on the Confederacy. The Maine men in all regiments performed their duty heroically and it would be useless to continue repeating detailed military accounts of battles and losses. Four especially brave attacks by Maine troops should be mentioned, however.

On May 19th, when Grant was flanking Lee out of his strong position at Spottsylvania, the First Maine was sent into the forest to prevent Confederates from marching in and cutting the Union line of communications. The battle amid the trees was fast and furious. More experienced troops would have proceeded cautiously fearing ambush, but the raw Maine troops dashed boldly through the brush and repulsed all enemy attacks. The engagement cost the First dearly as 82 men were killed and 394 were wounded.

At Spottsylvania itself, two epic charges were made. The first was under General Emery Upton who had in his force the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Maine regiments. This charge was planned to make a hole in the Confederate position, which was well organized and protected. The Maine regiments swarmed across the field of fire and leaped down into the Confederate trenches and pits resistlessly but the division that was to follow and consolidate the position failed to arrive and so Maine was driven back. The second assault, two days later, included the Fifth Maine. This was a charge on the salient known as the Bloody Angle. Captain Lamont of the Fifth, who was the only one of the seven company commanders engaged in the first assault to escape, was slain in this fight. He was killed after the Confederates had displayed a flag of truce and then, as the Fifth advanced, had opened a fatal fire upon the unprepared men.

In June, while Grant was holding Lee in his front, a surprise attack was planned upon Petersburg, supposed to be unguarded by the Confederates, who were fighting desperately and using every man where he was needed the most. The assault upon Petersburg was delayed so long that the rebels had ample time to send in defenders and the planned assault was patently useless. However, General Meade determined to try to take the town and ordered an attack at all hazards. The First Maine Heavy Artillery, fresh and strong, was ordered to make a charge which turned out to be fatal, if gallant. In fifteen minutes at the most, the First was beaten back. When the regiment left the Union lines, its numbers totaled 950. A few minutes later when the unit reeled back, only 218 returned. This was the greatest loss of any Union regiment in any battle.

Petersburg's subsequent storming was featured by the work of a new Maine regiment, formed of veterans of the Fifth, Sixth and

Seventh Maine who had remained in the service. This unit was known as the First Maine Veteran Infantry. When Wright's corps stormed the enemy entrenchments, the tip of the wedge was this veteran outfit. The Regiment narrowly missed capturing an officer in grey on a grey horse. The officer, it was learned later, had been General Lee himself.

In this final campaign, the Eighth, Eleventh and Thirty-first Maine regiments led in the assault upon Petersburg and the First Maine Heavy Artillery, the Eighth and Eleventh were in the van of Union troops in pursuit of Lee's army. The First Maine Cavalry lost a third of its men and half of its officers in a delaying action at Cat Tail Run and held a superior force at the Battle of Five Forks. In the final engagement, Maine troops were among those who blocked the line of escape of the Army of Virginia. "When the confederates saw the blue lines blocking their escape, they fell back as if in terror. The curtain fell on four years of fighting."

In addition to the brave services of the Maine men in the Army, Maine men served equally well in the Navy, Marine Corps and Coast Guard. However, these latter armed services were completely Federal and no distinction is possible for Maine men—as is the case with the Army where the regiments retained their State indentities.

Similarly, it is impossible in a general history of Maine to single out many of the thousands of officers and men in the Army who served with distinction. As an example, four men of Maine may be mentioned. They are the most celebrated among historians, although that is no measure of the value of their careers to the nation.

As previously named, Major General Oliver Otis Howard attained top rank. He was born at Leeds, Maine, in 1830, and, while attending Bowdoin, was named as a cadet at West Point. When the Civil War broke out, Lieutenant Howard resigned as a lieutenant in the regular army to accept the colonelcy of the Third Maine Infantry. He soon became commander of a brigade which saw service at Bull Run. Commissioned a brigadier general in 1863, he commanded another brigade but at Fair Oaks he lost his right arm at the elbow. He served at Antietam, Fredericksburg and at Gettysburg, where he took part in the repluse of Pickett's Charge. Howard next took active leadership under Grant and Sherman and served with distinction as a commander of the Army of the Tennessee. After the war, he was made head of the Freedmen's Bureau and he was a leader in the establishment of Howard University, for the higher education of colored people. He remained in the Army until 1894, holding various posts, and then entered politics, touring for McKinley in 1896 and in 1900, and for Roosevelt in 1904. He died at his home at Burlington, Vermont in 1909. He was a very religious man, of the "evangelical type." He was not too careful a business manager, however, and experienced trouble because of his inattention to details in his administrative posts.

General Joshua L. Chamberlain was born at Brewer, Maine, in 1828, a descendant of the original English and French settlers at Plymouth and Boston. His grandparents were among the first substantial citizens to come into Maine and establish themselves in ship-building, milling and farming along the Penobscot. After a career



as a professor at Bowdoin, he entered the army in 1862, being given a lieutenant-colonel's commission in the Twentieth Maine. He served with distinction in many battles, being especially famous for his leadership of a brigade of picked men who charged in the attack on Petersburg, July 18. He was shot through the body while with his troops and was given the marked honor of promotion on the field by General Grant, who made him a brigadier-general—without previous confirmation by the Senate as is customary. A brevet major-general in the final campaign, Grant gave Chamberlain the honor of commanding the Union troops before which the Confederates passed as they laid down their arms.

Wounded six times in his more than twenty battles, having five horses shot from under him, General Chamberlain returned to his work at Bowdoin until 1866 when he was elected Governor of Maine. He served thus until 1871 when he became President of Bowdoin. Resigning because of his health in 1883, he went South and became president of a railroad construction company until 1900, when he was made surveyor of customs at Portland, a position he held until his death in 1914.

General Seth Williams, who was born at Augusta in 1822, was a nephew of Governor and Senator Reuel Williams. Graduating from West Point, he served with distinction in the Mexican War and when the Civil War broke out, he was appointed adjutant-general on the staff of General McClellan, later becoming adjutant-general of the Army of the Potomac until 1864. Sent South because of illness, he returned to serve with Grant and was present at Lee's surrender. The intense labors of his vital administrative work in the Army undermined Williams' naturally strong constitution and he died in February, 1866. He was tainted with the stigma of being a West Pointer in the eyes of the militia, but his character was so excellent, his personality so pleasing and his spirit so gentlemanly that he won the respect and admiration of everyone and his death was mourned by the entire commissioned personnel of the Army as well as by such enlisted men who had had much to do with him. Few Army officers were so well liked as Major-General Williams.

Another Regular Army officer from Maine was General Rufus I. Ingalls, who was born at Denmark, Maine, in 1820. Graduating with Grant from West Point in 1843, he served in the Mexican War with distinction. After the war he was transferred to the quartermaster corps where his business abilities won him further recognition and promotion. Eventually he was appointed a brigadier-general and became chief quartermaster of the Army of the Potomac, about the most thankless job in the Army. He was celebrated not only for his ability and competence in his office duties but also he "could hold his own with the best poker players in the Army or Congress, and in those days there were some very good ones in both Senate and House."

Of course all military engagements were far from Maine soil but the shadow of conflict did strike her coast line. Militia companies were raised and stationed at various points along-shore and an earnest effort was made to build suitable fortifications to protect Maine cities from fear of visits by Confederate warships. After long

delay, a number of batteries were built on the coast but it was considered in Maine that these batteries would have been useless if the need ever had come to make use of them. Confederate cruisers visited considerable damage upon Maine ships and the State considered that Washington was unjustifiably negligent in protecting merchant shipping. Maine considered that the coast should be protected by a fleet able to out-fight the Confederate ships and every time news came home that a Maine ship had been taken, anger boiled furiously.

There was reason, too. In May of 1863, Captain Moffit of the celebrated Confederate cruiser *Florida* detached a captured vessel, *Clarence*, to enter harbors, burn vessels and destroy everything possible along shore. The commander, Second Lieutenant Read, an energetic officer, came up the New England coast and on June 12, near Mount Desert, captured the *Taconey*. Since she was a better ship than his own, he burned the *Clarence* and took over the *Taconey*. Off Southport, a little later, he captured the schooner *Archer* and transferred the second time. From June 12 to June 24, he captured nineteen vessels off Maine; some he burned and others he ransomed.

Capturing some fishermen on the 26th, he learned that a rich prize was waiting for him at Portland, if he had the daring to venture into the harbor. The revenue cutter *Caleb Cushing* was there, as was the screw steamer *Chesapeake*, running between Portland and New York. Read slipped past the forts without challenge under guise of being a Maine fisherman, and seized the *Cushing* which was taken by surprise with only a fraction of her crew on board. Read had hoped to take the *Chesapeake* too, but time ran short and day broke without any success save the taking of the *Cushing*. Read determined to escape as swiftly as possible and slipped his anchor but the wind was light and the tide was against him, making escape difficult. The capture of the *Cushing* was discovered and the Mayor of Portland, Captain McLellan, a man with scant use for formality, took over the *Chesapeake*. Pledging his own fortune to the line's agent against possible damages, he set out in pursuit of the *Cushing*, intending ". . . to catch the damned scoundrels and hang every one of them."

Jedidah Jewett, collector of the port, also a very energetic man, chartered the *Forest City*, a 700-ton side-wheeler of the Boston line, a small steamer, the *Casco*, to ferry troops from the harbor fort to the *Forest City*, and a steam propeller tug as well. Jewett, while the *Chesapeake* was getting up steam, sent arms and ammunition and men aboard her.

Within the hour, the pursuit was in full cry after the *Cushing*. Read, with light wind and a head tide, saw that escape was impossible so he ordered his men into their boats and set fire to the *Cushing*. As she had much powder on board, the Portland captains were content to allow her to blow up; and picking up Read and his men, returned in triumph to Portland.

Within Maine itself serious resistance to the draft law developed. Maine as well as other states disliked the law and individuals threatened to do their utmost to resist its execution. Authorities enlisted companies of home guards to take the place of the absent



militia, in case of rioting, and in some cities, valuable public property was stored in safe places.

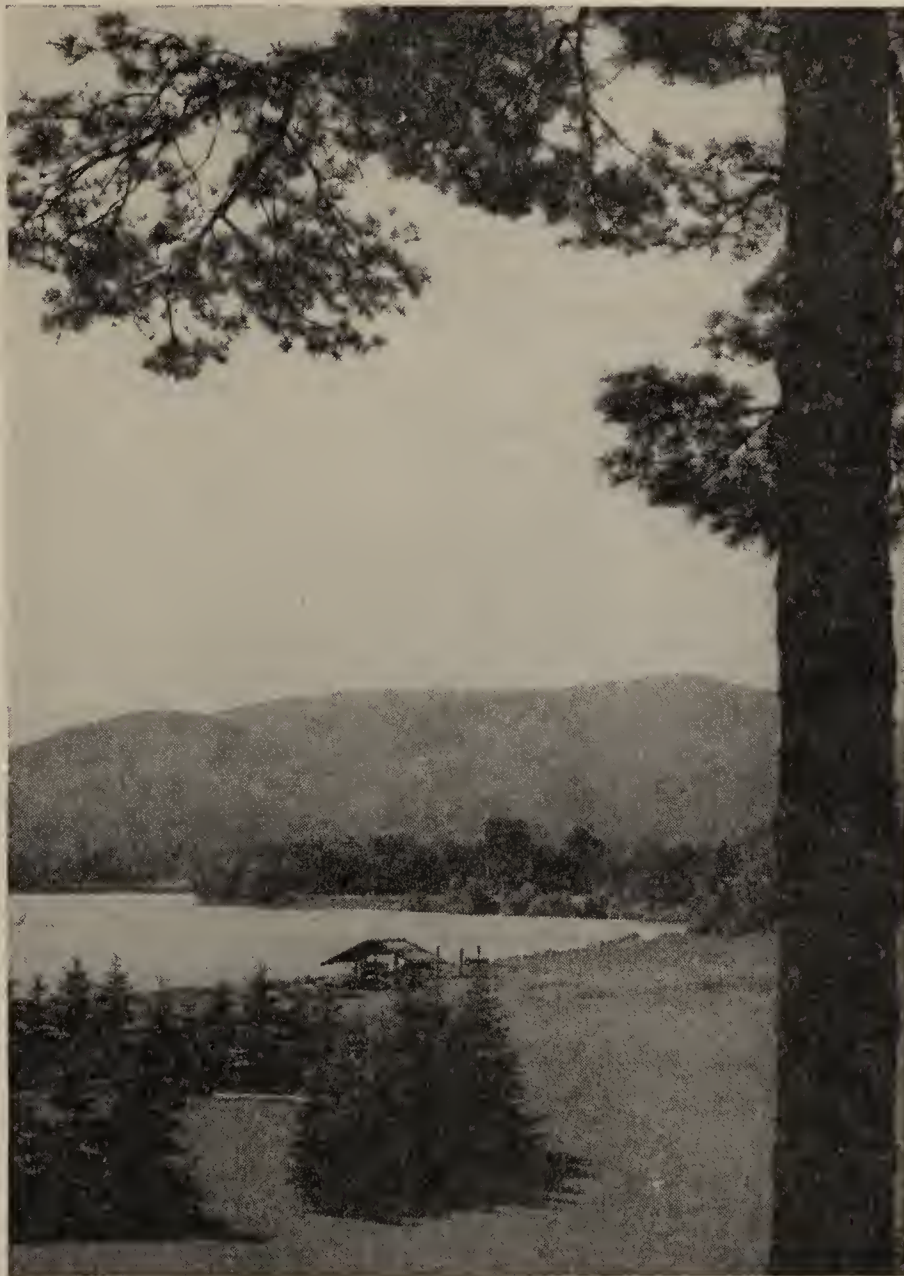
In only one case however was the draft law forcibly resisted. In Kingfield, a mob of some fifty men prevented an officer from distributing notifications to drafted men. In the neighboring towns of Freedom and Salem, the houses of enrolling officers were entered and the draft notifications were removed by the invaders. Soldiers were rushed from Augusta and Lewiston, chiefly returned veterans of the Tenth Regiment, and the draft notices were promptly delivered without trouble.

The resentment against the draft law was understandable because not only had Maine furnished its share of volunteers but conscription was extremely repugnant to Maine. The use of substitutes and the payment of bounties, although widely used during the latter part of the war, was also unpopular in Maine. A man could obtain exemption from the draft by paying \$300. This was regarded as favoring the rich at the expense of the poor. Some towns took action on this point, as Machias voted to borrow money to pay \$300 for each man drafted, while Pownall voted to pay the \$300 to each man drafted—thus allowing him to buy out of service if he wished.

The towns soon developed competition by paying bounties to men who were willing to come in and enlist—thus sparing the local citizens from military service. The situation grew serious as only men who would make poor soldiers offered themselves. As the call for more and more men reached Maine from Washington, things became confused and even men who were willing to volunteer for a bounty waited until they could be sure that the payment would not be increased to grotesque levels. Finally, in the Governor's name, the Maine adjutant-general issued an order, fixing the bounties at not less than \$100 nor more than \$200. Most towns and cities accepted the \$200 limit but some raised the price to \$300 and even \$400—which was a much more valuable amount then than now. At last, the business was halted by the State declaring that any enlisted man who was paid more than \$200 would not be credited to the account of the town concerned. The enlistment situation was also further eased by the Federal government allowing each town to take credit for citizens serving in the Navy.

Maine's feelings on this matter were still further heightened when figures began to come home of the total number of Maine men who had served or who were serving in the Army and Navy. Maine actually furnished thirty-one regiments of infantry, three of cavalry (the so-called First District of Columbia Cavalry was almost entirely raised in Maine), one regiment of heavy artillery, seven batteries of field artillery, seven companies of sharpshooters, thirty companies of unassigned infantry, seven companies of coast artillery and six companies for coast fortifications. Maine was also credited with 6,754 men in the Navy and Marine Corps. The adjutant-general's records showed that Maine had 72,945 credits. Of these, 3,200 were killed or mortally wounded and 5,592 died from diseases or other causes. It is further estimated that 11,309 men were disabled by wounds or disease. Many died from such causes after being discharged and many others who

were disabled were not reported at all. All volunteer armies have a high rate of desertions but Maine's was comparatively low, being merely 3,840. Only two men were cashiered, only twenty-two were dismissed from the service and a mere forty-seven were dishonorably discharged—a very good record out of a total of 72,945.



*Saco River, Fryeburg*

One scandal that Maine did not escape, in common with other states, was the "paper-credits." The draft established the profession known as substitute broker. This person hunted up men who would enlist, often himself paying a private bounty to them in addition to the legal bounty, and then the broker sold these enrollments to drafted men desiring substitutes. The brokers were often unscrupulous and used recruits who were of bad character. In addition, these brokers were engaged to fill the draft calls for towns, instead of for individuals, and in this activity, the Army often came out without any



new men at all—for the enlistees the brokers obtained often existed only on paper—hence the name of “paper-credits.”

Of course, respectable people in Maine, as well as the authorities, knew that Maine was being cheated. One of the principal firms of substitute brokers in Maine was Delany & Yates of Augusta. Delany was court martialed and found guilty of recruiting without authority, of obtaining money from Maine under false pretences, of aiding desertion, and of falsely assuming to be an officer. He was fined \$45,000 and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. The fine was remitted and the prison term cancelled after he had served thirteen months. The reason for this clemency was probably that Delany could have talked and caused many officials, both civic and military, considerable trouble. When money is easily to be had, there are always men who are not too honest in their business. Indeed, politicians of considerable prominence were involved in the scandal. No purpose is to be served now by a recital of the unsavory business but at the time many persons were accused of being guilty of various specific charges, rising out of the substitute-draft payments.

#### THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN MAINE

Of course, the actual problems of the Reconstruction Period did not directly affect Maine—save for their influence on business through the matter of markets for New England products. However, Maine frequently made its voice heard—as when Governor Cony wrote an open letter favoring negro suffrage, and as when the 1865 Convention of the Union Party came out flat-footed in support of President Johnson's policies and added, sternly, that all traitors should be punished.

This Convention renominated Governor Cony without much opposition and the Democrats in their turn renominated Judge Howard. Both parties avoided specific local issues carefully and the election was uninteresting, the vote falling off from 111,986 as in 1864 to 86,073. Cony had officially 54,430 votes and Howard 31,609.

In 1866, Johnson, by his alleged obstinacy and excessive opinionativeness, lost much public support and in the following State campaign in Maine the Republican Party, back again to the old name, had a sharp contest for the gubernatorial nomination. Samuel E. Spring, a wealthy Portland merchant, represented the old-line members of the party who did not trust the liberalism of the other major contestant, General Chamberlain, then a professor at Bowdoin. Spring's supporters naturally claimed that military men seldom made good political servants—the old, familiar story. However, the Union Republican Convention on its first ballot gave the General 599 votes and only 438 to Spring—and that was that. Generals always have been vote getters.

Eben F. Pillsbury of Augusta took the Democratic nomination without any contest—which was unfortunate because he had been a virulent opponent of the war, a severe critic of Lincoln, and was alleged to have been the instigator of the Kingfield draft rioting. So Chamberlain won an easy victory in the election, taking 69,637 votes to Pillsbury's 41,917.

The Legislature in 1867 had two important issues. One was the ratification of the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution. There was no open opposition voiced but there was a great amount of talk, mostly concerned with the idea that the amendments were only half strong enough. Finally a vote was taken in each house and the 14th was ratified.

The other issue was much more embarrassing. Changes were forcefully demanded in the liquor law. One demand was that fines for first offenses in violations were not enough; all offenders must be imprisoned. The other demand, aimed at seeking better enforcement, was for a State constabulary. Against its judgment, the Legislature approved both measures, although the point of imprisonment was referred to the people at a special election. The vote was very light: 19,358 yeas and 5,536 nays.

The Republican State convention that year said not a word about local matters but kept safely to national issues—about which there was no serious danger locally. Governor Chamberlain was renominated easily. The Democrats renominated Pillsbury and made the most of the bogey of the new State constabulary as well as the liquor problem. The vote was again Republican, although the Democrats gained 4,000. The tally was: Chamberlain 57,332 and Pillsbury 45,590.

Temperance the next year was a very important question and the prohibitionists warned every politician to leave the new laws alone—or else. Governor Chamberlain refused to preside over a mass temperance convention at Augusta and so offended the earnest people assembled. Perhaps the Governor knew that the pendulum of opinion was swinging away from prohibition. Anyway, the Legislature shortly repealed the constabulary law and also the mandatory jail sentence for a first offense. The sale of pure cider was again allowed and so was the sale of local wines under restrictions.

The year 1868 was marked by the impeachment of President Johnson. His course of action had been ill-advised and somewhat intemperate and Republican politicians in Maine as elsewhere were anxious to get rid of him for the good of the party. Mass meetings, probably engineered by these experts in public opinion, were held all over the country and the feeling ran high, particularly in Maine. Indeed, the feeling became indignation at home when Maine's Senator, William Pitt Fessenden, was known to be one of seven senators who believed that Johnson was not guilty as charged. Great pressure was exerted upon Fessenden, including that of many of his personal friends. Fessenden stood firm and with six other Republican senators saved the President.

The trouble was, the year was a presidential one and the Republicans in Maine especially, having stirred up such a disturbance, were now afraid they had done nothing more than to help the Democrats. Of course, nationally, there was nothing to fear because General Grant was chosen the nominee of the party before the convention as much as elected a delegate. Maine's Hamlin was again a candidate for the vice presidency but he was something of a reserve name in case a compromise proved necessary. Colfax of Indiana sailed through, however. The Democrats without much enthusiasm, nominated ex-Gov-



ernor Seymour of New York and Frank P. Blair of Missouri as their ticket and spent their time denouncing the Republican reconstruction policies.

In Maine, both parties renominated their former candidates and launched a violent campaign over national rather than local issues. The Republicans, alarmed over the fiasco with Johnson, really worked for votes; and they triumphed amazingly for Chamberlain polled more than 20,000 votes over Pillsbury—the best the Republicans had ever done in Maine. Papers all over the country picked up the saying “As Maine goes, so goes the nation” and sure enough, Grant won with 214 electoral votes over Seymour’s 80.

The Legislative session of 1869 was featured by an exceedingly bitter contest for United States Senator. Senator Morrill, whose term ran out on March 4, 1869, was popular, able, and, being in office, had been able to win friends by dispensing patronage. However, Hannibal Hamlin had been working for a long time to oust Morrill.

Johnson had appointed him Collector at the Port of Boston, a \$30,000 a year plum even in those days, but Hamlin had been unable to support Johnson in his policies and so, resigning in 1866, he returned to Maine to build a railroad from Bangor to Dover. Actually, he was busy building a railroad for himself from Maine to Washington.

Hamlin, astute, well-trained and deeply experienced, worked very quietly and expertly. So that, when he made his public announcement as election approached, the Republican party was astonished and divided. The alleged defection of Fessenden in failing to vote against Johnson was played upon heavily by Hamlin for Fessenden was a supporter of Morrill. He asserted that his election would be a rebuke to Johnson. The bitterness of the battle, which estranged men who had been friends for years, came to its climax when the vote was taken and the ballots were counted. Hamlin had 75 votes, Morrill 74 and one vote was a blank. Hamlin claimed victory. Morrill claimed a tie. While the argument was waxing furious and legalistic, Hamlin quietly pushed through an adjournment of the caucus—and so tied Morrill’s hands.

Once outside, Hamlin went to work furiously and obtained announcements from various members of the Maine Legislature that they considered Hamlin to be elected by the caucus so that, when the matter came up in the Legislature for actual election, they would favor Hamlin. Additional statements were hastily prepared to the effect that party loyalty necessitated that all Republicans vote for Hamlin. Thus Morrill could not very well hold another caucus and his hopes of running as a third party candidate went glimmering, too. The Democrats were supporting A. P. Gould of Thomaston but no Republican wanted a Democrat to slip into Maine’s seat in the Senate, so, when the final test came, Hamlin received all but two Republican votes and thus returned to Washington.

Grant’s election brought fame to two Maine men. Elihu Washburne, at the time a Representative from Illinois, was appointed Secretary of State, supposedly as a compliment and with the understanding that he would shortly resign and become Minister to France.

Washburne liked the job of Secretary and did well at it but Grant would have his original way and called for the resignation. It was not a very creditable business. Washburne as Minister to France did splendid work and displayed great energy in supporting American interests during the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune. He was also distinguished in his work among the communists who had seized Paris a little after the war and acted with much brutality. His influence acted as a brake upon their outrages—which otherwise might have been worse.

The other Maine man pushed into high office by the election of 1868 was James G. Blaine, "the most widely known, the best loved, and the most hated man in Maine history." He was not a native of Maine, being of Scotch descent and a son of Pennsylvania, where he was born in 1830. After a very slow start, being considered mentally deficient, he suddenly awakened and went through Washington College with high honors. Lacking funds to study law at Yale, he started teaching school to gain them, at the Western Military Institute. There he met Miss Harriet L. Stanwood of Augusta, Maine, and quickly married her. Their marriage was remarkably happy.

Going to Philadelphia he continued to teach and studied law in his spare time for three years. He became the editor of the *Kennebec Journal* and acquired a share in it. This job he resigned in 1857 to become editor of the *Portland Advertiser*, dividing his time between his work at Portland and his home at Augusta.

From the first of his life in Maine, he had plunged enthusiastically into politics and, after various committee services, became a member of the House in 1858. He served there for four years; being Speaker the last two. In 1860, he became chairman of the Republican State Committee, an excellent stepping-stone for an able man with political ambitions. From that time on, until he was appointed Secretary of State in 1881, he "continued to be chairman, and was at the head of affairs of his party, as no other man in Maine ever was. During more than twenty years, he was the prevailing force in his party conventions. He dictated platforms; the candidates were, with some exceptions, those whom he favored . . . almost autocratically . . . he collected funds, selected speakers, arranged rallies . . . his plans were rarely if ever modified or criticised. All reports were made to him, and he issued the orders, which his local lieutenants obeyed promptly and unquestioningly. . . ."

This may seem very strange because of the feeling often held by Maine natives for outsiders—but Blaine had dash, courage and drive which carried all opposition before it. Besides, he had a frank, candid and open manner which won him friends automatically. He had but to speak and opposition vanished.

In 1862, Blaine was elected to Congress and he held his seat in the House until 1876 when he transferred to the Senate. He was an admirer of Lincoln and one of his ablest supporters during the War. Blaine continued to support Johnson until he found that impossible, but through the impeachment and other storms of reconstruction he distinguished himself by a moderation which contrasted favorably with more zealous but less realistic partisans.



Perhaps the most vital item in Blaine's long career was a five minute speech which he made attacking Representative Conkling of New York. It was probably a masterpiece of satire, certainly too severe for the trifling dispute with Conkling over Provost Marshall General Fry. Blaine's blistering sarcasm called attention to his ability and made him Speaker of the House. It also made Conkling his life-long enemy and, in the ultimate contributed to the defeat of Blaine's greatest ambition—election to the White House. All this, of course, comes later in this background history of Maine.

In the winter of 1869, the Republican Party in Maine was embarrassed by more trouble over the enforcement of the liquor laws. The anti-liquor faction loudly demanded the re-establishment of the State Constabulary. However, the prohibitionists themselves failed to agree upon just what it was they wanted and, supported by this division, the Republican-controlled Legislature failed to do anything, leaving matters just as they were. This aroused the temperance people and both the Maine Grand Lodge of Good Templars and the Grand Division of the Sons of Temperance threatened that if neither Republicans or Democrats nominated a candidate whose anti-liquor sentiments could be trusted, they would organize a third or Prohibition Party and nominate their own candidate. In short, the temperance supporters declared that Maine men should "vote as they pray" and they urged all Maine men to vote for the men and the measures of neither party unless "they are practically devoted to the cause of prohibition."

This caused a flutter in the dove cote of the Republicans, particularly since they were finding an acceptable candidate difficult to find; Governor Chamberlain had served the customary three terms. Governor Washburn refused a third nomination and both Governor Cony and Governor Morrill did not want a fourth term. Chamberlain announced that he was determined to retire but, finally, since no one else could be found to run, he allowed himself to be persuaded. The prohibitionists within the party opposed the re-nomination since, as previously remarked, Chamberlain had refused to preside at their convention.

The Democrats faced the unusual situation of having nominated a man who refused to accept the honor. Charles P. Kimball of Portland, a wealthy carriage manufacturer, stood up in the convention and said "NO!" So Franklin Smith of Waterville received the nomination. He was well regarded by the moderate Democrats as opposed to the "copper-heads," or the radical wing of the Party who had opposed the Civil War.

The Prohibitionists felt that neither candidate was acceptable, so in their convention, they nominated a Third Party candidate, N. G. Hichborn of Stockton, a former State Treasurer. The third party platform came out for a State constabulary, for real enforcement of the liquor law and for the adequate development of the state's resources. Many temperance people did not like this radical step, thinking their interests would be better served if they remained active within the two major parties. So, many of them refused to support the third party and withdrew from the convention.

The Republicans were somewhat alarmed by the third party but their fright was baseless for though their vote fell somewhat, so did the Democrat's, while Hichborn made a very poor showing. The official tally: Chamberlain 51,314, Smith 39,033 and Hichborn 4,735.

The poor showing in the election did not daunt the radical prohibitionists. At Lewiston, late the next January, they held a State temperance convention with Nelson Dingley, editor of the *Lewiston Journal*, an able man and a sincere temperance advocate, chairman of the committee on resolutions. He suggested just asking the Legislature for a fair enforcement of existing laws but the convention again insisted that a State police was required and that all temperance men were duty bound to support prohibition.

The Republican party was in control of the Legislature and the party caucus found it advisable to give the temperance party some concessions. The State police was not established but local officers who failed to prosecute liquor violations were to be fined. Warrants for search and seizure were permitted on one sworn complaint instead of three signatures being required as before, and all condemned liquors were to be forthwith destroyed. The Republicans, in their subsequent convention, also went along in their essay to placate the prohibitionists by picking a candidate other than General Chamberlain. The man finally selected was Sidney Perham of Woodstock. A farmer and teacher, he had served town, county and state in many capacities, as well as going to Congress. He was a stout Universalist and was an active churchman as well as being a life-long and somewhat radical prohibitionist. The convention included in its platform a plank which read "That we renew our adhesion to the principles of prohibition, and a vigorous and impartial enforcement to that end."

This was considered plenty to satisfy the prohibitionists and notices were sent out that the anti-liquor party's convention was indefinitely postponed. However, various hot-heads got together and sent out another notice convoking the meeting which, duly held, nominated Sidney Perham as their candidate, too, and called once more for a State police.

The Democratic Convention of 1870 was marked by both bitterness and disorder. The first session was held at Portland on June 28th. Amid hissing and booing and loud cheers, the meeting did nothing but exchange insults and caustic criticism and at last was adjourned until August 16th at Bangor—possibly to save the meeting from open violence. Seldom has a Maine meeting been marked by such violent personalities. The adjourned meeting was assembled after the party managers had nearly exhausted themselves in obtaining pledges of party loyalty from the delegates. Thus, General Charles Roberts of Bangor was nominated without much difficulty for Governor and the platform was largely confined to the customary attacks upon the Republicans—who, after all had been in power in Maine for many years and thus offered plenty of opportunity for criticism.

The Democrats rolled up a very pleasing and surprisingly good vote, making gains in both chambers of the Legislature and pushing



the gubernatorial contest closer than it had been for many years. The official vote: Perham 54,019; Roberts 45,733.

The first job of the new Legislature was the election of a new United States Senator for a full term of six years. Actually, the Senatorial contests had been fought during the State election, as every candidate for the Legislature brought out his ideas of whom the next Senator should be. With the Republicans in control still, the actual re-election was only a formality and Senator Morrill was chosen without ado.

In 1871 the Republicans renominated Governor Perham by acclamation and the party platform was mostly confined again to national issues as likely to cause the least possible local trouble while giving plenty of opportunity for oratory. The Democrats once again were badly divided. There was a movement amongst the younger members of the party to forget Civil War bitterness and to fight the Republicans with fresh and vital issues. The older men hated to give up their war cries and tacitly admit that they were wrong. Harmony eventually prevailed and the platform was confined to taking the opposite position from the Republicans on every national issue. Mr. Kimball of Portland this time consented to stand up for Governor so he could be knocked down. However, he made a good run, receiving 47,578 votes to Perham's 58,285.

In 1872, a new President was to be elected and the Democrats rolled up their sleeves in Maine and really went to work. Grant's administration, with charges of corruption rampant, and many open matters of difficulty that could not be denied, gave the Democrats plenty of ammunition and also caused many good Republicans to waver in their loyalty. Grant, of course, had the party's re-nomination in his pocket beyond question, so the "Liberal Republicans" bolted the party and held their own convention at Cincinnati to nominate an independent candidate—who turned out after six ballots to be Horace Greeley, the famous newspaper editor.

This was not a good choice for Greeley had always fought the Democrats and it was not good for Liberal Republicans either, for Greeley had always been for a high tariff, which the new wing of the Republicans opposed. Then too, while personally honest beyond question, some of his backers were shopworn and tarnished.

At the moment Democrats did not look at Greeley this way. They knew he had an immense influence with the masses and they hoped he would draw enough Republican votes so that, with Democratic support, he could defeat Grant. In Maine, this view prevailed and the convention instructed its delegates to vote for Greeley as the party standard bearer. The convention also renominated Kimball for governor, again by acclamation, and in their platform carefully refrained from mentioning prohibition.

The Republican state convention renominated Governor Perham by acclamation and did put a prohibition plank in its platform, affirming faith in the principle and calling for impartial enforcement of the law.

The campaign was hard fought in Maine, as elsewhere and the Democrats even went so far as to adopt the dangerous expedient of resorting to personal attacks and to the risky business of trying to arouse Catholic and Jews against the Republicans on the grounds of religious and racial prejudice. In the early fall, Maine stayed Republican however, giving Perham 71,888 votes against Kimball's 55,343. This greatly encouraged the Republicans in the national contests and Grant was elected in November by a large majority in both the popular vote and the electoral college.

The national administration continued on its reckless course and this caused the Maine Republicans no end of trouble. The increase in salaries, called the Grab Act, was particularly displeasing to Maine farmers so the Maine legislators, or most of them, either refused to take the extra pay or else turned it back so as to escape criticism at home. Maine also blamed the Republicans for "prodigality and corruption" in various appropriation bills and, particularly, in grants for the building of western railroads. James G. Blaine was well tarred by the brush of this railroad trouble and lost many friends, although it does not seem now that he did anything actually illegal or anything that other legislators were not customarily busy doing at that time.

The nomination for the governorship went to Nelson Dingley. Blaine, still chairman of the Republican State Committee, agreed to support Dingley so he was pushed through in true machine fashion with hardly a gear slipping or a wheel creaking. A native of Durham, Maine, Dingley, who became prominent as editor of the *Lewiston Journal*, entered the bar also but failed to establish himself in practice. Journalism and politics took all of his time and, being particularly interested in temperance and education, he raised his voice in those twin interests during the many years he served in the Maine House. He was noted for two characteristics: his unshakable seriousness and his indefatigable industry. He never made a joke; he could not comprehend one when some one told one and burst out laughing. He was cool, methodical and sober. He based his career upon accurate information, full knowledge and earnest toil. It was said of Dingley, "He would rather have a pad of paper and a pencil on his knee than a pretty girl." Indeed, he was so much admired that he went on from the Maine Legislature to the Senate where his small stature and weak, unpleasant voice handicapped him at first, but he soon won as many admirers in Washington as he enjoyed at home.

The Democrats were in a poor position. They had no candidate and no platform. However, they had to do something, so the party assembled at Portland and wrote a platform distinguished by its obscurity and nominated as their governor-to-be, Joseph Titcomb of Kennebunk—equally obscure. The Liberal Republicans entered the field, too, with ex-Governor Joseph H. Williams of Augusta, a forlorn hope, indeed.

The campaign was naturally very quiet. Dingley counted only 45,244 votes, but then Titcomb had but 32,924 and Williams 2,160.



The next year, 1874, both major parties renominated their candidates of the preceding campaign. The party endorsed "judicious prohibition" and spoke of the benefits of developing Maine's water power resources. The Democrats denounced both inflation and protection and pressed for civil service reform. The vote this year was larger: Dingley received 52,958, Titcomb 41,898.

Senator Hamlin's term expired in 1875 and there was a sharp but not a difficult fight over his reelection. Former governors Washburne and Drummond both wanted the place but Hamlin had done so many favors for people and had so many of his supporters snug in public office that he won easily and ended the threatened party split.

For the 1875 election, the Republicans found themselves without a candidate for governor. Governor Dingley was entitled by custom to have a third term but he refused to run so several aspirants jumped into the ring. Fearing a bitter contest and consequent division of the party, the State Committee persuaded everyone to forget their own ambitions and to unite upon a compromise choice—who was General Selden Connor, a practically unanimous choice so far as the world at large knew. A native of Fairfield, he served during the war as major and lieutenant-colonel of the Seventh Maine and as colonel of the Nineteenth Maine. In the Battle of the Wilderness he fractured his thigh bone. Commissioned a brigadier general during his convalescence, he was finally able to return to active service. At the time he was nominated for Governor, he was collector for the Augusta district.

The State platform favored protection of our industries, bowed low in the direction of the Grange Movement, members of which organization were becoming important in Maine, urged a good system of public schools and promised continued support of the prohibition laws.

The Democrats picked a soldier for their gubernatorial nominee, too, selecting General Charles Roberts of Bangor, their candidate in 1870. The platform denounced the Republican party for corruption and usurpation of authority and blamed the administration for a vitiated currency which had ruined the American merchant marine. General Connor won the election without difficulty.

The presidential election of 1876 presented the State with the spectacle of a Maine man aspiring to the presidency directly. James G. Blaine obtained a high national reputation as Speaker of the House, and especially, for his skill as a legislator as minority leader of the House in 1875-76 when the Democrats managed to obtain a majority. Unfortunately, he was a man whom enemies of his party could enthusiastically oppose and yet a man whom members of his own party could not happily accept.

In the spring, Blaine's alleged misbehavior with the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad scandal was investigated by a hostile Congressional committee and although he defended himself brilliantly, many prominent Republicans considered the charges were more than sufficient reason to prevent his nomination. However, Blaine had many loyal friends and he was placed in nomination by Colonel Robert

G. Ingersoll in a speech which named the Maine man a plumed knight. The title was taken up in admiration by Blaine supporters and used as a means of ridicule by his opponents. The title became a nickname widely used. For six ballots, Blaine led the Republican convention but on the seventh try, his enemies united on Governor Hayes of Ohio. Hayes thereupon won the nomination with five votes to spare.

In June of 1876, Secretary of the Treasury Bristow resigned and a Maine man, Senator Lot M. Morrill, received the cabinet appointment. Blaine was promptly appointed by the Maine Legislature to fill the vacancy—another step ahead for him. Governor Connor was renominated for the gubernatorial contest by acclamation.

The Maine Democratic Convention, meeting before the Democratic national meeting, urged the nomination of Samuel J. Tilden, Reform Governor of New York State, and selected for Maine John C. Talbot of Machias by a large majority. The platform called for reform all along the line and urged that greenbacks be limited and that gold and silver form the basis of the national currency.

The September vote in Maine was the largest on record; the Republicans gained 18,000 votes over the year before, and the Democrats 7,000. Connor obtained 75,867 votes against Talbot's 60,423. Blaine ably supported the party, despite his disappointment.

The Presidential campaign was unfortunate in that it was not decisive. The Democrats gained the electoral college majority but Florida and Louisiana threw out certain votes and counted Republican votes so the Republicans had the edge nationally. The problem turned upon the point of the right to determine the returns in the questionable states. Finally, the matter was referred to a special electoral commission of five representatives, five senators and five justices of the Supreme Court. Seven were Democrats and eight were Republicans, so Hayes was awarded the presidency.

Hayes promptly offended many men who had supported him by making very poor choices for his Cabinet. Hayes' Southern policy was also very distasteful to many Northern legislators and they were in sharp revolt when Hayes withdrew military support from the State Houses in the Southern States where only armed guards prevented the Democrats from tossing out the carpet-bag Republicans.

The next Republican convention, recognizing that Hayes had little support in Maine but not wishing to split the party by an attack upon the President, carefully refrained from mentioning him in their platform. The convention came out for civil service reform, for a return to specie payment and opposed any further land grants to western railroads. Governor Connor was renominated by acclamation.

The Democrats were sharply divided between the conservatives and radical members who wanted to offer dissatisfied Republicans an opportunity to bolt their party. Custom required the renomination of John C. Talbot but other candidates were offered, including Garcelon, Anderson and Williams. Joseph H. Williams, who had served as Governor before, was favored by the liberal Democrats and they finally obtained his nomination. There was a sharp contest



to include an anti-prohibition plank but this lost out quickly. Neither party dared to risk displeasing the dry voters.

A third party, the Greenbackers, entered the field with Henry C. Munson as their candidate. The year before, the party had polled only 520 votes in the State election but this year they staged a serious effort to win more support. The campaign as a whole was very light however and Connor led Williams by about 11,000 votes; the official



*Panning Gold, Coos Canyon, Byron*

tally being Seldon Connor 53,585, Joseph H. Williams 42,247 and 5,291 for the Greenbackers—ten times as many votes as the year before.

#### THE GREENBACK MOVEMENT

This increased strength shown by the Greenback Party was most significant. Actually, the next election, that of 1878, was fought on the issue of Greenbackism. The hard times in the seventies had caused the usual popular outcry for easy money and when it was learned that the Federal Government was planning to return to specie payment on January 1, 1879, a great outcry went up, especially in agricultural Maine.

Solon Chase of Turner was the principal Maine advocate of this new party. Chase had spent his adult life shifting between the Democratic and the Republican parties, serving first one and then the other in such capacities as he could win. In 1875 he established a Greenback paper for himself and began to organize the party in Maine.



Active and persuasive, he became widely known as "Uncle Solon." A home-spun type, he was very appealing to the farmers and used clear and forceful examples to drive his point home to the agriculturists. To Republicans and Democrats of the old line, Chase was a demagogue, if not a simpleton, but his success caused both parties some concern and party committees began to think that perhaps it would be a good idea to give the Greenbackers some concessions.

Governor Connor had served as a Republican leader for the customary three years and a new man was in order but the party could not find a good candidate so Connor was renominated again without opposition. It was the safe thing to do.

The Greenbackers in their convention had a field day denouncing existing conditions. They strongly opposed resumption of specie payment and demanded that United States bonds be redeemed and they deplored "the red flag of communism imported from Europe which asks for an equal division of property." They also wanted the abolishment of imprisonment for debt and suggested biennial sessions of the Legislature. For Governor, they nominated Joseph L. Smith, a business man of Old Town.

The Democrats, in their convention, straddled the greenback issue by proposing the "gradual substitution of greenbacks for national bank bills." They also wanted biennial sessions of the Legislature and suggested the abolition of the Council. For Governor, they picked a Greenback sympathizer, Dr. Alonzo W. Garcelon of Lewiston. A native of Lewiston, and distinguished as a surgeon, the doctor served in the Maine House and Senate and was Mayor of Lewiston in 1871.

The Greenbackers, led by "Uncle Solon," made a vigorous campaign. The Republicans, sensing defeat, did little until late in August, when they tried hard but accomplished little. As a result, for the first time since 1855, the people failed to elect a Governor. The official vote stood: Connor 56,554; Garcelon, 28,208, and Smith 41,371.

The Senate stood: Republicans 20, Greenbackers 11. The House contained 65 Republicans, 61 Greenbackers, 16 "hard money" Democrats and 10 "fiat money" Democrats. The Greenbackers and the Democrats united in selecting Smith and Garcelon as the two candidates from whom the Senate must choose a Governor. The Republicans could thus not elect a governor but, since they controlled the Senate, they could give it as they wished, to either of the two men. The Republicans attempted a deal with Smith but wind of the arrangement got around and there was so much unhappiness about it that the Republicans finally capitulated and gave the honor to Garcelon.

That year, the Greenbackers and the Democrats often worked together against Republican interests but the two parties failed to unite and in the summer of 1879, they held separate conventions. The Greenbacker Convention at Portland provided plenty of excitement. The resolutions were the usual Greenback demands but the delegates enjoyed arguing about both the wording of the resolutions and their position in the platform. Smith was renominated as the party's candidate for Governor. Chase was placed in nomination but, having hopes of the United States Senate he refused to be considered for governor.



The Republican convention, at Bangor, was hard put to find a good nominee. W. W. Thomas of Portland, commanded an early lead but opposition developed and such men as D. F. Davis, Eugene Hale, Anson P. Morrill and W. W. Virgin were offered. Finally, after much adjusting of interests, Mr. Davis was nominated by seven to one. Davis, a young lawyer, had served in various State offices and was greeted by the rank and file of the party as a good choice.

The Democrats wanted to name a stronger candidate than Garcelon but he refused to withdraw his name and, in deference to custom, he was finally renominated. Davis was regarded as the candidate for both the Democrats and the Greenbackers and the campaign was both confused and hot. The final vote resulted in a failure of choice by the people: Davis, 68,967; Smith, 47,643, and Garcelon, 21,851.

It was thought at first that, as the Republicans had apparently carried the Legislature, their candidate would be chosen for governor. But the election was declared a fraud.

After many sporting contests and after many elections, charges of fraud are frequently made. This time, the charges were serious. The basis of the complaint in general was that the town officials had failed to meet precisely the requirements of the state constitution in the matter of recording and reporting votes. This was probably true enough—for some of the town officials, particularly in smaller towns, were comparatively unversed in the refinements and technicalities. Under the law also, the existing Governor and Council could avail themselves of this situation by not issuing the summonses to the “persons who appeared to them to be elected.” Thus the matter could go on indefinitely and the Democrats could remain in power forever.

Anxiety increased as time went along and nothing was done. Blaine, ever the master politician, called a meeting of all prominent Republicans at Augusta. As a result of this meeting, a committee of sixteen men, one from each county, was appointed to act in such a manner as to “start something moving.” This committee could not arrange a meeting with the shifty Council but Governor Garcelon consented to speak privately with one of the committee, ex-Governor Dingley. The usual assurances were given out by Garcelon at this meeting—but nothing was actually accomplished. The Democrats simply sat tight.

So Blaine caused the matter to be taken to Court. Judge Virgin, instead of sitting at Fryeburg, held his session on December 10th and 11th, in the Senate Chamber at Augusta. The court session was hardly intended to be more than publicity to force the hand of the Democratic administration and this move was successful for from the day the court opened, the Democrats at last permitted the Republicans to examine the contested ballots which they had previously kept locked in secret.

Finally, on December 17th, the Governor and Council announced the results of their examination of the ballots. Local returns gave the Republicans a majority of seven in the Senate and twenty-nine in the House. The Democrats changed things greatly. Five Representatives and one Senator were denied their seats because of alleged failure to sign or seal the returns in open town meeting. Seven Rep-

representatives and two Senators were counted out because of alleged failure by local officials to sign properly. Five Representatives and three Senators were crossed out because the Portland officials had returned certain votes as scattering instead of the names of all persons receiving votes being listed. Again, five Republicans were found out of order because their names were given with initials and not in full. The election at Cherryfield was thrown out because, it was charged, one of the selectmen was an alien. And so it went; the Governor and Council taking advantage of every possible technicality.

The resulting agitation throughout the State was terrific. Protest meetings were held almost everywhere. Many clergy denounced the "frauds being perpetrated." In Governor Garcelon's home town, Lewiston, he was described as no better than a man who steals a pocketbook from a friend. Of course, the Democrats held their own meetings to defend their party's action. Eventually, the Republicans reached the extreme of going to Augusta and threatening to toss the Democratic officials into the Kennebec. Hamlin said he would go and assist personally in the process. The Democrats replied with cries of "Treason!"

Fuel was added to the flames at Bangor, when the Governor ordered the adjutant-general to take a large quantity of arms and ammunition from the arsenal at Bangor and deliver them to the State House at Augusta. The Mayor of Bangor tried to find the officer and urge him not to attempt such a step but arrived after the loaded wagons had left. Mayor Brown followed and found the loaded wagons stopped by a mob on the Kenduskeag Bridge. Fearing extreme violence, the Mayor urged the return of the weapons and powder to the arsenal—and finally this was done without any outbreak of trouble.

This was a bad position for the Republicans. It was clear, to their minds, that the Governor had the intention of using force to support the Democratic fraud but, on the other hand, as commander-in-chief of the state militia, he had every legal right to move State supplies anywhere he wished. Both sides feared that civil war was at hand and urged Garcelon not to insist upon the transfer of weapons. But the Governor was obdurate and on December 30th, 120 rifles and 20,000 rounds of ammunition were brought from Bangor to Augusta under heavy guard. Throngs of people all along the route watched in threatening silence but there was no violence.

Of course, many Republicans and Democrats were strenuously trying to avoid violence. The Republicans, being in the offensive position, of necessity, tried to persuade the Supreme Court to Act—but the Court legally could not do so unless requested by the Governor, Council, Senate or House, which at the moment was out of the question. Finally, Blaine's committee appointed Lot M. Morrill, chairman of a special group, to "advise the Legislature." Morrill (and Blaine) wrote a most polite letter to Governor Garcelon, pointing out the danger of bloodshed and urged him to ask the Supreme Court to rule on the contested election.

The Governor replied that he considered the public excitement due to "a systematic attack of vituperation and slander upon the Executive Department, not only without parallel, but without cause."



He added that the Supreme Court could not in his opinion help with the situation which, he apparently believed, has been finally settled.

Morrill had submitted a list of questions which the Governor was requested to submit to the Court. The Governor was understood to be ready to refuse to offer the questions to the Court on the ground that the opinions so received would come too late to make a change in the Democratic-determined legislature. Instead, the Governor, at long last, agreed to submit questions of his own to the Court. Morrill's questions had been concerned with concrete matters, mentioning each of the disputed elections and asking if the Governor and Council had been correct in denying the election returns as submitted by the local officials. The Governor's questions were abstract and on points of law.

The Supreme Court promptly replied, supporting the Republicans at every point. The Court took the position that the will of the people should not be defeated by technicalities or by the errors of local officers who, of necessity, must be plain men.

The Democrats were at first crushed by the action of the Court but they soon rallied and stubbornly determined to continue on the course they had initiated. Garcelon appealed to General Chamberlain for military aid to prevent the Republican threat of seizing the State House. The Governor then issued an order alerting the militia and also gave General Chamberlain command with specific orders to "protect the public property and institutions of the State until my successor is duly qualified." The General thought this arrangement would endanger the peace of the State rather than help it, so he discharged all special guards and police where they had been called, returned the arms and ammunition to Bangor and entrusted the protection of the State House to the Augusta police. However, he arranged to have militia companies organized and ready to go into service if trouble arose—ordering them to march only upon his own orders.

The Senate duly met and organized without much excitement. In the House however, where few Republicans were officially present, there was considerable bickering and blustering and it was only after the exercise of steam-roller tactics that the "democratic-picked" gathering could manage to provide itself with the necessary quorum. This was an outstanding victory for the Democrats, who felt certain in the beginning that the Republicans could muster enough strength to prevent a quorum being established.

There followed days of uncertainty and of ceaseless difficulties. There was at least one instance of possible trouble when Joseph R. Bodwell, a granite quarry operator, appeared at Augusta with some fifty of his employees armed with pistols. General Chamberlain induced Bodwell to promise to send his men home and they did cease to appear as a body but it was understood that most of them stayed quietly at Augusta. Plans were made by certain Democrats to burn the Blaine mansion and to kill the owner, and General Chamberlain himself was in danger of being kidnapped.

Lamson was the choice of the Democrats and their "Fusion" allies for Governor, and much pressure was put upon Chamberlain to recognize his "election" and so give Lamson the support of the

militia. Chamberlain took the ground that the election of a governor was none of his business and until a governor was installed, he would support no man but would obey his oath of office and keep the peace.

On January 12, the "Fusion Legislature" met and qualified Lamson as Acting Governor. The same day, the "Republican Legislature" met after much difficulty, and after electing officers, prepared questions for the Supreme Court. The "Republican Senate" also met and also prepared questions for the Supreme Court. The Court replied to the "Republican Legislature's" questions with decisions in its favor. On the 17th, the Republican Legislature again assembled and Daniel F. Davis was declared Governor. General Chamberlain accepted the election and announced that his special military obligations were at an end.

The next day, the Republican Legislature met again and, knowing that it was necessary to buttress their position, they elected General George L. Beal adjutant-general. The Democratic-Fusion Legislature tried to assemble the same day but the Republicans held the State House as a fort and the Democrats held their two sessions on the lawn. There was much talk but no action. The Republicans completed the major State offices the next day by electing Samuel A. Holbrook State Treasurer.

However, things were far from well for the Republicans. The State Seal was missing, for one thing, and the Democrats were clamoring for the storming of the State House, "even if it cost a thousand lives." Mayor Nask of Augusta, faced with reports that the Democrats were organizing armed forces, told Governor Davis that his police could not defend the State House against armed assault. So Governor Davis called out some militia. He placed the Augusta military company on guard within the State House and they were shortly joined by the Gardiner Light Infantry, the Auburn Light Infantry and the Androscoggin Light Artillery.

This show of force was the beginning of the end. Within a few days, most of the militia were sent home and gradually, members of the Democratic-Fusion Legislature began drifting back to their seats in the Legislature. Finally, the Democratic-Fusion Legislature met and adjourned until August 1—which was an admission of defeat.

Naturally, much of the business of the Legislature was given over to attempts to determine who had really been elected, and to an attempt to pass legislation providing for the better management of future elections. Actually, however, much time was devoted to preparation of the coming election—which would, after all, determine which political party would control the State thereafter.

One job the Legislature had to face was the election of a successor to Senator Hamlin. Eugene Hale of Ellsworth, and William P. Frye of Lewiston, who had both represented Maine in Congress, were the candidates. Choice between them was the same as election in the Republican Legislature. Hale was supported by Blaine so he was elected, although Frye made a good fight. Hale, a lawyer, had distinguished professional connections and had made an outstanding record as a public servant both in Augusta and at Washington. As a Senator he rapidly won important posts for himself and, long



chairman of the naval committee, did much to defend the Navy against its detractors at a time when the Navy was considered unimportant. He became identified with the Conservative wing of the Republican Party and was one of the party's leaders.

It was reported at the time of the election that Mr. Frye had been consoled in his defeat by the promise that he would be given the vacancy caused by Blaine's anticipated elevation to the Secretary of State's office in President Garfield's cabinet. This promise, if there was one definitely, was carried through.

Frye, a forcible speaker, was a lawyer, too. Serving as Mayor of Lewiston, he also was Maine's attorney-general and served in Congress for ten years as a Representative and for thirty years in the Senate. He was an ardent supporter of the American merchant marine and also interested in the welfare of the United States Coast Guard. He also was chairman of the commission that negotiated the Treaty with Spain in 1898.

The 1880 campaign in Maine was not only important because of the contested election the previous years but also because it was presidential year. The two leading Republican aspirants were Blaine of Maine and General Grant. The General had recently completed a world tour; some of the difficulties of his administration were forgotten—and he was still immensely popular. However, many Americans were opposed to a third term for any man. Blaine made the most of this sentiment but he faced Grant's supporters who included three very experienced, able and ruthless politicians—Conkling of New York, Cameron of Pennsylvania and Logan of Illinois. At the last moment, Hannibal Hamlin joined Blaine—and was most helpful, indeed.

At the Chicago Republican Convention, the battle was fierce, with the heavyweights pulling no punches. Grant and Blaine struggled manfully in person but after five and thirty ballots, it appeared that neither could win. There was a dark horse in the field, General James A. Garfield of Ohio. Blaine was a cordial intimate of Garfield and finally Blaine wired to his supporters to break to Garfield—and so defeat Grant. On the 36th ballot, Garfield was accordingly nominated. Chester A. Arthur was named vice-president as a sop to the Grant supporters. His only serious opponent had been Elihu B. Washburne. The Democrats also picked a soldier, General Hancock of Civil War fame.

At home, the Maine Republicans determined to make the issue that of the right of the people's choice to be the decisive factor in all elections. This gave the Republicans a bull-whip with which to thrash the Democrats and that whip was not spared. Governor Davis was renominated by acclamation and the platform scourged the Garcelon administration and endorsed prohibition.

The Democrats and Greenbackers met jointly at Bangor and nominated for Governor Harris M. Plaisted, a Bangor lawyer and Civil War veteran. He had served the state in various public offices as well. Actually the two conventions meet separately but both chose Plaisted and their platforms were scarcely different from the Republicans, especially in lip service to prohibition.

This lip service to prohibition, particularly on the part of the Republicans, was not satisfactory to the more ardent Prohibitionists. Governor Davis had failed, in the opinion of these radicals, to properly enforce the laws. So a temperance convention met in Augusta, censured Davis and, in a disorderly fashion, discussed the nomination of William M. Joy, who had been nominated for Governor by the newly organized Maine Prohibition party. Because of the disorder the convention adjourned and met again at Portland but disorder continued, amid violent attacks upon many prominent Republican officials. Finally, still another political party was organized, the Enforced Prohibitory Party. Joshua K. Osgood of Gardiner was nominated for Governor and accepted the honor. Just a week, later, however, he withdrew and announced he would support the Republican nominee, Governor Davis.

Unfortunately, the election was once more confused because of certain issues, like the amendment providing for a two year term for governor and another amendment providing that elections should be determined by plurality rather than the old rule of majority. The question immediately arose, "Did this second rule apply to the election of 1880?" If so, then the Democrats had elected their candidate, for General Plaisted had a very small edge over Davis. But if the majority rule was still in force, then Davis was elected, because the Republicans had obtained a majority in both houses of the Legislature.

There was a concerted movement among Republican officials to put the problem up to the Supreme Court but very many rank and file members of the Party considered that the party had taken a strong stand for popular elections and thus the party should honor their principles and confirm Mr. Plaisted. This was done.

However, the Republicans had elected a solid party Council and from the very first, there was constant friction between the Governor and his Council. The Governor repeatedly removed Republicans from office by the appointment of good Democrats and the Council as repeatedly refused to agree. This was unfortunate for the conduct of the State's business and the year passed in a constant wrangle over who was the legal official in each instance.

The change to biennial elections was difficult also in that numerous elective county officials would go out of office after having served the year for which they were elected. The amendment gave the Legislature authority to provide for these vacancies until the next election. Instead of simply continuing each incumbent in office, the Legislature gave the appointive power to the Governor and Council. Trouble again resulted as the Governor appointed men the Council did not wish to endorse in many instances. Finally, for the sake of the public business, the Council gave way.

So the next campaign, 1882, was fought chiefly over this appointment issue. The Greenbackers and the Democrats renominated Governor Plaisted. For the Republican nomination there was a choice between W. W. Thomas of Portland and Frederick Robie of Gorham. Thomas was in a strong position as an experienced public servant but again he lost out, for the convention chose Robie with a hundred votes



to spare. Robie, a medical practitioner, distinguished himself during the Civil War as paymaster. The Colonel served several terms in the Maine Legislature and also was a councilor for three terms. He died in 1912 at the age of 89, being the first Maine governor to reach the ninetieth year.

The Prohibitionists, largely a group of idealists, nominated William T. Eustis; the die-hard Greenbackers, opposed to Fusion with the Democrats, chose Solon Chase; and a small group of unhappy Republicans, called Liberal Republicans, put up Warren H. Vinton.

The campaign was quiet and with Robie being head of the Maine State Grange he enjoyed a very considerable advantage. Actually, there was little doubt of the outcome. Robie received 72,481 votes and Plaisted 63,921. The minor candidates made a very poor showing; the Prohibitionists for example polling but 381 votes.

#### REPUBLICAN ASCENDENCY

Governor Robie's election marked the beginning of a long period of Republican control of Maine. For thirty years the party ran Maine quietly and effectively and things ran so smoothly that little of interest occurred. The old battles with the Democrats no longer made elections interesting and the party machinery usually functioned so smoothly that few domestic issues raised difficult heads. However, during this period, many Maine men played important roles in National affairs.

One issue that did continue vexing was prohibition. In 1883, the Legislature moved ahead by submitting a constitutional amendment to the people which forbade the manufacture of intoxicating liquors, excepting cider, and also banned the sale and keeping for sale of intoxicants. Of course, the use of liquors in medicine and in the arts, as well as for mechanical purposes, was exempted.

In the 1884 election, the people accepted the amendment by a very large majority: 70,783 to 23,811. However, this vote totaled 47,513 less than the total number of votes cast for governor, so it was clear that many people did not bother or did not wish to express an opinion. It should be said that had there been any doubt of the amendment being accepted, the drys would have really worked hard and brought out a much larger vote.

In 1884, Blaine from Maine at long last received the Republican nomination for the Presidency. He received the award on the fourth ballot. The Democrats selected Grover Cleveland as the man most likely to attract the support of those Republicans who were unhappy with Blaine's final ascendancy.

At home, that year, the Republicans nominated Governor Robie again. The Democrats, still hopeful, selected as their candidate, John B. Redman of Ellsworth. He was a very young man, being but thirty-six, but he had already been an active member of the Democratic Party for years.

There was small doubt about the outcome of the election for governor and Robie received 78,699 votes to Redman's 58,954. The eclipse of the Greenbackers was shown by the votes their candidate, Eaton, received—a mere 3,239.

In November, Maine proved false to the slogan, "As Maine goes, so goes the nation." Blaine lost the presidency by a very narrow margin for he failed to carry New York. Actually the election had been determined on the basis of personalities. Both parties promised to reduce the tariff without injuring business and both promised civil service reforms and extensions. Blaine was by far the most colorful figure but, as has been said before, his reputation was besmirched by his association with various scandals during Grant's Administration. Cleveland, the Democrat, was a new man with no magnetism and no eloquence but, as Governor of New York State he had demonstrated that he was courageous and beyond question honest. Many Republicans, called "Mugwumps" in derision, deserted Blaine to vote for Cleveland over this personal honesty issue.

However, Blaine led his party in a most vigorous campaign, for his warm personality, his rich eloquence and his long political experience made him a most capable campaigner. The Republican Party was also firmly entrenched and had every advantage strategically over the Democrats. Nevertheless, New York gave Cleveland its electoral vote and just that item was the margin which gave the victory to the Democrats.

Cleveland was the first Democrat in the White House after twenty-four years of Republican rule and so the South felt that, at long last, the Civil War was really over. Cleveland's record was such that the reformers also felt that at last the government would be honest according to their lights. However, Cleveland had his troubles. He had a Republican Senate to combat and, while the House was Democratic, it gave him little support on reform issues. He was strictly a "veto President." He did however accomplish much reform in the civil service administration, despite the concessions he had to make to Democratic interests, and his term added impetus to higher standards of honesty and efficiency in government offices.

In 1886, the Republican Party had two candidates offered for governor: Joseph R. Bodwell of Hallowell and Augustus C. Hamlin, son of Hannibal Hamlin. Hamlin had been a surgeon in the Union Army and had a large following among G. A. R. veterans but Bodwell had the backing of the politicians. So he was nominated on the first ballot by a vote of 882 to 201 for Hamlin.

Bodwell, who was born at Lawrence, Massachusetts, was a man of unexampled character and marked ability, although nothing of a politician. His family, farmers in moderate circumstances, had been among the early settlers of Massachusetts Bay Colony and he inherited the characteristic Puritan qualities. Denied a formal education by lack of family resources, he grew up on the farm of a childless sister, learned the making of shoes as a trade and finally settled down to work as a teamster. This job gave him familiarity with the quarrying, working and handling of granite.

A little later, in association with a friend, Moses Webster, he came to what is now Vinalhaven and began in a modest way as an independent granite producer. It is said that at first he worked in his quarry with his own hands and drove the ox-teams which hauled the blocks of stone about, even acting as the blacksmith who shod the animals.



The business under his capable direction expanded, capital was offered and the firm of Bodwell and Webster became the Bodwell Granite Company. At last with abundant capital he shortly developed his organization and himself until he became the leading granite man in the entire United States, just as his company became the most prominent granite producers in the country. In 1866, not satisfied with the quality of the Vinalhaven granite for monumental and artistic work, he looked around and found the type of granite desired at Hallowell. There he shortly established the Hallowell Granite Company and, while still remaining the president of the Bodwell Company, managed the second corporation with such success that Hallowell granite was shipped into practically every state in the Union. Statues of Hallowell granite, some of them colossal in size, are to be found today in many large cities across the nation. The granite was also used in the construction of public buildings at Washington, in New York, at Philadelphia and of course at Boston—just for a few examples.

Bodwell was not content with two great granite corporations but interested himself in many other activities far from his Hallowell home. He cut ice on the Kennebec and shipped it far and wide. He entered largely into lumbering operations and invested his money and time in land, in mills and even in a projected railroad between Boston and New York City. In 1879 he renewed his youthful interest in farming by forming a partnership with Hall C. Burleigh in which the two began the importation of pure-bred cattle to improve the standards of Maine cows. Among the types he favored were Hereford, Polled Angus and Sussex. He was also interested in sheep and brought into Maine the best Dorset Shropshire that could be obtained.

Although not a politician, until his nomination for Governor, he was a zealous member of the Party and served Hallowell as mayor for two terms and also represented the town for two terms in the Legislature. He was also an ardent prohibitionist and while his zeal for temperance made him enemies in some quarters, his transparent honesty and firm convictions caused him to win the support of a multitude of persons who cared little for politics. In later times, he would also have been widely known as a great leader in industrial relations, particularly in respect to labor—for he was noted for the kindness and consideration with which he treated all his many employees. He was also a great supporter of kindness to animals. Had there been a Maine Society for the Prevention for Cruelty to Animals at the time, he would have been its president and its major supporter. It is reported that he always told a new employee that, if any case of unkindness to animals placed in his charge was reported, he would be instantly dismissed. Naturally he was also deeply concerned in child welfare and was never too busy to give help and advice to young people. Doubtless he extended a helping hand to many youngsters in private. Against such a man, the Democrats had no weapon to use in a campaign, save that they could appeal to prejudice in that Bodwell was a very rich man—which they did.

The Democrats opened their nominating convention with the ways greased to give an uncontested nomination to Judge Redman but

there was sudden opposition to him amongst younger men—and he promptly withdrew his name. So the party nominated Clarke Edwards of Bethel, former colonel of the Fifth Maine, who had served with distinction during the Civil War. The result of the election came close to expectations. Bodwell won easily. The official tally: Bodwell 68,991; Edwards 55,289, and Clark, the Prohibition Party's standard bearer, 3,868.

Mr. Bodwell, an able and conscientious governor, failed to complete his term, passing away on December 15, 1887. He was succeeded by the president of the Senate, Sebastian S. Marble.

A President was to be chosen in 1888 and Blaine of Maine once again had many friends who believed that he deserved the Republican nomination. He was the natural leader of the party, particularly after Cleveland had come out boldly in an attack upon the protective system and the tariff. Blaine replied to Cleveland from Paris where he was at the time but, despite the urging of friends, refused to be a candidate. But if Blaine could not be President, he was at least the president-maker, and he sent orders to the party that Harrison of Indiana was the best man for the Republicans to select—and so Harrison was nominated.

In Maine, the Republican convention had a bitter battle over selecting a gubernatorial nominee. Naturally, Governor Marble wanted a term in his own right. Henry B. Cleaves of Portland, and State Treasurer Edwin C. Burleigh also tossed their names into the ring. Despite the opposition Burleigh proved to be an easy winner, taking the nomination of the first ballot by 775 votes to 473 for Cleaves and 190 for Marble.

Burleigh, a native of Linneus, Maine, and a land surveyor and farmer, had been unable to serve in the Civil War as a combatant because of his health but he did serve as a clerk in the office of the adjutant general. After various minor offices, in 1885 he became the State Treasurer, an office he held until his nomination for Governor. A kindly man with agreeable manners, he was not a good orator although capable as an organizer and persuasive in private conversation. Later in Congress he ably looked after Maine's interests, obtaining public buildings for his district and preventing a threatened reduction in the numbers of Maine's representatives.

The Democrats unanimously nominated William L. Putnam of Portland, an outstanding lawyer, and a man of high character. However, he was a poor choice in that he had failed in obtaining for America what Maine believed should have been accomplished in the fisheries agreement. President Cleveland had nominated Putnam to the American commission to treat with Canada but the terms agreed upon were generally found unsatisfactory by American fishermen and business men. The Democrats wanted to make an issue of modifying the prohibitory laws but on Putnam's insistence, the anti-prohibition issue was dropped because, as Putnam said, it was enough to have the tariff issue to fight.

While the Democrats may have approved Cleveland's tariff policy, most of Maine did not and Burleigh led Putnam by 18,000 votes. The official tally: Burleigh, 79,701; Putnam, 61,348; Cushing (Prohibition),



3,109. In November, as Maine had foretold, Harrison carried the country for the Republicans.

The years 1888-1889 were two of high honor for Maine in national affairs.

Early in 1888, Melville Weston Fuller of Augusta was appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Chief Justice Waite. Fuller was the son of a prominent Maine family. A graduate of Bowdoin and the Harvard Law



*Long Lake, Naples*

School, he practiced law at Augusta and also was associated with his uncle, B. A. G. Fuller, in the editorship of the *Augusta Age*. In 1856, he removed to Chicago and practiced there until his appointment as Chief Justice. His distinguishing characteristic was that of integrity, not only in such commonplace matters as honesty and decency but in all matters of his life. He remained true to his early principles throughout his long career.

Blaine of Maine had, of course, been responsible for Harrison's nomination and this debt Harrison repaid by appointing Blaine his Secretary of State. The appointment was also a testimony to the man's ability and to his leadership of the Republican Party.

As Secretary, Blaine displayed the New England qualities of aggressiveness and persistence, not very often exhibited by American Secretaries of State. An instance was the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine. Blaine urged Venezuela to pay France a sum demanded by France on threat of France seizing the country's custom house. If Venezuela did not pay, then America would seize the customs, just

to prevent European interference in Pan-American affairs. Next, Blaine forced moderation upon Mexico in a dispute that country was pressing against Guatemala and Blaine also urged Chile, which had conquered Peru, to be less harsh in the terms of peace Chile offered. All this was while Garfield was in office—as was the invitation Blaine sent in Garfield's name to have all American nations meet at Washington to arrange for permanent peace in the Americas. When Garfield's cabinet left office, President Arthur eventually withdrew the offer.

Blaine as a private citizen continued to work for Pan-Americanism and when he became Secretary of State again under Harrison he joyfully resumed his duties in that field officially.

In foreign affairs Blaine was equally aggressive although not always successful. At least, the United States did have a foreign policy, thanks to the man from Maine. A dispute with England over the Bering Sea fisheries went to arbitration and the United States lost—but at least the dispute was settled. With Germany there was a serious dispute over Samoa. Blaine's representatives cabled home that Bismarck was angry and they must yield somewhat or everything would be lost. Blaine cabled back that Bismarck's irritation was not a measure of American rights. So the United States stood firm and won a favorable settlement. Chile broke diplomatic relations with the United States over Blaine's refusal to give ground but at last Chile yielded rather than fight. He was influential in the early negotiations for the Panama Canal—indeed, although he was unfortunately too harsh in his methods and so aroused needless opposition, he did establish various fundamental policies and practices which have become traditional American ways.

The third man to win distinction at this time in Washington was Thomas Brackett Reed, a descendant of Governor Winthrop of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. A grandmother, Mary Brackett Reed, was a descendant of George Cleeve, one of Maine's earliest settlers. While Reed often spoke in a light vein of ancestor worship, he was proud of his stock, particularly of their strength of body and character. For example, his own father, for many years a sailor, mate or captain on coast-wise packets, later became a night watchman at a sugar factory and, to put his son through college, mortgaged the family home.

After graduating from Bowdoin, Reed taught high school at Portland, traveled to California and then, at the time of the Civil War, gave up his law studies to be acting assistant paymaster in the Mississippi squadron. After the war he began to practice law at Portland and served several terms in the Maine House and Senate. In 1879 he was elected attorney-general and in 1876 went to the national House, remaining there until his voluntary retirement in 1899.

In 1877, he was the leading Republican stalwart at work upon the investigation of the election of 1876, by which the Democrats hoped to uncover enough evidence of fraud to drive Hayes from the White House. As a result of his brilliant legal work, the Democrats were compelled to abandon all hope of forcing Hayes out of office, and the fraud issue, which was to have been a major item in the 1880 campaign, was thoroughly discredited.



Gradually, Reed became the acknowledged leader of the Republicans in the House. In 1885 and 1887 he was nominated for the speakership of that body but, as the Democrats were in control, this honor merely made him the leader of the minority. Finally, in 1888, the Republicans carried the House and Reed was chosen the Speaker. He was not unopposed however, for William McKinley of Ohio won some support.

Reed's Speakership is considered by many historians to have been the most memorable in the history of Congress. He effected several changes in procedure which greatly expedited the business of the nation. For example, custom had permitted members to break a quorum by sitting in their seats when a vote was taken. This practice, which Reed himself had formerly defended, had been employed as a method of stopping legislation by a minority. The Republican Party had less than a dozen majority at the moment and, since sickness, business and other causes, frequently made Republicans absent, an alert Democratic management could have an opportunity to jam business through—or, reverse the procedure and prevent legislation at will. Reed, who had previously spoken of the unfairness of the House permitting a minority to build a log jam by means of the quorum rule, determined to reverse himself and procedures.

He proposed that any members present, whether they voted or not, would be counted for purposes of establishing a quorum. He knew that bitter opposition would follow from both Republicans and Democrats but he decided to put his whole political future to the test. The storm he expected arose: he was called a Czar, a despot, a usurper and for three days the House was a perfect Bedlam. But Reed did not give way. He continued to preside calmly and methodically, giving no sign of impatience or exasperation—or even of resentment at the personal attacks hurled at him. He made great use of his power of irony, and sometimes of ridicule and when it seemed that his opponents were at their strongest, he would melt away opposition with a sentence which would still the uproar and make even his opponents break into cheers.

At last his proposal was accepted and it was incorporated into the Rules of the House. At the same time, another proposal of Reed's was adopted as a new Rule of the House. This grew out of Reed's refusal to put motions which were offered by members for the sole reason of delaying a vote upon an item of legislation. These were great personal triumphs for Reed. Of course, the Democrats when they came into control of the House in 1893, promptly repealed the Reed rules as they were known. However, the ex-Speaker patiently bided his time, and when an opportunity presented itself, he launched such a powerful filibuster that the Democrats themselves were obliged to re-adopt the Reed rules in substance. Since that time, the Reed rules have become a commonplace matter of parliamentary procedure in the House, being supported by both parties.

Reed was not merely one of the great leaders often found in Congress but he also possessed personal greatness. "Six feet, two inches in height, he had a massive figure and was most impressive with his weight of some 275 pounds. His eyes, under heavy and



arched brows, were hazel in color and very large and brilliant. They were such eyes as one rarely sees, and stamped him unmistakably as a man of genius. He was bald and his head and face gave him a marked resemblance to Shakespeare. . . .” He spoke slowly and moderately at all times, without any trace of affectation but he could at times deliver biting retorts while he commonly indulged in entertaining wit and drollery.

For example, Reed often enlivened the House by his treatment of Representative Springer of Illinois, a gentleman who frequently afforded Reed ample provocation. Once, the loquacious and frivolous Springer remarked on the floor of the House, “I’d rather be right than be President.” Reed flashed back with, “The gentlemen from Illinois will never be either.” Once Springer requested unanimous consent of the House to correct a careless statement. Reed assured him “No correction needed; we didn’t think it was so when you said it.” Springer once accused Reed of making light of his arguments. Reed replied, “If I make his remarks light, it is more than he ever does himself.” In summary Reed, although he failed to reach as great eminence as some other sons of Maine, undoubtedly was one of the best public servants the Pine Tree State ever contributed to the nation. Because of his life and work, these United States are a better nation than they would be if he had not given so freely of his life and his talents.

Back home in Maine, the principal interest in the 1890 campaign for governor was the death of one of the candidates. The Democrats had nominated Frank W. Hill of Exeter, a practical politician who was well known and had held various minor offices with credit. But a week after his nomination he died of bronchitis. The Democrats thus were required to hold a second convention and picked William P. Thompson of Belfast for their candidate. This second convention, being well managed, also risked angering the dries by adding a liquor plank to the earlier platform. The convention suggested that, since many people believed prohibition to be a practical failure, it was time to re-submit the prohibition question to the people and then, if prohibition was turned down by popular vote, to issue high licenses so that the sale of liquor would be properly controlled.

The Republicans renominated Governor Burleigh and he was easily re-elected. The vote stood: Burleigh, 64,259; Thompson, 45,360; Aaron Clark, prohibition, 3,864; and Isaac C. Clark, labor party, 1,296.

In 1892, another presidential year, Mr. Blaine was once again a candidate for the Republican nomination for the White House. His friends early suggested that he be a candidate but he refused, saying that his duties as Secretary of State made it impossible for him to oppose President Harrison. However, Blaine’s friends persisted and Blaine, at the last minute and much too late, suddenly resigned his cabinet post—thus making himself available. This took place just three days before the convention met. Harrison was strongly entrenched and it was much too late for even an astute politician like Blaine to establish a machine which would give him a chance at victory. Harrison’s administration had been able and honorable and it was well remembered that it had been Blaine himself who had



placed him in office four years previously. Of course, the President was renominated on the first ballot. The vote stood: Harrison 535  $\frac{1}{6}$ , Blaine 182  $\frac{5}{6}$ , McKinley 182 and Reed 4. This was a complimentary vote to Reed but it is recorded that Reed received "the most spontaneous ovation that the convention witnessed." It is not too much to say that, had Blaine and Harrison been evenly matched, at least to the degree that neither could have won, Reed might very well have received the nomination and so given Maine a president. A dark horse has often carried away a convention, rising from obscurity.

For Blaine the result was a grave mortification. Not only had the cherished ambition of his life been snatched away once again but his defeat upon the very first ballot was most distressing. In 1876 he had led on every ballot save the very last. In 1880, he had stood second on 35 out of 36 ballots; in 1884 he had been nominated—in 1888 he had been voted for, despite his refusal to run and his choice of a candidate had prevailed. However in 1892, he had been decisively beaten. The Man from Maine could not but believe that his star was setting.

Blaine promptly issued an appeal to all Republicans to close their ranks to assure Harrison's re-election but he failed for the first time to congratulate a successful rival. In a few months, however, Blaine's urbanity re-asserted itself and on the Sunday before election, he attended church and walked home arm in arm with President Harrison. If there had been an antagonism between the two old friends, it had finally vanished and the two were once again on the friendliest of terms—or so it seemed outwardly at least.

The Democratic convention in 1892 nominated Charles F. Johnson of Waterville over Galen C. Moses of Bath. Johnson, a Bowdoin graduate, clerked for the Boston and Maine Railroad while studying law. After passing the bar, he established himself at Waterville and, entering politics, became the town's city solicitor from 1887 to 1891 and served as mayor in 1893 and 1894. The convention "recommended" that the Maine delegates "support" Cleveland's renomination instead of "instructing" them to do so—a partial victory of those Democrats opposed to Cleveland. The convention also found courage to come out bluntly against high tariff saying that "free raw materials are absolutely necessary for the proper development of the vast natural resources of our state." Finally, the convention also had the daring to come out bluntly against prohibition, demanding the repeal of a law requiring two State constables in every county, on the ground that the act was both useless and expensive.

The Republican convention nominated Henry B. Cleaves, of Portland. A native of Bridgton, and a lawyer, he served Portland as city solicitor and, after being a member of the Legislature, served as attorney-general.

The Republicans carried the election by a smaller majority than the previous year. Cleaves received 67,900 votes against Johnson's 55,397. In the national election, the Democrats carried the nation and the Republicans, the state.

In 1894 both major parties renominated their 1892 candidate and, while the vote was light, the Republicans gained. Governor Cleaves received 69,322 votes and Johnson a mere 30,455.

In 1896, a presidential year, Blaine from Maine was for the first time in years, not a candidate. He had died in 1893. However Maine did have a candidate to present, Thomas B. Reed. Reed's position was strong. On the tariff issue, as Speaker of the House, he had been a bulwark against Democratic efforts to lower the protective walls. On the other major issue of the campaign, currency, he had a shining record of successful and unblemished support of "sound money." He had demonstrated his ability and courage and skill as a politician and as an administrator by his brilliant leadership of the House.

Yet, when the matter came to issue, Reed was beaten by McKinley of Ohio, the very man that Reed had beaten in the contest for the Speakership of the House. There were reasons for this. McKinley, though a less able protectionist than Reed, was more closely identified with the tariff in America than any other living statesman. His name was attached to the matter—as the McKinley Tariff of 1890. Also, McKinley had a most attractive personality. He liked to meet people and openly rejoiced in making friends. Fond of oratory, he was delighted to make speeches and lost no opportunity to travel about the nation to speak wherever and whenever his services were requested. Unlike Reed's ironical habits, McKinley was very kindly and never wounded the feelings of men with whom he came into conflict. Perhaps he was of the willow type. Reed was an oak in contrast, with his strength being his greatest weakness, in so far as gaining popularity went. Then, too, Reed as Speaker of the House was somewhat unfortunate in that it was his duty to thwart the schemes of ambitious and corrupt persons. His personal integrity, the loftiness of his principles, and his ability to cast ridicule upon questionable proposals—all united to create for him many enemies. McKinley by contrast, had no such obligations and could readily avoid injuring anyone by simply avoiding an issue or just by keeping quiet.

There was one other great factor in favor of McKinley—he had the clever Mark Hanna for a campaign manager. Whether it was true or not, Reed believed that much money was used against him, particularly in the South where it was alleged that Republican delegates were readily for sale. Joseph H. Manly, Reed's campaign manager, became convinced that Reed could not win and issued a statement that McKinley's election was assured on the first ballot. This angered Reed and many of his friends. Reed is said to have wired his manager, "God Almighty hates a quitter." Reed wanted to fight on but he was experienced enough to know that his cause was hopeless. Whether or not Manley sold out, as was charged at the time, cannot be determined.

Reed was bitterly disappointed because he felt he had been beaten by unfair and questionable means and he considered also that McKinley was a poor choice, being a lesser man. However, when the Democrats nominated Bryan on a free silver platform, Reed concluded that the welfare of his country was imperiled so, though he never forgot



or forgave, he did take the stump for McKinley. He wrote a friend, "One can't help a sense of disgust over some things, but there are issues at stake which are too important for anybody's mere personal notions. In fact, politics is mostly pill taking. Be a good man . . . and you will be rewarded in heaven—a good place if it materializes for any of us but Dingley."

When the Republican State convention met in Maine, the result was just as much a foregone conclusion as was the National Convention's nomination of McKinley. The *Argus* declared, "To sum up the situation briefly, the delegates are here to nominate Powers, to eat salmon and enjoy themselves as much as possible." How much the delegates did enjoy themselves, and how much Bangor Pool salmon they did eat is not recorded, but Llewellyn Powers was nominated by acclamation.

Powers had long been an active Republican wheel-horse and was due for his reward. He had served as collector of customs of Houlton, was county attorney for Aroostook and then, after a term in the State Legislature, had gone on to represent his section of Maine in Congress. This convention, knowing well enough that it was useless, urged the nomination of Reed for president, opposed free silver and urged a sound currency for the good of the nation.

The Maine Democrats likewise had no trouble picking a gubernatorial candidate, naming E. B. Winslow of Portland by acclamation, too, although he subsequently withdrew. The convention stuck to its guns in opposing prohibition and requested a resubmission of the liquor amendment to the people, suggesting the adoption of ". . . the Norwegian system of high license with local option." Oddly, the Maine convention swerved from the party line by opposing the free coinage of silver—although there was a split over the issue and the rebel Democrats later assembled, declared for free silver and nominated W. P. Frank of Portland.

The national Democratic convention, which nominated Bryan and adopted a silver platform, harmed the Maine Democrats, even though a Maine man, Arthur Sewall of Bath, was selected as Bryan's running mate. In the Maine election for governor the vote was: Powers, 82,596; Frank, 34,350; Ladd, prohibitionist, 2,669; Bateman, Populist, 3,292; Clifford, National Gold Party, 609. In the presidential contest Maine voted as follows: Republicans, McKinley, 80,461; Democrats, Bryan, 34,567; Populists, 2,387; Gold 1,866, and Prohibitionists 1,589.

In 1898, the Spanish War, long smouldering, came to its crisis. The destruction of the battleship "Maine," in Havana harbor, made the outbreak of war inescapable. Just as, after the passing of fifty years, the reasons for this war are still less than clear, at the time there was much opposition to fighting over something which was not of direct concern to the American people. Maine was well represented in the conservative element in Congress which struggled to prevent the war right up to the last minute; Senator Hale of Maine cast one of the few nays in Congress when that body voted 67 to 21 to recognize the government of Cuba.

Of course, Cuba had long been in revolt against Spanish rule and the harshness with which Spain maintained her dominion was



much criticized by many Americans. Americans through the years had aided the Cubans with money and with arms. When the rebels burned sugar plantations owned by Americans it was clear that the Cubans were trying desperately to gain American aid to obtain independence—placing the damage at the doors of the Spaniards.

Spain however assumed a more liberal attitude towards Cuba and promised the island full local self-government. President McKinley rebuffed the war mongers at this time by saying it was best to allow time to see how Spain's new policy worked out. The Cubans were unhappy over the change because they wanted independence and they established a propaganda lobby at Washington which made the most of every Spanish "outrage" and minimized everything discreditable to the Cuban revolutionists. Certain business interests joined the Cuban lobby and very powerful aid was given them by American newspapers, such as those owned by Hearst and Pulitzer. These papers clamored for war, grossly exaggerating stories of Spanish "atrocities" and building up a demand for American intervention as a duty to humanity.

Then came the destruction of the *Maine*, causing the death of two hundred and sixty officers and men. The outrage is still a mystery. Spain denied being responsible at the time, and still insists she had nothing whatever to do with it. Since Spain was anxiously endeavoring to avoid war with the United States, it really is unlikely that she caused the explosion. As an incident to bring about war, it was perfect—for the Cubans and the American business interests desirous of ousting Spain from the island.

Be that as it may, the outrage, like Pearl Harbor in 1941, inflamed the United States. Everyone believed that Spain was responsible and the demand for war became overwhelming. Congress voted \$50,000,000 as an "emergency measure for defense" and men and boys across the nation paraded with red fire and torchlights singing the slogan "Remember the Maine."

McKinley still tried to avert war. He sent an ultimatum to Spain, demanding an armistice while a permanent settlement was affected by negotiation. Spain acceded to the American demand but too late—for elections were approaching and McKinley was told that if he delayed actual war, he would ruin his party. Two days after Spain had agreed to all American demands, McKinley sent his war message to Congress. Spain replied with a formal declaration of war and hostilities began.

Seldom has military victory been swifter and more complete. Our naval strength was overwhelming for, not only did we have more ships but our ships were modern whereas the Spanish fleet was obsolete, falling apart literally, and lacking arms and ammunition. For the Spanish ships to fight was literal suicide.

Admiral Dewey in the Pacific annihilated the Spanish Pacific fleet at Manila Bay. In Cuba, the Spanish ships were blockaded at Santiago and, in an attempted escape, were totally destroyed by the American fleet under Admiral Schley. Meanwhile Santiago was assaulted by a land force under General Shafter and taken. General Miles occupied Porto Rico and the Philippines were conquered by



General Merit. The war was over without any important American losses in combat. However, the war demonstrated a great weakness in American armed services for the death rate in camps was terrific. Of the total of about 3,000 deaths in the American forces, nine-tenths were caused by disease.

Naturally, scandals flourished. Investigations disclosed that the Army contractors, for example, were furnishing very poor food, especially tainted meat. Responsibility for the disgraceful conditions was difficult to fix but, at least one good result came out of the war. When World War I came along, the Army Medical Department was much more efficient and the quartermaster service supplied abundant and good quality supplies.

Americans, having won the war, were characteristically generous in their peace terms with Spain but the war did have two very important effects. First, it marked the end of Spain's colonial empire in America, an empire that began in 1492 with Columbus and at one time made Spain the greatest of world powers. Second, it definitely turned the United States from isolationism.

Maine's share in the war was not great. The war was too small and fought so quickly that few demands were made upon Maine—as with all other states.

Maine did furnish one regiment of infantry, four batteries of heavy artillery, and a signal corps. These amounted to 1,717 non-commissioned officers and men. Of course, numbers of Maine men enlisted in the regular army and in the navy. The volunteer naval reserve associations of Bath and of Portland were also mustered into the United States service. The infantry regiment was not under fire, being on the point of embarking for Porto Rico when peace was declared. It suffered heavily from sickness while encamped at Chickamauga. The signal corps took part in the Santiago campaign.

Governor Powers has described Maine's part in the Spanish American War as follows, in part:

“The Secretary of War . . . expressly requested that Maine's quota of a Regiment of Infantry and one of Heavy Artillery, be filled from the National Guard as it was desired to have only men somewhat familiar with military drill and tactics. . . . We had already anticipated this request—directing officers to discharge all soldiers with physical disability . . . and that no new recruits be accepted unless they could pass the physical examinations established by the regular army. . . . Also orders for tents, clothing, blankets, and other necessary equipment were placed early. It was fortunate that we did this, otherwise, we would have experienced no little difficulty in obtaining many things that were very necessary for the proper equipment and comfort of the men. . . . Both regiments of the National Guard were ordered into camp at Augusta and found everything ready to receive them. . . . (We) attempted to persuade the War Department to accept both regiments instead of one regiment and one heavy artillery regiment, but (we were) unsuccessful. It was then determined that it was the right of the

First Regiment of the Guard to fill the call and that the Battery of Heavy Artillery should be enlisted from the Second Regiment of the Guard. . . . Notwithstanding the order to bring none but physically sound men into camp, . . . United States surgeons rejected nearly, or quite, one-third of the non-commissioned officers and men. Since the United States would not accept any complement until there was the requisite number of non-commissioned officers and men . . . there were great difficulties experienced. . . . Since the Second Regiment believed that there would soon be a second call and then the regiment could go as a unit, there was great difficulty in obtaining enlistments from the Second to fill the companies of the First. An exception was the Bangor Company, under Captain Dennett. He used his company to fill in vacancies in the First and himself accepted reduction in rank to second lieutenant. He was one of the best officers in the Guard . . . At this time, the University of Maine sent its more than forty splendidly trained volunteers, who enlisted as privates. It was an act the State should not forget. . . . While grappling with these and other difficulties, I was constantly receiving numerous applications from all parts of the State, from patriotic citizens who desired to raise companies, and who expected to be commissioned in these companies . . . If I had felt at liberty to disregard the instructions from Washington to use the Guard, and to accept these volunteer companies, I could have raised several regiments in a very short time, and at less cost to the State."

Governor Powers himself was a most patriotic American as is demonstrated by the fact when, learning a number of men could not volunteer unless some assistance was given to their families who were in urgent need, he paid on his own responsibility the same bounty that had been given to the non-commissioned officers and privates of the first ten regiments that enlisted in the Civil War.

In regard to the shadow of the Spanish-American War in Maine itself, the Governor had this to say:

"There was considerable anxiety in some of the towns and cities along the coast, fearing that they might be attacked by gun-boats or cruisers of the Spanish Navy. . . . Some persons were very urgent that an extra session of the Legislature be called. I could not comprehend how an extra session of the Legislature would furnish them with adequate or additional protection . . . I was convinced, after careful examination, that the only real and effective defense for our coast towns was to establish batteries and mines, and to obtain from the United States, cruisers to sail along the shores; and in conjunction with our delegation in Congress, we succeeded in obtaining two cruisers, and having the coast very generally and effectively fortified."



There are reports that some wealthy families in coast towns went so far as to arrange for flight inland and prepared underground hiding places for their silver and other valuables.

In 1898, the Maine campaign for governor was fairly quiet and the vote fell off considerably. The official tally: Governor Powers, Republican, 53,900; Samuel Lord of Saco, Democrat, 29,485; Ladd, Prohibitionist, 2,326; Gerry, People's, 649; and Lermond, National Democrat, 312.

In 1900, the Republicans nominated for Governor, John F. Hill of Augusta. Born at Eliot, Hill graduated from the Medical School of Maine in 1878 but shortly thereafter became a partner in the publishing house of Vickery and Hill at Augusta. This company did a thriving business in the publication of small and inexpensive magazines of wide circulation. He served in the Maine House and in the Maine Senate between 1889 and 1895. He is described as having been a distinguished gentleman, polished, urbane and handsome. He was also a skillful politician.

The Democrats renominated Samuel Lord. However, the Republicans' reign continued unbroken. Hill received 73,470 votes and Lord 40,086. Rogers, Prohibitionist candidate obtained 3,648 votes and Lermond, now Socialist, 653 votes.

#### POLITICS AND CONCLUSION OF THE CIVIL WAR AFTERMATH PERIOD

During the past fifty years, Maine's history has developed very differently from its nineteenth century course. Federal problems have greatly out-weighed State politics and the tremendous growth of national affairs has made Maine, like all the other states, less and less of a distinct unit. Properly, the history of Maine is thus much more readily comprehended under various headings—such as transportation, industry, education, agriculture, religion and the like—which have been segregated to form the second half of this work.

However, the development of Maine in such affairs as have been purely her own will be continued through 1950 in the following two chapters of this section. For the sake of clarity, nonetheless it is advisable to conclude this chapter which is concerned with the aftermath of the Civil War by giving a very brief account of political history up to the outbreak of the First World War. This War put a definite period to all that Maine had been in the preceding one hundred years of statehood.

To continue with politics therefore, in 1902 Governor Hill was renominated by the Republican Party and was re-elected by a majority of some 25,000 over his Democratic opponent, Samuel W. Gould of Rockland.

In 1904, the Republican nomination was given to William T. Cobb of Rockland over Bert M. Fernald of Poland and Charles H. Prescott of Biddeford. Mr. Cobb, a strong candidate, was elected easily over the Democratic nominee, Cyrus W. Davis of Waterville, the majority being 26,000. Both men were given the customary renomination by their respective parties in 1906, but this time the Republicans squeezed through with a mere 8,000 votes to spare. The reason for the Republican decline was Governor Cobb's attitude on prohibi-

tion, plus the so called "Sturgis Law." Senator Sturgis of Cumberland had fathered a bill which provided for the appointment of a special commission to enforce Maine's prohibitory law, giving the Governor authority to appoint deputy commissions for such enforcement. Governor Cobb had stood firmly on a prohibition platform for his election and his actions quarreled with his words, thus causing him to win the dislike of many men who often voted dry but lived wet. The prohibition laws were well enough on the books but many people had no desire to see them enforced to the point at which they would deprive them of personal liberties.

Bert M. Fernald, Cobb's Republican opponent in 1904, won the nomination of the party over Governor Cobb. Mr. Fernald, who announced himself as the champion of retrenchment and economy, had also the very powerful support of the Ricker family, owners of the famous hotels at Poland Spring and the Samoset House at Rockland. Fernald's only serious opponent, William T. Haines of Waterville, withdrew his name from the convention and urged an unanimous nomination.

The Democrats nominated Obadiah Gardiner, the master of the Maine State Grange, in hope of winning the agricultural vote. The Republicans enjoyed this fact since they proved at the top of their lungs that Gardiner was not in fact a farmer, as all the land he owned was a house and lot. Instead, the Republicans cried, "Look at our Fernald who has a real stake in agriculture, since he owns a great canning factory."

Then there was some play made upon Gardiner's Christian name, the allegation being made that Maine would look odd with a Governor named Obadiah. Mr. Gardiner tried to turn this to his advantage by asserting, "In a book which I fear my opponents do not read, as much as they ought, I find that there was once a governor named Obadiah and that he was a *good* governor and I would suggest that history often repeats itself." However, history did not repeat itself this time, for Fernald was elected, leading Gardiner by some 7,000 votes.

For a man who had campaigned on a platform of retrenchment and economy, Fernald acted unusually, for his administration gave the Democrats ample ammunition with which to bring charges of grave extravagance. Added to this fault, he offended the more radical Prohibitionists by vetoing a bill which would have made imprisonment the sole punishment for certain violations of the liquor laws. So the Democrats felt elated and believed that with care and energy they had a good chance at long last of winning the next State election.

For their standard bearer, the Democrats selected Frederick W. Plaisted of Augusta, a son of Harris M. Plaisted. A man of very pleasing personality, Plaisted was put into nomination by the former candidate, C. F. Johnson, who pointed out that what the party needed was the man who could win the most votes. "That is the question of right and justice, for the People of Maine look to the Democratic Party, for they may look nowhere else." Gardiner promptly threw his full support to Plaisted and he was nominated on the first ballot. Fernald was renominated by the Republicans as a



matter of course, for they had been in power so very long, they did not dream they needed to worry about having a popular candidate. The election was a great shock to the complacent Republicans for Plaisted led Fernald by nearly nine thousand votes. The Democrats also carried the Legislature.

This was important since it also gave the Democrats the opportunity to pick a United States Senator from Maine, as Senator Hale's term expired in 1911. The Democrats promptly replaced Hale with Charles F. Johnson. Then, to fill the Democratic cup to overflowing, Republican Senator William P. Frye died and so the Democratic Legislature sent another Democrat to Washington, none other than Obadiah Gardiner.

That year the Democrats pushed through their long-advanced constitutional amendment to Maine's constitution which would have annulled the prohibitory amendment of 1884. This amendment, however, was rejected by a close margin after a very sharp contest. It is significant that, for the first time, the prohibition support divided sharply between city and country—for in this election eighteen of the cities of the State voted against prohibition.

In the 1912 election, the Democrats were once again confident of victory because of the split which had divided the Republicans into Regulars and Progressives after the renomination of President Taft. However, the Republicans, anxious to regain control of Maine, managed to patch things together so far as the State candidates were concerned, leaving the national contest wide open. The Republicans nominated William T. Haines, their unsuccessful candidate in the previous State election. The Democrats renominated Governor Plaisted. Haines fell just short of a majority but he did beat Plaisted by 3,229 votes. The Republicans also carried the Legislature although the Democrats did carry Maine for Wilson, giving him 51,113 votes to 48,495 for the Bull Moose Roosevelt, and 26,545 for Taft. The Republicans sent ex-Governor Burleigh to the United States Senate to succeed the temporary Democratic Senator Gardiner.

In the Maine Gubernatorial election in 1914, the split between the Regular and the Progressive Republicans was so wide that it could not be bridged, with the result that once again, the Democratic candidate received the prize. The Republicans renominated Governor Haines, the Progressives chose Halbert P. Gardiner of Patten, and the Democrats selected Oakley C. Curtis of Portland.

In 1916, the political wheel of fortune made another turn, for the Progressives returned to the fold and the Republican candidate, Carl F. Milliken, was easily elected. In the presidential election this year, Maine also rejoined the Republican ranks.

Two United States senators had to be chosen in 1917, since Senator Burleigh died in 1916 and Senator Johnson's term expired in March of the following year. Since the amendment giving the election to the people of Maine was not in force, and the Legislature no longer picked United States Senators, a sharp contest was waged but the people gave the full term to Frederick Hale and the balance of Burleigh's term to ex-Governor Fernald. The Democratic nominees were Senator Johnson, who had sought to succeed himself, and Dean

(now President) Sills of Bowdoin College. The appearance of Sills was one of the rare instances in which a distinguished scholar has sought political preferment. Senator Hale enjoyed the unique distinction of being the third generation of United States Senators in his family. His father was Eugene Hale, who served Maine for 30 years, and his grandfather was Zachariah Chandler, United States Senator from Michigan.

Governor Milliken received the customary renomination from his party in 1918 and he was reelected without too much difficulty. His administration was marked by his earnest efforts to really enforce the laws of Maine, such as his action in enforcing Sunday closing at Old Orchard Beach. He also removed Sheriff White of Penobscot for failing to enforce the prohibition laws. White sought reelection but he was soundly defeated, the people thus endorsing Governor Milliken's action. Probably Governor Milliken's greatest service to Maine came during World War I—but that is a matter discussed in the following chapter.



## CHAPTER VIII

### *The Twentieth Century*

*and*

### *World War I*

POLITICS—1920-1928

**S**TRICTLY speaking, World War I should have been covered in the preceding chapter but, following the plan for this work, it seems advisable to continue the political history of Maine up through the Coolidge and Hoover Era and to consider World War I in this chapter because of the effects of that conflict upon Maine in the Twenties.

Governor Milliken, the War Governor, treated later in this chapter, marked his administration otherwise by an attempt to enforce neglected laws, especially in the matter of the Sunday laws at Old Orchard Beach. This action gave the Democrats some grounds for attacking the Republicans in the 1918 election but Milliken was reelected and the Republicans secured an overwhelming majority in both houses.

When 1920 came around, once more Maine demonstrated that the State was soundly Republican. Warren G. Harding, the Republican candidate for the presidency, was given 136,355 votes while the Democrat aspirant, James M. Cox, received but 58,961 votes. This is a most remarkable increase in Republican strength as the 1916 totals were: Charles Evans Hughes, 69,506 and Woodrow Wilson, 64,188.

In the contest for governor, The Republican candidate, Frederic H. Parkhurst, received 135,393 votes against the 70,047 polled for his Democratic opponent, Bertrand G. McIntyre. Parkhurst held office very briefly, for he died on January 31, 1921. In his place, for the term ending in January of 1923, Percival Proctor Baxter, a native of Portland, was selected. He had long been prominent in Maine politics as a Republican, serving in both houses of the Legislature and being a delegate to the Republican National Convention. A graduate of Bowdoin College and Harvard Law School, Baxter bore the reputation of being a reformer, even of being a liberal. He championed the woman suffrage bills in the Legislature, fathered the first anti-vivisection bill passed by any State Legislature, pushed through the law requiring the reading of the Bible in public schools and worked diligently for conservation—being largely responsible for the establishment of Mount Katahdin State Park. When he became Governor, he broke with a century of tradition by appointing women to public office.

During his term of office, Baxter was interested in legislation in harmony with his previous accomplishments. For example, Maine began the regulation of aircraft, initiated laws for the perpetuation and increase of the forest, amended the State prohibition laws to

harmonize with the National law, amended legislation on teachers' pensions to give them larger benefits, and provided that women should not be exempted from jury duty on the ground of sex—with the provision that nurses were as such automatically exempted from service because of the value of their profession.

In September, 1922, Baxter was reelected governor by a vote of 103,713 over the vote of 75,256 obtained by his Democratic opponent, William R. Pattangall. In his message to the Legislature, Baxter made a plea for better enforcement of the laws of the State, for a reduction in taxation, for the encouragement of small farmers, for better marketing conditions for farm products, for the encouragement of the salt water fisheries, to preserve Maine's water power in the interest of the people of Maine, and for the construction at State expense of storage reservoirs to conserve Maine's water resources.

The Legislature also during 1923 provided for the establishment of associations for the cooperative marketing of agricultural products and made it a criminal conspiracy for two or more persons to arrange that one should sell liquor to the other in violation of the law.

Again in 1924 Maine continued her traditional Republicanism. In the September State elections, Ralph O. Brewster, the Republican candidate, received 145,281 votes against the Democrat, William R. Pattangall's 108,626. In the contest for United States Senator, Republican Bert M. Fernald, seeking re-election, defeated by 50,000 the Democratic candidate, Fulton J. Redman. As an echo of earlier Maine politics, when the Know-Nothings were active, the Democrats accused the Republicans of having the support of the hooded knights of the Ku Klux Klan. In the November elections, the Republicans again triumphed, Calvin Coolidge receiving 138,440 votes, John W. Davis, Democrat, 41,964, and Robert M. LaFollette, the Progressive, 11,382.

Governor Brewster, a native of Dexter, a graduate of Bowdoin and of the Harvard Law School, was a successful lawyer in Maine. He had long been active in Maine politics, serving as a member of the Maine House of Representatives and of the Maine Senate.

The Legislature, in its 1925 session, added a cent to the gasoline tax, making it three cents; it provided for the sterilization of certain victims of mental disease; it declared as common nuisances all places of resort by the habitual users of "narcotic" drinks, and also provided that motor vehicles could not be registered until the owners had obtained insurance or bonds against any possible property or personal damage and injury. Brewster devoted himself to an attempt to readjust the tax situation. Since Maine, in 1920, had rejected a proposed constitutional amendment which would have established a personal income tax, he did not seek to have the issue revived but instead worked for taxes on certain types of intangible property, such as mortgages, stocks and bonds—an idea certainly acceptable to farmers.

In 1926, United States Senator Bert M. Fernald died and in the necessary special election to fill the vacancy, November 29, 1926, Arthur R. Gould of Presque Isle, was chosen over Fulton J. Redman, the perennial Democratic aspirant for the office.





Portland Harbor

The State election of 1926 gave Brewster re-election as Governor; his vote being 100,776 over his democratic opponent, Ernest L. McLean's, 80,748 votes. McLean's relative good showing was the result of his having served two years as Mayor of Augusta. The election also returned all four Republican representatives to the United States House. This election was marked by the defeat of the proposed amendment which would have permitted the use of State funds for private schools.

The Legislature during 1927, aside from increasing the tax on gasoline from three to four cents, was noteworthy for two actions. One was the matter of changing the method of taxing railroads. Formerly railroads were taxed on their gross income; the Legislature changed this so that taxes were levied on a graduated scale based on the proportion of gross income to net income. Governor Baxter pointed out that this would mean a loss of some \$300,000 annually to the State and his veto was warmly approved by farmers. However, the Legislature repassed the bill over the veto.

The other action was the fight over the proposed repeal of the direct primary Act of 1911. Finally the matter was referred to the people in the form of a special referendum on October 18, 1927, and the repeal of the direct primary was defeated by a vote of about two to one. Governor Baxter campaigned vigorously for a return to the convention system of nomination while Governor Brewster favored the direct primary.

The political campaign of 1928 was one of the more bitter squabbles of the times. Delegates at the State Democratic Convention, held at Waterville, April 3, 1928, instructed their delegates to the national convention, to be held at Houston, Texas, to vote for Alfred E. Smith of New York for president. This was accomplished only after much fighting. Ernest L. McLean, who had been the Democratic candidate for Governor in 1926, was shouted down when he sought to speak against Smith and Mrs. William R. Pattangall, wife of Justice Pattangall of the Supreme Court, was hissed when she said she would never support a wet Democrat.

In addition to the Smith difficulty, the election for both parties was complicated by conflicting opinions on liquor and religion and, of special import, the control of the water power resources of Maine.

The Republicans had a party battle over the nomination for United States Senator. Frederick Hale, the third generation of his family to serve in the Senate, contested the prize with the present Governor Ralph O. Brewster. The primaries gave the nomination to Mr. Hale on June 23, 1928, with 77,830 votes to Governor Brewster's 44,524. For Governor, the Republicans nominated William Tudor Gardiner while the Democratic nominees were, for United States Senator, Herbert E. Holmes of Lewiston, and Edward C. Moran, Jr., for Governor.

Probably religion and prohibition aside, the only important issue in the 1928 campaign was the water power question. For years a controversy had raged over outside control of Maine's public utilities, an argument which came to focus upon the particular point of the exportation of electricity generated in Maine by Maine water.



In the 1927 session of the Legislature, a bill had been considered which would have incorporated the Fish River Power and Storage Company, an adjunct to the projected power development by the International Paper Company on the St. John River in New Brunswick. This bill was finally rejected by the Maine Legislature on the ground that it was not in the best interest of the State of Maine to provide water storage facilities for Canadian power development. It was in this same legislative session that a considerable controversy was occasioned by the Smith-Wyman bill which provided for the limited exportation of hydro-electric power generated in Maine. Governor Brewster vetoed this bill and there was some clamour for a special legislative session in 1928 to enact a water power bill to protect the interests of the State of Maine.

The famous Samuel Insull, soon to be an object of pity, but then a mighty force in the paper empire he had constructed, was the figure about whom Maine's water power controversy centered. He had acquired a position of dominance over a disturbingly large portion of Maine's public utilities and it was feared by many articulate citizens of Maine that Insull would shortly "grab" all of Maine's water power and also the Maine Central Railroad. Insull caused a bill to be introduced into the Maine legislature, which, as above, would have modified the Fernald law that prohibited the exportation of hydro-electric power. The Legislature passed the Insull bill and Governor Brewster vetoed it. The Legislature thereupon sustained the veto.

On the national scene, Insull had favored the questionable seating of Frank L. Smith, of Chicago, in the United States Senate and when Senator Hale of Maine voted in favor of Mr. Smith, Senator Hale was attacked as being another Insull tool. Even Governor Brewster, who lost the Republican nomination to Mr. Hale, attacked Senator Hale on this issue, alleging that Hale was aiding in the "Insullization" of Maine's public utilities.

Knowing what was to happen to the great Insull Empire, and what a pathetic figure he was to become shortly, it is difficult to realize how important an effect that Jack-o'Lantern bugaboo had upon the minds of many Maine voters in 1928—the year before the Great Depression began. The Democratic nominee for Governor, Edward C. Moran, Jr., of Rockland, made the most of the Insull fears and caused the Republicans considerable concern. Governor Brewster, who could support the regular party nominee, William Tudor Gardiner, with good grace, was won over by a plea of party loyalty and he came out strongly in support of Mr. Gardiner, declaring that the Republicans too were opposed to any possible loss to Maine citizens by foreign control of the State's public utilities. On the water power issue itself, Mr. Brewster said he was speaking for the Republicans as well as expressing his own personal views when he declared he was opposed to the exportation of Maine's hydro-electric energy unless it was certain that should Maine need the energy, the interests of the State would be guaranteed service. It was made clear that outside capital was needed to develop the great electrical generating plants and systems and that, even with exportation of the product,

it was good business for Maine to permit limited exportation provided the interests of the state were properly safeguarded.

Of course liquor figured prominently in the 1928 campaigns, too. Herbert Hoover, the Republican Presidential candidate, had taken a firm stand for prohibition. Prohibition was popular in Maine too, at least as far as voting went, and so the Republican Party's candidates in the general campaigning defended prohibition.

Eventually the Republican position on power and on prohibition was appreciated by Maine voters for the State went Republican yet again. William Tudor Gardiner received 81,000 more votes than his Democratic opponent, Mr. Moran, while Frederick Hale in the contest for the United States Senate received slightly more than 80,000 votes over his Democratic opponent, Herbert E. Holmes.

This ends a survey of Maine politics during the second decade of the Twentieth Century. The Depression was looming ahead but of course no one knew it until it was well established. That affected politics.

Another force affecting Maine politics and Maine life in almost every detail all through the Twenties, and the Thirties, too, for that matter, was World War I, which is now to be considered.

#### WORLD WAR I

From the very beginning of American history right down to and including the war in Korea in 1950, Maine men and women have always been distinguished for uncalculating patriotism and unselfish devotion to the Nation. In the hour of need Maine has always rallied to the national call, and the outbreak of War with Germany in 1917 found Maine ready as always to do its part—and more.

As in other wars, many Maine men served in naval and marine units and organizations which, since they were national in scope, cannot well be treated in a purely Maine history. Only such military units as were Maine's own can well be treated. The services of Maine citizens in the Regular Army, the Navy, the Marine Corps, the Coast Guard and the rest, and the high devotion and outstanding services given by many civilians, both in Maine and beyond its borders must also largely go unmentioned. However, it is safe to say that Maine men and women, whether at home, in Washington, on the mud of French fields, on the high seas, in the air—wherever there was duty to be obeyed—did their work well.

To begin with, consider the available statistics of Maine's direct contribution to the winning of World War I. In 1917, Maine had an officially estimated population of 788,884 persons. On the average every one of these contributed in one form or other direct funds to the value of \$147 plus a few cents. This was given as follows: \$104,094,150 to various Liberty Loans, \$8,362,586 in War Savings and Thrift Stamps, and \$1,163,238 to United War Work Campaign, \$1,892,328 to the Red Cross, \$332,995 to the Young Men's Christian Association, \$58,381 to the Young Women's Christian Association, \$59,289 to the Knights of Columbus, \$19,983 to the Salvation Army, \$3,421 to the War Library Fund—a total of \$115,986,371. Compared with other



states, the average Maine citizen is not over-burdened with worldly goods, either.

During World War I, Maine received official calls to furnish the armed services with a total of 14,655 men. The number actually furnished the government was 15,704, the additional number being sufficient to meet replacements for men rejected for various reasons at the camps.

The twenty-four local draft boards, in June 1917, and in the summer of 1918, furnished a total of 67,178 men. Of this number 22,996 or 34.2 per centum were listed as Class I. A total of 1,896, or 2.8 per centum received deferred classification because of agricultural status, and 894 or 1.33 per centum were deferred because of their value in industry. On the 12th of September, 1918, the Maine Draft Boards registered 43,096 men between the ages of 18 and 36 years. Of these 17,397 were placed in Class I, or 40.4 per centum. Ten per centum, or 6,810 were classified as physically or mentally disqualified and four per centum, or 2,634 were given special ratings for special or limited service.

Of the 22,646 physical examinations given Maine registrants 14,765, or 65.9 per centum were found physically qualified for general military service and put into Class A. This gave Maine a very favorable position in the nation—as compared with the nation's best of 82.82 per centum in Oklahoma and the nation's worst of 53.68 in Rhode Island. Maine's percentage of Class A was also the highest of any of the six New England states. Approximately 9.5 per centum of all the registrants accepted for service by Maine examiners and sent to camps as qualified for service, were rejected upon further tests by the governmental examiners. The national average of such rejections was approximately eight per centum. Maine ranked twelfth on the list of States in this particular.

One of the special activities of the organization of World War I was the Students' Army Training Corps, which was established October 1, 1918. Admittance to the Corps was open only to registrants of Class I grade in the September registration and was by individual induction. Branches of the Corps were established at all Maine colleges in addition to a naval section of the Corps at the University of Maine. A total of 1,070 Maine men entered the SATC plus 62 in the Naval section. Since the war ended that fall, with the Armistice of November 11, the Corps was discharged in December.

Many Maine men did not wait to be drafted and so enlisted voluntarily. Maine is accordingly officially credited with having contributed in one way or another a grand total of 32,032 fighting men which was nearly five per centum of the State's population at the time. This figure is doubtless well under the real total, whatever it may have been, because, after Maine put into effect its Soldiers' Bonus Law, a total of 32,249 men were paid. Thus with 14,765 actual draftees listed, Maine supplied more than as many more volunteers.

The official credit for fighting men from Maine in the War given by the United States Government as follows, by counties: Androscoggin, 2,747; Aroostook, 2,731; Cumberland, 6,430; Franklin, 837; Hancock, 1,267; Kennebec, 2,729; Knox, 1,018; Lincoln, 474.

Oxford, 1,530; Penobscot, 2,420; Piscataquis, 793; Sagadahoc, 719; Somerset, 1,269; Waldo, 605; Washington, 1,835; and York, 2,628.

More than a thousand of Maine's soldier, volunteers and draftees, paid the supreme sacrifice. Many times that number were wounded; some of whom have recovered, some of whom have not.

Mobilization of Maine manhood actually began early in 1917. The war in Europe had been under way since August of 1914 and, while there were many multitudes of Americans who devoutly prayed for peace, it became increasingly evident that American participation on the side of the Allies against Germany was inevitable. The only question was—when?

On February 6th, the work of mobilizing Maine began with the following directive issued by Maine's Adjutant General:

"Although no call has yet been made for the National Guard, yet it is possible that such may come within a short time, and it is incumbent upon every loyal citizen of this State between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years of age to consider his duty to his State and Nation.

"The best way to support the State and the United States is to join the National Guard now and be trained in order that your services may be of an actual and tangible use whenever the call to arms comes. This point should be made very plain to the people of your locality, and you are urged to use every effort possible to secure enlistments and bring your command up to the National Guard war strength requirements."

On April 7, 1917, the revision of the Military Law by the State Legislature retained the provision, adopted first in 1911, which had required biennial enrollment in the Militia in April so that the Governor might direct enrollment whenever he considered it necessary. The last previous enrollment had been made eight years before, in 1909, so the Governor early in 1917, directed that another enrollment be made.

Accordingly the Executive Office issued the following memorandum:

"For the purpose of recruiting the national Guard organizations up to the maximum statutory strength, until further order recruiting stations will be established in all armories. The recruiting parties will consist of two enlisted men who will be detailed by the organization commander (of each organization).

"All armories will be kept open from 8:00 A. M. until 10:00 P. M., Sundays included. . . . The enlistment men will be allowed state pay of grade and commutation of subsistence at 75 cents a day. . . ."

Despite the fact that the Declaration of War came on April 6, 1917, almost at the time that National Guard recruiting was initiated in Maine, all units were at full strength within the month and accordingly, the recruiting offices were closed on May 6.

Under the leadership of Maine's great War Governor Milliken, the closing days of the Seventy-Eighth Legislature were marked by



the passage of many details of necessary legislation. All subjects or citizens of the Imperial German Government were required to register within twenty-four hours of the Declaration of War. Also each subject or citizen of "such foreign country" was required "to register his name, residence, place of business, length of stay and such other information as may be required." Fines and imprisonment were provided for those who failed to comply. There were not very many German citizens in Maine.

One act increased the penalties for "Malicious Mischiefs and Trespasses." Another act provided a five thousand dollars fine and imprisonment for any term of years for "persons who knowingly and willfully destroy or injure any public building, armory, breast work, trench, fortification, wharf, pier or dock . . . public water supply. . . ."

Another Act provided for the issuance of bonds and notes to the amount of a million dollars to "Defray Expenses Incurred to Suppress Insurrection, Repel Invasion or for Purposes of War." Another allowed for the appointment of "special Deputy Sheriffs . . . citizens not eligible for military service."

Other legislation provided for the "Taking of Land for Forts and other Purposes . . . whenever public emergencies might require it; for the "Support of Families of Volunteers . . . support of the wife, aged, infirm and dependent father or mother and other member of the household of a soldier, sailor or marine . . . actually in the military or naval service of the United States or of this State." The amount of aid so provided was four dollars a week for adults, and a dollar and fifty cents for a child under the age of fifteen years. The amount so paid to any family, for any one soldier, sailor or marine, was limited to a total of ten dollars a week.

A Maine Home Guard was also established, the act providing for an organization maintained, officered, armed and equipped and enlisted for service within the State. The Guard, when called to duty had the powers of constables, save for the service of civil process, and all the powers of policemen and watchmen. They were to be paid as in the scale provided for the National Guard. In fact, the Home Guard replaced the home services of the National Guard.

A State Constabulary was also provided for—"for the better protection of the State's inhabitants."

Any person owning, purchasing or storing dynamite, powder or other explosives was required to file with the town or city clerk of his municipality a statement of ownership, possession, sale or purchase.

Finally, the Legislature provided relief for persons in the armed services in the matter of "Suits in Court . . . authorizing the continuance without costs of suits . . . and exempting from attachment or seizure upon execution personal property to the amount of one thousand dollars in addition to that already exempted by law, from the date of enlistment in and during the term of such service."

The first Maine soldiers to go into service as a National Guard unit were those of the Second Maine Infantry which, on April 26, 1917, was ordered on duty at points throughout the State where sabotage was feared—such as railroad terminals and yards, bridges and the

like. This duty assignment was continued until July 5, when the Second Maine Infantry was ordered mobilized at Augusta to prepare to leave the State for training. The Maine Naval Militia was ordered mobilized the sixth of April, the same day that war was declared. On April ninth, the two Portland Divisions and that from Rockland were sent to the Boston Navy Yard where they were given active naval service. Officers and men were given various assignments; some on transports and patrol boats, others, for a time, at the Navy Yard and at Boston's Commonwealth Pier.

Other Maine units taken into the Federal forces in the early months of the War included:

Company C, 14th Regiment Engineers (Railway) was recruited from employees of the railroads in Maine and, upon being organized as a railroad unit was mobilized on June 20th at Camp Rockingham, Salem, New Hampshire.

A Motor Transport Unit, Quartermaster Reserve Corps, was recruited by John E. Bunker of Bar Harbor, then the Executive Secretary of the Maine Committee on Public Safety, and on June 20th, the unit was mustered into the Federal Service. Designated as chauffeurs—sergeants, the unit was mobilized at Fort Strong, Boston Harbor, September 6th.

A Field Hospital Unit, originally led by Major Bial F. Bradbury but later commanded by Captain Temple of Togus, was recruited in Maine and on August 11th, mobilized at Fort Ethan Allen, Vermont.

Two Ambulance Companies were recruited with the assistance of Major William L. Cousens of Portland. One was mobilized on August 9th at Fort Ethan Allen, Vermont; the other at Allentown, Pennsylvania, at about the same time.

By August, all of Maine's National Guard strength had been mobilized and taken into the Federal Service, which left the State without the protection of a military organization in event of disaster, riot, or invasion. Accordingly, Governor Milliken obtained from the War Department authority to raise an infantry regiment of National Guard. This new regiment was to be fully equipped by the War Department and under its control but would not be in the Federal Service until called, while the policy was understood to be that the newly organized National Guard Units would be used for police service within their respective states.

Men of military age, who had not been called into the armed services, were eligible for enlistment in the new Maine regiment. It was provided that, if these men should subsequently be drafted, they would be discharged from the State unit and mustered into the Federal service. The armories in Maine used for the original National Guard companies were made available for the new units.

Orders were issued on October 1st, to initiate the organization, officers were appointed and the recruiting of companies began shortly at Portland, Livermore Falls, Waterville, Bangor, Brunswick, Biddeford and so on.

On the morning of December 6th, the dreadful Halifax explosion occurred. The French munition ship *Mount Blanc* and the Belgian Relief Steamship *Imo* were in collision in Halifax Harbor. The



resulting explosion and fire virtually destroyed the northern part of the city and the village-suburb of Dartmouth, resulting in the deaths of nearly fifteen hundred persons and in the injury of several thousands.

No formal request for aid for the stricken city in Nova Scotia was received by Maine but Governor Milliken hearing that medical aid, supplies and bedding were critically needed, immediately began arrangements to send a relief train eastward.

Early on the morning of December 8th, a relief train steamed away laden with carloads of supplies and medical unit made up of the following officers: Major Gilbert M. Elliott of Brunswick, chief surgeon; First Lieutenants Frederick T. Hill of Waterville, Thomas A. Foster of Portland, William J. O'Connor of Augusta and Harold W. Garcelon of Lewiston; also the following officers of the Medical Section, National Guard Reserve, First Lieutenants Elbridge G. A. Stetson of Brunswick, Joseph H. Murphy of Dexter, Justin S. Barker of Kennebunk and Ardonne A. Stott of Woolwich. At Waterville, Doctors D. B. Cragin and P. S. Merrill and five nurses joined the train. At Bangor, Doctors J. F. Cox and J. B. Woods of Bangor and Dr. C. M. Thomas of Brewer joined the train. Included in the train were 2,000 blankets and 1,000 cots. A second carload of blankets and bedding, raised by the citizens of Bangor and Penobscot County, was added to the train at Bangor. Red Cross supplies were added, under the charge of W. A. Hennessy, Secretary of the Bangor Chamber of Commerce, while the military supplies were in charge of Captain William C. Goodwin of the Quartermasters Department.

Immediately upon arrival at the stricken city, the medical personnel went to work in the temporary dressing stations, performing emergency surgical duties. Meanwhile, the Maine team was assigned to the Halifax Women's College Building as a hospital. The building had been partially unroofed by the explosion, many windows were blown in, and the rooms were filled with snow and ice. However, Major Elliott and Captain Goodwin rounded up a gang of carpenters, masons, plumbers, electricians and other workers, shoveled out the snow and ice and put the building into shape for emergency use. Seven wards with a total of two hundred beds, a dental room, emergency dressing room, dispensary and operating room were quickly readied; and patients were being cared for within twenty-four hours of the building being assigned to Maine's use. The Maine teams also organized and staffed emergency dressing stations at the borders of the devastated area to give immediate first aid as bodies of the injured were removed from the wreckage. Canadian nurses were made available for the hospital to help the white-capped girls from Maine.

The supplies arranged for by the military department, after the needs of the hospital had been satisfied, were distributed, together with other supplies obtained in Halifax, under Captain Goodwin's direction. This relief work was carried along quietly, without any publicity or advertising or any kind of red tape or delay. The only question asked was as to need. Supplies were then instantly distributed.

The Maine medical quartermaster unit remained on duty at Halifax until December 23, when the Maine hospital and supplies were turned over to Captain A. A. Goodman, Army of the United States. That day, the Maine doctors and nurses and National guard officers left for home. This Maine Medical Unit rendered valuable assistance to the Halifax victims. Much praise was earned by the Maine men and women who dropped their personal affairs and interests at the call of humanity and rushed to Canada to carry on the work of relief faithfully and efficiently. Working day and night without compensation they earned for Maine the appreciation of Nova Scotia.

When, on April 6, 1917, Congress declared war, the draft was inevitable and the President, by the act of Congress passed on May 18th, was empowered to issue the call to arms. The Act asserted that the obligation of service was universal but provided for certain exemptions such as those indispensable to agriculture or industry or necessary to other activities required for the conduct of the war. The Act also established the principle that men drafted should not only be of suitable age and strength but should be selected with the least possible domestic hardship.

The first call included men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty, inclusive, and these were required for a future drafting.

In Maine, the day before the law was enacted by Congress, Governor Milliken announced the names of the men who were to make up the sixteen county boards of registration. Each county board consisted of the sheriff, the county clerk of courts and a physician. Each county board selected the registrars for each voting precinct.

On May 22, the Governor called a meeting at the State House for the appointed officials. The oath of office was administered, and the members were carefully schooled in their duties and responsibilities. On June 1st, Governor Milliken issued the official proclamation calling for the men of Maine within the prescribed ages to register on June 5th. His words established the tone for the entire conduct of Maine men in the war. The proclamation read, in part:

“ . . . The call to registration will come to the young men of Maine not only as the summons of law but also as an opportunity to perform with spontaneous enthusiasm a patriotic duty. No fear of penalties will be needed to assure universal response to the summons. I urge upon all our citizens the importance of aiding in every way possible to make the registration a hundred per cent efficient and to surround it with enthusiasm appropriate to the occasion.

“ . . . Maine has always been staunch in her patriotism. No flag of a Maine regiment has ever been surrendered to an enemy. On this most momentous day in the history of our country, I confidently summon our entire citizenship to a triumphant demonstration that shall be worthy of our glorious tradition.”

Maine carried out its duty faithfully with more than 60,000 men being registered on the day appointed without disorder—indeed



without even the disturbances which commonly attend an ordinary election day.

Then, in accordance with governmental instructions, Maine was divided into twenty-four local board districts. One board was set up for each county, with the exception of Androscoggin, Aroostook, Cumberland, Kennebec, Penobscot and York, which were divided into two districts while the City of Portland, held separate from its county, was given the remaining two districts. The local boards were organized into two groups of twelve, comprising the First and the Second Districts, the dividing line being geographically east from west.

These local boards were directed to take over from the registration boards the cards of the 60,000 Maine men listed and to assign a serial number to each. The drawing of the serial numbers took place in the Washington Office of the Provost Marshall General on July 20—the famous fish bowl drawing which, concerned with the lives and fortunes of nearly ten million young Americans, was probably the greatest lottery ever held.

The order in which the numbers were drawn from the fish bowl determined the relative order of liability to be called for military service of the registrants having such numbers. Thus No. 258, the first one drawn, meant that each registrant in each state throughout the country whose card was serially numbered 258 automatically became No. 1 and each local board was obliged to call him first for service. This system was devised as being the fairest under which the selection of draftees could be made. Every registered man was liable but chance alone determined the order in which the men were called for examination—and induction. A total of 10,500 numbers were drawn and nearly 17 hours were required to complete the task. The highest number in any local draft board in Maine, Division 1, Penobscot County, was 3,864; so Maine men knew the order in which they would be given their Greetings from the President, fairly early.

While the local boards were busy preparing for the detailed business of selecting the draftees, it was not until July 12th that the Federal Government set the gross quota for Maine. Credits were allowed for the Maine men who were in the military service of the United States as members of the National Guard on April 1, 1917, or who had since that date entered the military service of the United States either as members of the Regular Army or as members of the National Guard. No provision was made for credits for enlistment in the United States Navy, the Marine Corps, the Army Reserve Corps or the National Guard Reserves.

Maine's gross quota, fixed by the government proportioning the number of men needed in relation to the population of each State, was 7,064. Enlistment credits were set at 5,243 (considered rather low in contrast to the fact). This gave the draft boards of Maine the net quota of 1,821 men. As an example of Maine's patriotism, the enlistments credit was 74.09 per centum, as opposed to the enlistment credit percentage for the entire nation of 40.42 per centum. Maine had the second highest percentage of enlistment credits of any State.

At once, enlistments jumped at Maine centers and the counties of Cumberland, Kennebec and Oxford, and the City of Portland, not only furnished enough men to entirely meet their quotas so that no draft call was issued then, but also had a surplus of enlistment credits. The extra credits were apportioned amongst the other counties in ratio to their populations. On August 8th, the War Department ordered that thirty per centum of the first draft call be filled by September 1, 15 and 30, with the balance as soon thereafter as practicable. Federal delays in the construction of mobilization camps and lack of supplies forced the postponement of these calls until later.

The United States, through the War Risk Insurance Act, signed by the President on October 6th, provided for family allowances, allotments, compensation, and insurance for men in the military and naval services. This law gave a family allowance of not more than \$50 monthly in addition to the sum separated by the man concerned from his pay. Allotments were scaled as follows: wife only, \$15; wife and one child, \$25; wife and two children, \$32.50, and then \$5 a month additional for each child to \$50. Soldiers with no wife but one child, \$5; two children, \$12.50; three children, \$20; four children \$30, and then \$5 additional for each other child. Soldiers with one parent, \$10; with two parents \$20. These amounts, it may be remarked, seem a little small. Maine recognized the situation and provided, as of April 17, 1917, for the payment of \$4 a week to the wife, aged, infirm and dependent father, mother or other member of the household, and \$1.50 a week for each child under the age of fifteen, dependent upon "such soldier, sailor, or marine; provided that the sum paid should not exceed \$10 per week for all persons dependent upon one soldier, sailor or marine."

It has been pointed out that, in some cases, the Federal allotments, plus the State of Maine payments, gave a larger and more certain income to a man's family than the registrant was providing for them prior to his entering the armed services. With this condition in mind, the local draft boards found it difficult to discover in many cases that any financial dependency existed. Nevertheless, the State of Maine's citizens had the idea firmly in mind that the draft law assumed that marriage, regardless of dependency, was a good and sufficient reason for exemption. Hence the action of drafting married men for service would have subjected the draft boards to such criticism that many local boards, despite instructions to the contrary, hesitated to take men away from their families, particularly if there were small children involved.

In passing, it is of interest to note that Maine under its law for helping the dependents of men in armed services paid out \$596,173.35.

For a time, it cannot be denied, there were numbers of slackers who found Northern Maine and some of the coastal cities a refuge from their home town draft boards. Naturally, in the northern counties of the State there was a rather large floating population of men who registered for the draft while working in the lumbering industry. A very large proportion of these woodsmen were illiterate



foreigners, who were often unable to write at all. The names they gave to the registrars were not easily pronounced by the officials and certainly were seldom correctly spelled on the cards. As for the woodsmen who could write, their penmanship was rather poor and many cards could not be deciphered. Thus the records were not all usable.

Hence the local draft boards concerned could not in many cases properly notify the registrants in all cases that they were to appear



*Part of Village of Orland*

for physical examination. In addition, many registrants, who were characteristically nomadic and irresponsible, neglected to inform the boards with which they registered of their rapid changes in address. Thus other notification cards were returned by the Post Office as undeliverable. The same condition prevailed along the coast where men, who were sailors, simply gave their addresses as "on board" this schooner or that ship. Often they changed employment or jumped ship in one port or another and their notification cards never reached them.

All this resulted in the registrant becoming a delinquent and, eventually, a deserter. Official analysis of the reports from local boards shows that the average ratio in the State of Maine of the number of men who failed to appear for examination to the number called was 7.17 per centum on the first call. Hancock County had the lowest ratio of delinquents,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per centum, while the City of Bangor, where the floating population was largest, had the highest ratio. Aroostook, Franklin, Piscataquis and Somerset also had high



ratios due to the large number of woodsmen in that area while in Sagadahoc and York, the ratio was also high, due to the floating labor then employed in the shipyards.

Probably the large majority of these cases were not deliberate draft-dodgers. Most of the men concerned were so illiterate that they scarcely understood what their obligations were and, in a very large number of cases they simply drifted about from job to job and from place to place in the manner in which they ordinarily behaved.

However, there was a small group of men, relatively small, that is, who set out from the very beginning to be draft dodgers. These found an ark of refuge in Maine—for a time. The lumber camps of Northern Maine were in dire need of men to fell timber to meet the mushrooming market for wood. Employment agencies at Boston and elsewhere would hire anything that wore trousers and could stand up so, all summer and fall of 1917, the trains into Maine carried men of draft age who had signed with out-of-state employment agencies for work in the Maine woods. One look at most of them would tell any State of Mainer that these city men had never touched an axe in their lives. This condition soon attracted attention and, while efforts to stem the tide of evaders at its source met with little success, in Maine itself officers boarded the trains to weed out the draft dodgers. These officers also visited the lumber camps and other places of woods employment. Men of obvious draft age were required to produce their draft cards so that their classification could be noted. Those who did not have satisfactory cards, or who were doubtful in any way, were taken into custody for investigation. This prompt action in Maine stopped the influx of slackers into the State for the Boston employment agencies no longer found it profitable business, since they lost the railroad fares which they had advanced.

The shipyards along shore were also a haven of refuge for slackers during the first year of the war, for men were so badly needed that little attention was given to examination of draft classification cards. However, when the Emergency Fleet Corporation took charge, this carelessness was soon corrected and the average age of men employed in the yards rose very rapidly.

The process of taking draftees into the services was very simple. After a registrant was found physically acceptable, and exemption was not allowed, he was formally inducted. At specified times, groups of these men were assembled and placed upon a train for transportation to a mobilization camp. Many of these young men were not only leaving home for the first time in their lives but many of them were also going outside of the State of Maine for the first time. Thus a member of the local draft board frequently gave them a short talk upon their duties, responsibilities and the rest, together with some fatherly advice upon how to conduct themselves in the strange, new existence upon which they were entering. Each contingent of draftees leaving for duty was usually escorted to the railroad station by a parade, featuring military bands, cheers of men and tears from women. Often a soldier's last impression of his home town was a sea of waving flags and handkerchiefs and a blaring band.



The first contingent of selectees from Maine, consisting of ninety-three men, left Maine on the night of September 4th and arrived at Camp Devens, at Ayer, Massachusetts on the morning of the 5th. They were the first draftees to be received at that tremendous military establishment. These men were delayed for the evening at Portland and were hospitably entertained by Portland citizens.

The first contingent of five per centum of Maine's quota, coming from Aroostook Division 2 and Piscataquis, made a good impression at Devens for they were assigned to the 303rd Field Artillery—a branch of the service which required men of unusually good health and extra good physique.

The second contingent of forty per centum of Maine's quota, 728 men, entrained on September 19, 20 and 21 and, also mobilized at Devens, were similarly assigned to the 303rd Field Artillery, with the exception of some men who were assigned to the Depot Brigade. The third increment of forty per centum from Maine was received at Devens on October 4th and the final increment of the first draft was mobilized at Fort Williams at Portland Harbor. The final contingent of Maine men in the first draft were taken into actual service there on December 15th. Thus the first draft call was completed in Maine.

Before the second draft call could be issued it was necessary to revise the draft regulations in order to raise the necessary manpower for the armed services while at the same time not interfering more than was necessary with the production of food, lumber, manufactured materials, shipbuilding and all the other activities upon which the winning of a war depends almost as much as it does upon armed men in the mud.

So the various Classes were set up. Class I included those whose immediate induction into the armed services would least interfere with industrial, economic and agricultural activities. Married men with dependents were not listed in this class and skilled labor was given deferment. In shipbuilding even unskilled labor was also given deferment and this resulted in a great rush for the shipyards.

Class II included married registrants, and fathers of motherless children.

Class III included certain governmental and municipal officials, registrants with dependent parents and the like.

Class IV included married registrants whose wife or children were mainly dependent upon their labor for support.

Class V included certain Government officials, ministers of religion, divinity students, persons in the military and naval services, alien enemies, resident aliens who had not declared their intention of becoming citizens, persons with permanent physical and mental disabilities, felons, and licensed pilots.

The classifications were not too clear and there was an overlapping division of authority between the local draft boards and the district boards in the matter of fixing classification and deferments. Thus a man might be listed in Class I by his local Board and in Class II by the District Board, to which the registrant had the right of appeal—both findings being made on the same set of facts.

Probably few men who served the nation during World War I were subjected to more severe criticism, worked so faithfully and rendered such unappreciated service as the draft boards. The problems met and solved required not merely all but continuous labor but the exercise of sound judgment as well as the administration of impartial justice. It is to the great credit of both the members of the draft boards and the patriotism of the State of Maine that this work was accomplished without friction and without the manifestation of dissatisfaction on the part of everyone directly concerned.

Many important problems had to be solved, questions for which there were no precedents for guidance. The available registered manpower of Maine had to be grouped according to its industrial importance, and hundreds upon hundreds of individual claims for deferred classification on account of dependency and engagement in agriculture or industry had to be investigated and decisions made. Furthermore, all this work had to be accomplished with as little disturbance as possible to domestic and industrial conditions; the important objective always being that the primary purpose of the boards was to provide men for the armed services.

It had been anticipated that a period of sixty days would be sufficient for the draft boards to complete their tasks but the first part of 1918 was devoted to the classification of the registrants of 1917 and the summer to the job of classifying the registrants of June and August of 1918.

Mobilization had been suspended in December of 1917, after the first call had been completed, but the work of mobilization was again begun in March of 1918 and, in addition to their work of classification and of determining deferments, the boards also had the arduous work of calling into service and superintending the entrainment of selected men requisitioned on general and special calls, as well as arranging the details of registering new classes in June, August and September.

In the registration of June 5, 1918, approximately 4,900 young men registered in the State of Maine. Since this registration provided only about ten percent as many men as the registration a year previously, a second registration was held on August 24th for men who between that date and June 5 had reached the age of 21 years. About 1,100 such youngsters registered then in Maine. These were treated as registrants in the class of June and were assigned registration and order numbers accordingly.

It was apparent all across the nation that the supply of Class I men so registered and classified would not meet the demands of the armed services. So it was necessary to either begin calling upon other classes of registrants or else to register a new class with extended age limits. Accordingly, Congress chose to set the ages at eighteen to forty-five, both inclusive, and a new registration was held on September 12. The great task of classifying these new registrants was under way when by Presidential order on November 30, 1918, the work was discontinued.

Soon after the declaration of war, the Governor established the Maine offices of the Selective Service System in the office of the



Adjutant General and Timothy F. Callahan of Lewiston, formerly State Auditor, was named Disbursing Officer in May of 1917. He served for several months until William E. Lawry of Augusta, who had been the executive clerk of the Selective Service Office since its establishment, was commissioned a captain of infantry, December 4, 1917, and detailed to the Office as Assistant Executive Officer and Disbursing Officer. Captain Lawry served in charge of the Office until his death on September 23, 1918.

The American Medical Association was requested to nominate for appointment as an officer of the Army Medical Corps, a physician and surgeon, who could take charge of the medical examination work of selectees in Maine. Dr. Bial F. Bradbury of Norway, for many years a commissioned officer of the Maine National Guard, was so selected and, after being commissioned a captain, was detailed as Medical Aide to the Governor.

Rev. E. S. Philbrook of Augusta was placed in charge of the Delinquent Section soon after the establishment of the new regulations, November, 1917, and was later transferred to the work of preparing for the registration of 1918 and of organizing and directing the Boards of Instruction.

The Investigation Section was placed in charge of Harry B. Austin of Augusta in March of 1918 and he remained in office until the close of selection. He had the responsibility of investigating charges of delinquency, desertion and draft evasion, cases of deferred classification which were the subject of complaint, and the direction and supervision of the State Constabulary.

An Information Section was established and put under the supervision of Gertrude A. Gerald. This section answered all queries regarding State and Federal aid, war risk insurance, troop movements, casualties, discharges and a large volume of miscellaneous questions from persons having relatives in the services.

Manning S. Campbell of Augusta was placed in charge of the Supply and Mailing Section. This office was responsible for the multitude of printed forms and papers received from Washington and distributed to local and district boards. The office also filled requisitions for supplies from the boards.

An important supplementary service was soon required by the local and district boards as registration, classification and induction became difficult. In November of 1917, a Central Committee was appointed to assist the Governor in naming Legal Advisory Boards. This panel consisted of: Attorneys John A. Morrill of Auburn, chairman; William H. Ingraham of Portland; Normal L. Bassett of Augusta, and Attorney-General Guy H. Sturgis of Portland.

Each local board was required to suggest to the Central Committee the names of three men to be appointed as a legal advisory board for their jurisdiction. The Central Committee considered the nominees and recommended them to the Governor for appointment—an appointment actually made by the President upon the Governor's nomination. These legal advisory board members had the duty of being present when the local boards were conducting business. It was their specific job to aid registrants in understanding the true

meaning and intent of the Selective Service Law and the Regulations, and to assist the registrants in making correct and truthful answers to the questionnaire. They had no legal authority; they were advisory only.

The three members of these local advisory boards by September were merely the nucleus of this legal section, for the work was so heavy that many other lawyers and competent laymen were called in to help. During September of 1918, the number so giving their services amounted to 2,464 associate members, in the State of Maine. All this work, much of it difficult, was without compensation, but Maine's legal profession responded practically unanimously and so rendered a great service to Maine towns and the State. It was in no small measure because of the work of the legal advisory boards, that the people of Maine had such remarkable confidence in the justice of the operation of the Selective Service Law—as well as an appreciation of the efficiency with which the law was administered in the State of Maine.

Similar to the work of the legal advisory boards in organization and value was the work of the medical advisory boards. These Boards had the responsibility of examining registrants whose cases had been appealed by the registrant, by an appeal agent, or by the local board.

Maine was divided into twenty-five advisory board districts and 136 medical men were appointed in units of three or more to serve these districts. The first appointments were made by Governor Milliken, actually nominated by him for Presidential appointment, as early as December 5, 1917. These boards consisted primarily of general practitioners but, whenever possible, specialists were added, particularly in the fields of diseases of the eye, ear, nose, throat and teeth.

Maine medical men served on these boards without compensation and, while their work was necessarily not publicized, they gave their time cheerfully and steadfastly whenever required. During the late summer and fall of 1918, the influenza epidemic imposed a very great handicap upon medical men throughout the State—as in many parts of the nation. Maine suffered severely from this disease and at times, even by working the clock around, day after day, the doctors could not, in some communities, answer all the private calls made upon them. This interfered naturally with the work of physical examinations of the selectees—but the medical men kept working and in time met their responsibilities in a most creditable manner.

The organization charged with the operation of the Selective Service Law in Maine also received much valuable assistance from individuals and organizations which, while not actually a part of the system, none the less provided invaluable cooperation.

For example, the Maine Committee on Public Safety, organized in April of 1917, supplied much information collected through its members concerning the status of registrants who had been granted exemptions and deferred classification. This Committee also reported on cases of suspected enemy aliens and espionage.

Another example was the American Protective League. This was an association of patriotic citizens, serving without pay and



pledged to aid the Government in carrying on the war in a civilian capacity. Members gave valuable aid in investigating charges of delinquency, desertion and draft evasion. Other organizations, most of them well known, worked faithfully in helping the selectees en route to camp.

No account of the Selective Service activity in Maine could be complete without comment on the value of the services contributed by the State's newspapers. The papers universally gave hearty cooperation at all times, giving freely of space to inform the public of all details concerned with the administration of the law. This publicity regarding the several registrations, assignment of order numbers, calls for physical examination, delinquents, quotas and all other matters—every one of public interest—contributed beyond measure to the smooth and efficient functioning of the Service Law. Maine's papers have always been patriotic and public spirited and in World War I, they simply carried along in the tradition of the profession.

After the Armistice, of course, the work of the draft boards was soon cut sharply. Nevertheless, a vast amount of clerical work remained to be done and many weary weeks and months of seemingly endless detail were required to wind up the vast amounts of necessary paper work. The definite order to terminate the Selective Service Organization in the State of Maine was not given until May 15, 1920. The Selective Service Act had provided a new and untried method of raising a great National Army. The work, as in Maine, was carried out promptly and efficiently and was so free from any suggestion of injustice or discrimination that the law gained the respect and consequent support of the people. The success of the law in World War I proved of tremendous importance in the drafting of many more men in World War II—just as the drafting being conducted in 1950 is proceeding smoothly and efficiently.

The following summary of the work of Maine local boards in World War I gives an idea of the magnitude of the task the men of Maine met so successfully in administering a new law without any body of precedent to guide them:

Androscoggin No. 1, total registration, 7,589; Androscoggin No. 2, 5,932; Aroostook No. 1, 8,576; Aroostook No. 2, 9,348; Cumberland, No. 1, 3,421; Cumberland No. 2, 7,145; Portland, No. 1, 8,083; Portland, No. 2, 7,175; Franklin, 4,139; Hancock, 6,077; Kennebec No. 1, 5,881; Kennebec, No. 2, 6,624; Knox, 5,192; Lincoln, 2,923; Oxford, 8,176; Penobscot, No. 1, 9,806; Penobscot, No. 2, 9,488; Piscataquis 4,375; Sagadahoc, 4,408; Somerset, 8,210; Waldo, 3,966; Washington, 8,292; York, No. 1, 7,106; and York, No. 2, 6,739. The total of Maine registrants 158,671.

Now for the actual history of Maine men in the fighting.

The several companies of the Second Regiment of Infantry, Maine National Guard, as previously noted, were summoned to duty of April 12, 1917, and, as also mentioned, mounted guard duty at various vulnerable points throughout the State on April 30. Regimental Headquarters, Colonel Hume commanding, were established

at Camp Keyes, Augusta, in addition to the Supply Company, commanded by Captain Greenlaw, and the Machine-Gun Company, commanded by Captain Ashworth. Battalion headquarters were established as follows: First Battalion, Major Hadley, at Biddeford; Second Battalion, Major Mayo, at Portland; and Third Battalion, Major Southard, at Brownville.

This guard duty was terminated in July 5, 1917, when the regiment was mobilized at Augusta for war training. Recruiting had been initiated, as mentioned, in May and all the companies were by July at full strength of one hundred and fifty men each. The Second Maine Infantry was the first National Guard regiment to reach full strength in the United States.

On July 25th, the Second Maine was formally called into the service of the United States and the drafting was completed on August 5th. That date was the day upon which all men were discharged from the National Guard and became members of the United States Army. Training at Camp Keyes continued until August 19, 1917, when the regiment was shifted to Camp Bartlett, at Westfield, Massachusetts, where training continued. The organization chart of the United States Army required that an infantry regiment should have the strength of 3,600 men so, accordingly, the Second Maine lost not only its name but also its character. The members of the Regiment were made into the 103rd Regiment, United States Infantry and united with officers and men from the First New Hampshire Infantry, the Sixth and Eighth Massachusetts Infantry, the First Vermont Infantry, and Troop B, Rhode Island Cavalry.

The new regiment was in command of Colonel Frank M. Hume with his staff, including officers of the former Second Maine: Lieutenant-Colonel Frank B. Cummings of Portland, Majors Walter J. Mayo of Foxcroft, William R. Southard of Bangor, and John A. Hadley of Rumford. Captain Frank E. Drake of Farmington was Adjutant, and Captain Albert Greenlaw of Eastport, Supply Officer.

The Regiment was assigned to the Fifty-second Infantry Brigade of the Twenty-Sixth Division. This Division was almost entirely composed of volunteers from the various New England states and naturally became known as the Yankee Division. Brigadier-General Charles H. Cole was originally in command of the Division but he was shortly replaced by Major-General Clarence R. Edwards, who had been in command of the Northeastern Department of the Army—until August 22, 1917.

On Saturday, August 26, 1917, the 103rd was reviewed in style by Governors Milliken of Maine and Keyes of New Hampshire, as well as by the new Divisional Commander, General Edwards. Since it was anticipated that the day might be the last occasion on which the relatives of the men might have an opportunity to visit before the division went overseas, the review was attended by many thousands of relatives and friends of the men from the State of Maine.

Actually, embarkation for Europe did not begin at Hoboken, New Jersey, until September 24th, when the first unit, the First Battalion and Machine Gun Company sailed. The rest of the Division soon followed and the various voyages on such ships as the



*Celtic* and the *Lapland* were made without any disturbance. After a short stay in England, the Division, in its various units, was slipped across to France quietly. The First Battalion of the 103rd Regiment was the first to cross, on the night of October 16th. The Second Battalion followed on the 19th and the First on the 20th. Landings were made at Le Havre. The Twenty-Sixth Division was the first American Army division to be fully organized with complete personnel and it was the first completely organized division to arrive in France.

Almost immediately, the units were placed into box cars and given a thirty-six hour ride in French troop trains to the village of Liffol-le-Grand, 3,000 inhabitants, in the Department of the Vosges. Division headquarters was established at Neufchatel, a city about 25 miles from Chaumont, the city where general headquarters for the American Army had been established. In this little village in the mountains, the soldiers from Maine were billeted and thus they had their first taste of how French peasants and the middle-class lived. The French, naturally, welcomed the Americans with expressions of enthusiasm. Americans were regarded as saviors. The term "Uncle Shylock" was not used for Uncle Sam until after the war was won.

At once, the 103rd was put to work learning the devices of intensive trench warfare, such as was then the existing stalemate along the Western Front. A detachment from the 162nd Regiment, French Infantry, was assigned to the 103rd to demonstrate just how to stay alive as long as possible. In addition, the 103rd was given harsh instruction in gas mask drill, bayonet in-fighting, grenade throwing and all the rest. Fortunately, the American Army officers, who anticipated that the trench stalemate would be broken eventually, trained the regiment also in our national tradition of open warfare maneuvers—a training which was most useful during the last victorious months.

Of course, the army being the army, in addition to digging trenches and carrying out the usual camp policing, the men from Maine were, in turn, put at work on such jobs as loading and unloading freight cars. Each labor unit had to march ten kilometers to the depot at Liffol, and then march back ten kilometers when the job was done. However, since the French and British were being very hard pressed, the 103rd, like all units of its Division—and all other American units in France—, was given very concentrated training. Everything possible was crammed into the men's heads.

Baptism of fire was not long delayed. On February 5th and 6th, the 103rd was dispatched to the front and on the 8th of February, 1918, the men took over front line trenches in the Chemin-des-Dames Sector, north of Soissons. This line was held by an alternating arrangement with French troops until March 19th. Of course, this first tour of front line duty was primarily intended as a sort of graduate course of instruction. Each battalion of the 103rd occupied the front line in turns, and briefly so. The sector was at the time quiet and yet there was enough action to inure the men to what was coming. In addition to building trenches, wire entanglements, and in

carrying out scouting, liason work, sanitation and the like, as well as solving the matters of maintaining supplies under difficulties, there was constant screaming of shells overhead, the whine of rifle bullets and visits now and then from German aircraft.

Casualties were very few; one officer and four men being killed by shell fire, one man by rifle fire. Several more were wounded. Two of the men killed were from Maine. These first Maine men to be killed by Germans in action were: Ralph R. Spaulding of Madison, Company H, February 13, 1918; Joseph P. Chaisson of Milo, Company F, February 24, 1918.

On March 19th, the regiment was withdrawn and, after a five-day march, returned to a point near the original training area, for rest, refitting and further training. It is of interest to note that, even as the 103rd was marching from the trenches, and French infantry taking their places, the Germans opened a vicious drive for Paris which eventually carried through the Soissons and Chateau-Thierry area. Indeed, the 103rd was both strafed by German planes and shelled by German artillery—but no serious casualties were suffered. The French unit that relieved the 103rd was overwhelmed by the advancing Germans and all but annihilated. Such could have been the fate of the 103rd if it had not been relieved the day it was.

By this time the 103rd was well-trained and perfectly hardened for actual combat and training was cut short. The German drive, which was the last big German offensive of the war, was assuming dangerous proportions and every available man was needed if the drive was to be halted. On April 2, the 103rd was jammed into motor trucks and rushed, with as much speed as possible in the mud and mire, to the front again.

The 26th Division took over the line from Apremont, situated just east of the St. Mihiel Salient, to Bois-de-Jury, including Bois-de-Remieres on the right, where the French forces joined. Divisional headquarters were established at Boucq. This was the real thing, for not only was the enemy active but the Yankee Division, anxious to prove itself, was aggressive. The trenches were deep in mud and water, because of the almost perpetual spring rains, and the German fire was both heavy and constant. Very soon after taking over the trenches, the men from Maine had their first taste of gas. Early on the morning of May 10, 1918, amid a heavy artillery barrage, the Huns let loose clouds of phosgene and mustard—both deadly killers. Fortunately, the Germans were not expert in gas warfare and little damage was done, even if the Maine men were green in this dreadful experience. However, casualties were heavy; more than two hundred men were wounded and twenty-one killed, mostly from shell-fire.

On the morning of June 16th, the Maine men had their first real, desperate battle. The Huns had carefully prepared a frontal attack and some six hundred picked infantrymen, reinforced with strong battalion elements, plunged at the American line at the village of Givray—or what remained standing of it. The Americans were taken by surprise but quickly rallied. During the thirty minute barrage which preceded the bayonet assault, the Americans went to their assigned positions and, although outnumbered, Company I, 103rd Regiment,



gallantly held its position. Meanwhile, once the attack had developed, the supporting units of the American Army poured in a counter-barrage, machine-gun bursts and so the attack ended. The regiment lost twenty-eight men, killed, mostly from Company L, with a few from Company M on the left and Company E on the right. One member of the company was taken prisoner by the Huns but the company sent out a volunteer detail and snatched him back quickly.

General Gerard, commanding the Eighth French Army, and General Passaga, commanding the Thirty-Second French Corps, highly commended the American troops engaged in this action. And a similar commendation was received from General Headquarters, American Expeditionary Force.

On June 27 and 28th, the Yankee Division was relieved and moved back from the front to the vicinity of Toul. To replace the sector of the front held by the Y D, an entire French Division and the Eighty-second Division of the A E F was moved into position. The transfer was well planned and so skillfully executed that the ever-watchful Germans were unable to capitalize upon the situation and not a man was lost through enemy action.

A few days later the 103rd was sent to Le Ferte, northeast of Meaux. Regimental headquarters were set at Saucy with the Third Battalion, the Second Battalion was set at Citry and the First Battalion at Nanteuil—both villages on the bloody Marne River near the Chateau Thierry salient.

Then, on July 4, 1918, the first units of the Y D moved up near Montrenil-aux-Lions and within a few days relieved the Second Division, A E F, consisting of the Ninth and Twenty-third Infantry and the Fifth and Sixth Marines—units which, in June, had so valiantly stemmed the German onrush to Paris. Headquarters of the 103rd Regiment was placed at Voie-du-Chatel. The Second Battalion relieved the Marines in the Belleau Wood, with the First Battalion in support in the Bois-de-Gros-Jean, and the Third Battalion in the wood northwest of Montrenil in reserve with the Marines. The First Battalion relieved the Second on July 12th.

On July 15, 1918, the Germans made determined attacks against Vaux, just north of Chateau-Thierry, with extraordinarily heavy high explosive bombardments and gas attacks before the bayonet attack was launched. The men of the Twenty-Sixth Division, who were defending the village, met the Huns with energetic rifle and machine gun fire. Aided by American artillery, the 26th completely halted the German onslaught and killed many Germans besides taking a few prisoners as souvenirs.

The Germans, who were finding that time was running short, renewed the attack on the 16th, once again leading off with a tremendous barrage, but again the Yankee Division repulsed the Huns with grave losses to the enemy. Both days however, the German artillery kept pounding the American lines with high explosives and with mustard. In addition the Yankee Division, all elements of which participated, suffered from rifle fire and bayonet attacks so that, for the two days of this Champagne-Marne defensive, the Division lost 538 men, killed, wounded, gassed or missing. However, the 26th



Division held the line and so prevented the Germans from crossing the Marne. Thus the right flank of the attempted drive on Paris was halted.

The fighting in this sector was very different from previous experience which the 103rd had gained in the Soissons and Toul sec-



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tors. There the actions were more or less static, being the familiar trench-type of combat. In the Marne defense, at least in the American sector, there were no trench systems for defense. Instead the only cover the men had was that of the badly shattered forest and such fox-holes as they were able to dig while high explosives rained down about them. However, this open warfare is the type in which Americans excel and it is interesting to note that the Champagne-Marne defense marked the shift of the entire war from trenches to open combat—for on the morning of July 18th, 1918, two days after the Y D beat off the second German attack, General Foch opened his



counter offensive which was not halted until the beaten Germans sought the Armistice, November 11th.

The opening of Foch's offensive found the Yankee Division the only troops between the Germans at Chateau Thierry and Paris. Thus it fell to the Y D to mount the attack in the sector west and north of Chateau Thierry, which town was situated at the extreme southern point of the deep salient which it was the Allied strategy to envelop. According to the plan of the general offensive, the left of the division, fronting to the north, was to pivot on Bouresches and, with the 167th French Division on its left, was to swing gradually to the northeast. Then the right of the division was to attack to the east and north, swinging to the northeast, and thus bringing itself into alignment with the general front and to be in a position for a general advance to the northeast.

Three battalions of the Fifty-second brigade were to make the attack on the left of the Division, the Third Battalion of the 103rd on the extreme left attacking with the village of Torcy and the railroad just beyond as objectives. The Third Battalion of the 104th Infantry had the towns of Belleau and Givray as objectives, while the Second Battalion of the 103rd was to charge out of Belleau Wood and to occupy the area between Belleau and Bouresches.

The Third Battalion of the 103rd, Major South commanding, went over the top at 4:35 on the morning of July 18 and in twenty-five minutes had taken Torcy. The battalion had taken twenty-five prisoners and had lost only one man killed and five wounded. This was the first offensive launched by an American battalion in the war. The Battalion was also the first American or Allied unit to reach its objective all along the entire front in this general offensive—which halted the Germans in their tracks and initiated their collapse.

Meanwhile, a platoon of the M Company of the 103rd, had fought its way into the village of Belleau, taking fourteen prisoners but being unable to meet its orders of maintained contact with the Third Battalion of the 104th, which had delayed its take off until 7:45 because of confusion in the early morning darkness of the forest.

Hill 193, north of Givray, an objective assigned to the French units, was immediately abandoned by the Germans because of the 103rd taking Torcy. But, as soon as the Germans learned that the French had failed to advance as scheduled, they immediately reoccupied the Hill in great strength. This maneuver forced the Second Battalion of the 103rd to delay but the unit finally gained its objective, reaching the railroad between the towns as well as the creek beyond. Because of the 104th's delay, the Second Battalion was forced to fall back to protect its flank and then, despite the fire of the Germans from Hill 193, which commanded their position, the Battalion held fast to the railroad during the day although that night the Battalion was compelled to retreat to the edge of the Wood until the French should take the Hill.

As a result of these difficulties, general orders from Headquarters, First American Army, commanded "that particular attention should be paid to regulating the advance of each unit by the progress of the unit on its left." This is something much easier to order than to

accomplish amid the heat and confusion of an offensive. However, the 103rd found itself held in check by official orders because the French had not taken Hill 193, which had been their objective.

Then, at 3:00 A. M., July 20th, a general advance was again ordered for the entire division with the Soissons-Chateau Thierry road as the objective. The First Battalion jumped off at zero hour promptly and, cleaning out machine gun nests as it went along, took Hill 190. This hill, despite heavy losses was held firmly by company units from both the 103rd and the 104th thereafter. Hill 193 still remained in German hands, however, and thus the further advance of the 103rd was hindered. The day's fighting resulted in the wounding of Major Southard, who had led the Third Battalion so very well, and he was relieved from duty, being replaced by Captain Andrews of Company K.

By the morning of the 21st, the Germans were aware that they were in danger of being entirely enveloped in the Chateau-Thierry Salient and so they began to withdraw. The 103rd was ordered up to regain contact with the retreating enemy. The First Battalion, in advance, reached the Soissons-Chateau-Thierry road early in the afternoon and, after organizing for defense, sent out patrols to find the enemy. The Germans were discovered to have prepared to stand at Trugny and Epieds. This was rising ground and well-wooded so their well-hidden machine gun nests held up the 103rd and other units for the balance of the day.

All during the next two days also, the three battalions of the 103rd Regiment were pinned down by terrific German artillery and machine gun fire. Then, during the night of the 23rd, the Regiment moved to the Bois-de-Chante-Merle and early on the morning of the 24th, it was found that the enemy had again withdrawn and had retired nearly five miles to another stand at La Croix Rouge Farm. The Yankee Division was ordered to continue ahead but was soon ordered relieved. The relief was completed by the 25th, with the exception of a few units, such as the 101st Engineers, the Fifty-first Artillery Brigade, and military police, who carried on with the Fourth Division and the infantry of the Forty-second—which had relieved the Yankee Division.

This is but a very partial account of the operations of the Yankee Division, at the time of the opening of the Allied Offensive, during July 18-24th, 1918. However, it must be added that the Division, and the 103rd Regiment in particular, accounted for itself amazingly well, considering that the men were still "green" and were civilian-soldiers and not regular army troops. It was the first prolonged test of American troops under offensive fighting; and the bravery and fighting spirit of the men from New England not only gave the American Army a big boost in morale but it delighted the weary French and British, while filling the exhausted Germans with consternation. Those few days were the actual beginning of the end of the war. The Yankee Division accomplished much but most important, they demonstrated that Americans could fight well and beat the Germans hands down. As expressed in a General Order by General John J. Pershing, under date of August 28, 1918, "You did



more than give our brave Allies the support to which as a nation our faith was pledged. You proved that our altruism, our pacific spirit, our sense of justice, have not blunted our virility or our courage. You have shown that American initiative and energy are as fit for the test of war as for the pursuits of peace. You have justly won the unstinted praise of our Allies and the eternal gratitude of our countrymen. We have paid for our success in the lives of many of our brave comrades. We shall cherish their memory always and claim for our history and literature their bravery, achievement and sacrifice."

General Edwards, in his report on the operations of the Twenty-Sixth Division, in this offensive, gave casualties as follows: For the entire Division—killed, 595; wounded, 2,142; gassed, 868; missing, 503. For the 103rd Regiment, Infantry—killed, 176; wounded, 597, gassed, 353; missing 74. The 103rd had the largest casualty list of any unit in the Division.

After nearly a week of being under continuous fire, either advancing to attack under vigorous opposition, or else halted under fire, while awaiting the advance of French troops on the left, the 103rd Regiment was nearly exhausted by hard fighting, loss of sleep, and battle fatigue. Rest and refitting were imperative.

Within a few days, however, they were at ease, comparatively, in the La Rerte Reserve area. New clothing and supplies were issued and replacements to the number of 475 were absorbed into the various companies. Twenty-four hour leaves were granted, the first the regiment had received in some ten months. Still better, rest was then given the regiment, for it was taken to the Chatillion-sur-Seine training area where the country was attractive, the ground was dry and the sun really did shine often. This was the first comfortable billet the regiment had enjoyed since reaching France.

However, in less than two weeks orders came once again and after a thirty-six hour voyage in troop trains towards the front, the regiment was hidden in the woods. Secret and night-long marches continued until September 5th, 1918, when the Rupt-en-Woevre area, northwest of St. Mihiel, was reached. The next day the First Battalion took over a sector of the front line while the Second and Third Battalions were held in reserve. Clearly, a big push was being readied.

For four years, ever since September of 1914, the Germans had held the salient extending southwestward with St. Mihiel on the Meuse River as its apex. This salient was the key to the German line of defense and also the jumping off area for any German offense. It had to be erased—but the enemy had used its four years of occupation well. The heights of the Meuse were well fortified.

The First American Army was given the job of reducing the St. Mihiel Salient. From the south, the First Corps with four divisions and the Fourth Corps with three divisions were to attack. The plan was to advance northward for some twenty kilometers, where it was hoped contact with the Fifth Corps would be made.

The Fifth Corps, with the Twenty-sixth and Fourth American Divisions and the Fifteenth French Colonial Division, was on the

north-western face of the salient. The Fourth Division, in the extreme north, was not to advance. The French Division, next to the South, was to move in only a comparatively short distance and to protect the left of the Twenty-Sixth—which was given the big job of diving deeply into the salient directly to the east. This strategy would wipe out the salient.

At one o'clock on the morning of September 12th, the American big guns began the preparatory bombardment. The guns roared for seven hours, pounding the enemy with high explosives and with gas concentrations in the rear areas.

As for the Yankee Division, the 101st Infantry occupied the right, the 103rd the center, the 104th the left and the 102nd in reserve. Heavy rains made conditions difficult, especially in traffic going up to the front with men and supplies. But, by 8:00 o'clock on the morning of the 12th, the 103rd took off marching in behind their own barrage.

The terrain of the advance was very bad, having been churned to a morass of mud and desolation by four years of fighting. Tall bushes grew thickly. A crazy-quilt pattern of old trenches criss-crossed the area everywhere and what was worse, the area was a briar-patch of old barbed wire entanglements, plus new wire strung recently by the Germans—whose efficient intelligence no doubt had warned them of the projected offensive. The country was also very rough in that it was hilly with sharp and steep-sided ravines which afforded the Germans natural "trenches," powerful defense systems which were also supplemented by concrete "pill-boxes" and hidden machine-gun nests. The terrain was probably the most difficult in all France.

But the 103rd pressed ahead, special "suicide" squads going in the van to use wire-cutters to clear paths through the tangle. The first line of enemy trenches, access to which had been made relatively easy by wire-cutting parties the night before, was taken quickly but the second line proved a hard nut to crack. Machine gun and pill-box positions were taken only after they had been flanked and so could be attacked from the rear.

After accomplishing its primary objective, the Vaux-St. Remy road, the assaulting battalion halted, reorganized and then lumbered into the Chanot Wood where, in one of the hottest engagements of the day, several fieldpieces were taken. The enemy was strongly fortified on the opposite side of a deep ravine, a position covered by flanking concrete machine gun nests on the right. Major Shumway, in command of the battalion, sent a platoon from Company A, 103rd Machine Gun Battalion to the right of the German nests and so had them wiped out. Then, the Americans, rushing down into the ravine in a torrent, swarmed up into the midst of the Germans on the crest of the ravine. This assault resulted in the capture of an entire German battalion and also the battalion headquarters. By the late afternoon, when Major Shumway's command had reached its final objective for the day, abandoned trenches along the Dommartin Road, his men had captured more than 1,200 Germans, a record not known



to have been equalled by any other American unit of comparable strength during the war.

That night orders were changed for the next day's assault, ordering the Division to swing more to the south to capture the town of Vigneulles, an important railroad point, which was the key to supply lines running into the German position from the northeast. At this point, contact was to be made between the 26th and the First Division, which was advancing from the south.

Major General Edwards accordingly changed all his plan of attack for next day. As for the 103rd, it was ordered to start its advance once more at 5:30 A. M. on the 13th and to fight its way to St. Maurice. The Germans resisted bitterly with machine gun fire from prepared positions in the woods but these were overrun and some field-pieces were also captured. By noon, the leading elements of the regiment were on the heights overlooking St. Maurice, while the Second Battalion occupied the towns of Billy and Vieville. These two towns were on fire, having been ignited by the retreating Germans. Upon moving into St. Maurice, the 103rd found an immense amount of German property. Included was a completely equipped railroad, a large ammunition dump, a warehouse full of helmets, another filled with small arms, another with 10,000 bushels of potatoes and, in addition the equipment of an officers' training school.

From their new position, the men of the 103rd could look down on the plain of the Woevre to the northeast and for miles they saw villages in flames while beyond the horizons they could see columns of smoke rising from other villages being destroyed by the retreating Germans. The advance of the regiment was halted at the western edge of the plain. Instead of sweeping down and out and attacking the retiring enemy, the command directed the regiment to stay where it was. The reason seems to have been that, in case of a German counter-attack, the position would be much easier to defend with a small force than would be the situation on the open plain.

However, it turned out that the rapid advance of the American First Army took the Germans thoroughly by surprise and the enemy was simply overwhelmed by his lack of the time required to withdraw his troops and supplies from the tip of the salient. The operation as a whole netted the Americans 16,000 prisoners, 443 guns and very large quantities of ammunition and supplies. The Twenty-Sixth Division alone took 2,400 prisoners, fifty guns, many trucks and ambulances, seventy horses with wagons, carloads of machine gun ammunition and a large quantity of supplies.

On the 14th of September, the Division moved northward to take over a sector of the new front, the 103rd's components holding the line from Saulx to Champlon. Here the Germans were assiduously keeping busy by launching frequent gas and artillery attacks but the American position was strong because of its being on the heights overlooking the plain held by the Germans.

From the German point of view, the vigor and rapidity of the American attack indicated that Foch was planning an assault upon Metz. Foch actually struck at the same time in the Meuse-Argonne Drive but, to pin down the very large number of reserves which the

Germans had concentrated to hold Metz, the French commander-in-chief ordered the Twenty-Sixth Division to make a raid in the nature of a feint upon the villages of Marcheville and Rialville.

These two villages were in front of the position of the Twenty-sixth and were held by the Germans in unknown strength. The Germans, after their first precipitate withdrawal, had returned and established themselves along a line fronting the Y D. The attack upon Marcheville was made by the First Battalion of the 102d Infantry while that on Rialville was by the First Battalion of the 103rd Infantry. With both battalions went components of machine gun companies, engineers, signal-corps and sanitary troops.

The attack started out after several hours of artillery preparation in a heavy fog at 5:30 in the morning, September 26, 1918. The 103rd's Battalion, commanded by Major Hanson, had Company B on the left, Company A on the right, Company D covering the left rear flank, a platoon of Company D as liason with the 102nd Infantry on the right, and Company C in support.

The battalion met with little resistance until within three hundred yards of Rialville when it was stopped short by machine gun fire from concrete emplacements and by artillery fire. Major Hanson asked for three hours' artillery fire on Rialville and the gun emplacements of the Germans but this support was not given. None the less, Company B, despite the most strenuous German resistance, twice entered Rialville and held it briefly until ordered to retire. A platoon of Company D of the 103rd also entered Marcheville with the 102nd infantry and helped hold that village until orders to retire were also received there.

It seems that the Corps Artillery had all been withdrawn from the sector before the raid because the weight of metal was required in the Argonne offensive further to the west. This left the Yankee Division only its own divisional artillery to support the infantry attack. These divisional guns lacked the necessary long range to help out at Rialville and also ammunition ran short early in the afternoon when the artillery support was most needed. Thus the attack was made much more difficult than it would have been if the major forces of the American Army had not been occupied elsewhere. However, the 103rd accomplished its job—for it did create the diversion which occupied the enemy's attention east of Verdun, while a real offensive was being launched to the west.

In the Rialville raid, the Battalion lost 13 men killed and fifty-three wounded. First Lieutenant George Bourque of Company B, Waterville, and First Lieutenant William Jutras, Company A, were among those killed.

On October 6 and 7th, the 103rd was relieved by troops of the Seventy-ninth Division. The regiment had been at the front continuously since September 6 and all that time constantly under enemy artillery fire and gas attacks. Weather conditions were bad and no shelter was available whatever. Thus the regiment was nearing exhaustion.

Meanwhile the offensive on the Meuse-Argonne line was mounting in fury. Its object was to break through the enemy's very strong



defenses in a northward advance towards Sedan and so to cut the railroad line—which was the Germans' chief line of supply. Loss of this line would also cut off any hope of withdrawing German forces trapped beyond the point where the railroad was broken.

This was a very bitter campaign for if the drive succeeded, the Germans were as good as beaten. However, the enemy was in a very strong natural position and in addition had fortified the woods and the open terrain with a maze of concrete emplacements, pill-boxes, and all manner of devices which made the advance of the Allies extremely difficult.

In simple terms, the German positions were all but impregnable and were also flanked by enemy positions from the Argonne Forest on the east and the heights of the Meuse on the east. The American advance was begun on September 26 and the battle raged with the utmost stubbornness on both sides day after day and it was not until October 14th that the Kriemhilde-Stelling line was taken and the Hindenburg line also broken. From that day onward, our troops advanced with greater ease and by the first of November, although the Germans were still fighting hard, the Allied Offensive had become an irresistible onslaught. The Meuse was crossed near Stenay on November 5th, and the following day our guns had command of Sedan. The enemy's lines of communication were at long last completely severed and nothing could save the German armies from complete destruction save surrender. Hence the Armistice which was signed November 11.

The role of the Twenty-sixth division in this final great battle of the war began on October 18, when it marched in to relieve the Eighteenth French Division east of the Meuse and north of Verdun.

The 103rd Regiment, after being relieved on October 7th, had marched by night to the vicinity of Fromersville, southwest of Verdun. There it was in reserve for a week when it was once more assembled and sent to the front line extending from Ormont to Beaumont in the Neptune Sector. It relieved the 104th Infantry there on October 22 and 23.

This was a very difficult assignment, indeed. The job in hand was dual. First, the American Army's right flank had to be protected. Also, the offensive had to be extended eastward and northward. This involved driving the Germans from strong positions on the heights of the Meuse which guarded the important Longuyon-Sedan railroad line—one of the Germans' most important supply arteries.

The terrain was very rough and difficult to cross. Rains were almost continuous, the weather was chill, and the old German positions, then being occupied, gave insufficient shelter—for they were badly battered about. Then the influenza epidemic cut down the number of effectives able to stand duty. Against the Americans were concentrations of the best fighting units of the German Army, infantry regiments backed by powerful artillery. Men were being lost every day by death, wounds and sickness, yet the 103rd received no replacements of officers and men. The regiment was ordered to make frequent attacks upon the German strong points but the enemy with his back against the wall was fighting desperately, indeed.

For example, on November 3, Company L, reduced to about a hundred effectives, was ordered to make a reconnaissance in force to feel out the strength of the enemy in front of the regimental position. In four assault columns, the Company went over shortly after nine o'clock at night and found the enemy wire just seventy-five yards ahead. Beyond, the ground was a net-work of shell holes each of which concealed a machine gun. Heavier guns behind were in support. Heavy fire from these guns greeted Company L and they were also showered with rifle fire and grenades. Two of the columns broke through to the enemy's front line but the other two failed to make their way through the wire. After three hours of combat, the Company broke the stalemate by withdrawing. Of the hundred who went out, five were killed and nine wounded. It was learned that the Germans did hold their position strongly.

Constant fighting such as this, combined with more determined attacks in greater strength, eroded the German line. Also, the success of the American Army in other sectors undermined the support of the German position. Consequently the Germans began a gradual withdrawal and the First Battalion of the 103rd took over the German front line in an attack on the 8th of November with the Second Battalion taking over the former American front in reserve position.

On the morning of the 9th, the 103rd's Second Battalion relieved the First Battalion and took up the advance, having the Fifty-First Brigade on the right and the 104th Infantry on the left. The Third Battalion of the 103rd went into reserve positions for the moment.

The advance ran into heavy machine gun fire after a mile advance. German artillery joined in the battle and, after flanking attempts had failed, and twelve hours of direct assault had gained nothing important, the Second Battalion went into holding positions for the night.

On the 10th of November, the attack was taken over by the Third Battalion with the First and Second in support and reserve. Good artillery preparation before the assault weakened the German line and with three companies of the Battalion leading the way, the unit advanced through the woods up the steep Ville slope. Company K managed to turn the right flank of the German defense and, although the advance had to be checked because the 104th on the left had failed to advance, the 103rd by night had reached the Azannes-Beaumont road, where they were ordered into holding positions for the night.

The next day was the immortal 11th. The First and Second Battalions were ordered into positions to be ready to advance at 9:30 A. M. easterly towards Herberlois. Just a few moments before the take-off, orders were received that the attack should be delayed. Again, at 10:35, more orders came through. These orders bade the 103rd to advance until 11:00 and then to stop! By the time the orders were received and could be passed along, only a few moments were left. The units of the 103rd did advance a few hundred yards, cleaning out machine gun nests as they moved.



When the Armistice became effective, the men of the 103rd, who had been under fire continuously for twenty-four days, were too tired to celebrate the ending of hostilities immediately. Worn out, exhausted physically and mentally, they dropped where they stood and slept for hours in a silence that seemed unnatural after the ceaseless roar of shells, the bursting of high explosives, the whine of rifle bullets and the deadly rattle of machine guns.

The regiment as a whole had been reduced to less than a third of its effective strength during the final four weeks of action. Fifty-eight men had been killed and several times that number had been sent to the rear because of wounds and illness. Shoes were worn out, clothing was in rags and all equipment was in poor condition.

Further loss of morale was brought about by shifting in commands. General Edwards, who had always taken a deep, personal interest in the welfare of his men, who had always heartened them by his faith in their fighting ability, had built up a divisional spirit which neither long-endured hardship nor endless fatigue had broken. When he was ordered back to the United States on October 24th, ostensibly to train a new division, the men of the Y D bitterly resented the action of the high command. Indeed, gloom and depression were universal, for officers and men alike regarded his displacement as a personal loss.

Brigadier General Frank E. Bamford took over the Division on October 26th, being shortly followed by Major General Harry C. Hale, who continued in command until the Division was discharged.

The 103rd in particular suffered especially, for on November 6th, their Colonel, Hume, who had been given the command at the beginning after many years of faithful and capable service in the Maine National Guard, was relieved from the command and sent to the rear for re-classification. Maine men who made up much of the 103rd, felt this change with a measure of resentment, a feeling which became keener when the command of the regiment was given to Lieutenant Colonel Cassius M. Dowell, a regular officer of the Army of the United States. Of course there was always feeling between the West Point "crowd" and the national guard officers and men.

Insult was added to this injury when, just two days before the Armistice, Brigadier General Charles H. Cole, a Massachusetts National Guard officer, who had been in command of the Fifty-second Infantry Brigade, was relieved of his command on allegations of lack of aggression. The men translated this as meaning that the General was removed because he had been too considerate of the men in his charge. And they doubted very much the whole business—because General Cole's regiment, the 104th, had been decorated for valor by the French, while another of his regiments, our 103rd, had been cited for valor by both the French and the American high command. Besides, the 103rd had the record of capturing more German prisoners than any other regiment in the American Army. General Cole immediately demanded a board of inquiry—but this was never done. Instead, General Pershing personally examined the case and on December 7, 1918, restored General Cole to his command.

On November 12th and 13th, the 103rd was relieved from front line duty and marched, weary as they were, for eighty-five miles to

Montigny le Roi. Fortunately exceptionally good weather prevailed and the long hike was made in less than ten days. Orders were for the Division as a whole to rest, refit and to take on some 6,000 replacements and then to continue training. When the Army has nothing particular for a unit to do, it keeps the men busy with "further training."

The 103rd soon regained its customary high spirits, particularly as the war was definitely over. Some of the men even started thinking they might be home for Christmas! That was impossible. Instead, on Christmas morning, much of the Y D was reviewed by President Wilson and General Pershing—doubtless an honor. The President even dined with officers of the Y D and actually inspected billets of the 103rd.

Following General Cole's example, Colonel Hume of the 103rd, had demanded a hearing also and three Regular Army colonels heard his case and kindly advised his being returned to his duty with combat troops immediately. However, Colonel Hume's orders did not come through until February 4, 1919, when, upon his arrival at the 103rd's billets, he was given a spontaneous and rousing welcome by his men.

Despite their being repeatedly told that the war was not really over, the men of the 103rd knew that it was and as January passed, they began to grow restive. New hope for home came on the 24th when orders were received for the 103rd to proceed to the Le Mans embarkation area. At last they were starting for home! However, they still had time to wait. On February 19th, the entire Yankee Division was reviewed by General Pershing, who, in a formal order wrote in part: ". . . the magnificent spectacle of the entire division massed as a unit; the remarkably alert, clean-cut, and healthy appearance of the men; the uniformity and neatness of the equipment; the inspiring effect of the massed band; and finally, the evidence of training manifested in the thrilling march past,—all were noted and repeatedly praised in warm terms— . . ." This, if translated from military jargon to plain English, means that the militia of New England were good fighting men.

To keep the men contented, now that more training was absurd, the High Command ordered a divisional Military and Athletic Tournament at Eccomoy in March. The ambitious program endured for three days. The 103rd won second place.

Orders for home finally arrived on March 14th and all the 103rd, with the exception of Companies L and M, embarked on the *American* and steamed into Boston harbor April 5th. General Edwards and Governor Milliken, and other officials, many from Maine, boarded the transport down stream and officially welcomed the regiment home. Companies L and M arrived at Boston on board the *Agamemnon* on April 7.

The regiment was dispatched upon arrival to Camp Devens at Ayer and most of the men, from time to time upon a staggered schedule, were given three day passes so that they could visit home before returning for the endless business of final discharge.

On the 19th of April, 1919, the Yankee Division paraded through Boston and received the city's official welcome. The spectacle was



one never to be forgotten. The day was cold and raw, thin sunlight alternated with a drizzle of rain—but of the many, many thousands who lined the streets of Boston as the Division marched by, behind their proud flags, hardly a single soul departed until the last squad of the final company had passed.

The men were in full battle dress. Airplanes sailed overhead and big guns on the Common roared in salute as the Governor, the beloved Edwards, and many of New England's most distinguished men stood at attention for long hours in the reviewing stand in front of the State House. Cars filled with some of the Division's wounded followed right behind the Division's service flag. It bore 1,760 gold stars.

The Division was returned to Devens, after the parade and entertainment by the City of Boston, and then the work of discharge began in earnest. Such a business is necessarily lengthy but by May 1st, practically all the men had been returned to civilian life. The colors of the 103rd Regiment were presented to the State of Maine for safe-keeping and honor on June 14, 1919. The colors were handed to the Governor on the East lawn of the State House by Colonel Hume, who said, in part: “. . . We were proud to carry these flags overseas, but much more proudly we brought them back decorated with the names of our victorious campaigns and with not a single stain of defeat upon them. . . . may they be preserved and pointed to as a lesson in patriotism to our children and our children's children.”

Governor Milliken, taking the flags, replied, in part “. . . I can assure you that the Colors will be carefully treasured by the people of Maine and cherished as the visible symbols of the magnificent gallantry with which you and all of the boys of the regiment upheld the glorious traditions of our State.”

As a final expression to the work of these Maine men in the 103rd, General Pershing's words may be quoted, again in part, “. . . They have maintained the best traditions of their New England ancestors and the spirit of '76 has been theirs. They have played their full part in the splendid achievement of American arms on the battle field and in the supporting services. . . .”

The foregoing account of the history of the 103rd Regiment, Infantry, composed in large part of the men and officers of the Second Regiment, Maine National Guard, has necessarily been brief. No attempt has been made to include any personal details—for individual examples of heroism, gallantry and plain, dogged fighting and sacrifice are so numerous that it would be manifestly unfair to include a few and ignore the many. The work of such an account is the proper field of the organizations of the veterans themselves.

Just so, the account of other Maine men in other organizations must be only briefly mentioned. The Second Regiment was given larger treatment because, in a very real sense, they were the official representatives of the State of Maine in the mud and blood of France. No comparative estimate of the value of the work of Maine men in the 103rd and the other units is intended or implied. There is no room or need for such an attempt—which would require volumes

and years of work. After all, World War II must be related—and 1950 has its war also.

Of the men who served in the regular army, in the navy, and the marine corps and the coast guard, no mention can be given adequately because their identity is swallowed up in the general vastness of these services. However, the following organizations since they contained Maine men in relatively large numbers, may be and must be considered.

#### COMPANY C, FOURTEENTH ENGINEERS

Early in 1917, once war had been declared, both France and Great Britain sent military missions to the United States to urge immediate American participation. Particularly urgent was the need for experienced railroad men. Such an organization, which required a minimum of equipment and training could be organized quickly and rushed to France to be held in the construction, operation and maintenance of military railroads behind the French and the British lines.

The United States War Department immediately established nine such regiments—three for operating, five for construction and one for shop repair work. These regiments, a part of the Engineers Reserve Corps, were later designated as the Eleventh to Nineteenth Engineers. They were given the standard engineer regiment organization.

The Fourteenth Regiment, it was determined, should be New England's own. On May 8, 1917, the regiment was organized on paper and the heads of the New England Railroads were asked to nominate suitable officers and to open the way for men in their employ who might wish to enlist. L. H. Hustis, then receiver for the Boston and Maine Railroad, was asked to handle the railroad end of the job and he displayed such energy and interest that the work of raising the Fourteenth owes much to him.

The Boston and Maine was to furnish Companies A and B, the Maine Central, Company C, the Boston and Albany, Company D and the New York, New Haven and Hartford, Companies E and F. Company C thus became the particular concern of Maine.

W. L. Post of Alfred, Maine, of the engineering department of the Maine Central, was appointed company commander and commissioned a captain. The authorized enlisted strength of the regiment was 1,048 but this was increased to 1,153 and it was soon evident that the Fourteenth Regiment would soon be "over-subscribed." Company C was given headquarters at Portland and by the end of June enrollment was practically completed. The men, after enlistment, were ordered to return to their ordinary occupations to await the call for induction.

Eventually Rockingham Park, at Salem, New Hampshire, was chosen as the site for a training camp. There Company C was ordered to active duty, June 28, 1917. The Park, which had been built for racing, proved to be most comfortable in the summer weather and in many respects, after necessary alterations had been made, it was an ideal training site. Since the officers and men had



been selected entirely for their railroad knowledge and experience, there was practically no military experience amongst them but everyone was highly enthusiastic and rapid progress was made in acquiring the little military training their highly specialized work required. Very soon, on July 25, 1917, a train of four sections pulled out of Rockingham with the regiment complete—thirty-seven officers and 1,168 enlisted men. The trip down to New York was a gala event, for railroad men all along the lines made a special point of greeting their own as the train passed by.

On July 26, 1917, taken by barges from the New Haven yards at Harlem, down the East River and to Pier 60, North River, the regiment boarded the *Adriatic*. Shore leave was generously granted until noon of the 27th of July. At 3:30 that afternoon, the regiment sailed, stopping at Halifax for a time until a convoy was formed. The trip across the Atlantic followed without incident, Liverpool being reached August 11th.

After encamping at Oxney, Borden, England, on August 15th, the regiment was paraded in London, being the first American regiment to march through the streets of the grey old city. The men were greeted with wild enthusiasm. On the 17th, the regiment was taken across the Channel and was billeted near Boulogne on the 18th. This was the first of a long succession of French encampments.

Company C was rushed up to near Arras where it worked until the 21st of September, constructing a camp there for a British supply base. On the 21st, the Company moved to Pozieres where it was put to work operating and maintaining a light railroad engaged in hauling salvage from the Somme battlefields to dumps where much of it was reconditioned and hauled back to the front line for further use. This was a most important job as the Allies were short of supplies, desperately short in many items, for American production was just beginning to become effective and the Allies had been fighting since August of 1914.

The German offensive in March caused the Maine company to be evacuated on March 21 and for days thereafter they were rushed about and engaged in all manner of activities, such as digging reserve lines of trenches. Early in April of 1918, the Company, for the first time, rejoined its regiment at Hauteville where they were engaged in constructing a new line from Fousseux to Savy—the famous “get-away” line. This work was hazardous as the area was under the range of the German artillery and, naturally, the Huns tried to interfere with the construction of the railroad. Only three days of April were without rain and fog. While this made working conditions bad, it helped because the German planes could not visit the regiment to spray them with machine guns.

During this period, the Company, along with the rest of the regiment, was also given strenuous training to fit them for combat. Fortunately, the war situation improved during May and the regiment, which had been laboring without interruption for nine months, could be spared for a rest period. The Company was ordered to Calais and arrived there after a miserable journey of 58 miles in box cars on the 20th of May.

Instead of resting, the unit of which Company C was a part was put to work constructing a broad-gauge railroad, known as the Calais Avoiding Line. This involved two miles of single, main track, two miles of spur track, a storage yard of four 1,000 foot tracks, a classification yard of five 2,000 foot tracks, a Y connection with the main line of the Nord, and four bridges across the Canal du Marcq. July 30th found the job completed, although the regiment and Company C were hit by the influenza epidemic and at one time or another about seventy per centum of the outfit suffered from the disease. The men had other difficulties—shelling and air attacks by the Germans. At first the railroad men were just about without protection but machine-gun crews were organized and, while such weapons in World War II were not of much use, in World War I they did keep the German planes at a safe distance. Colonel Wooten, who had commanded the regiment from the beginning, was relieved of command on July 8th, and appointed chief engineer of the Third American Army. This bad news was somewhat offset by the welcome news that as of July 30, the regiment was to become a part of the American Army. First, the regiment had helped the French. Then it had helped the British. Now, it was to work for its own nationals.

August 1, 1918, the regiment broke camp and began a long series of moves and activities. At Le Charmel, they repaired highways and did salvage work. At Goussancourt, again they repaired highways and constructed pontoon bridges. Next, they did salvage work in the Chateau Thierry district, especially in the famous Belleau Wood. Here the Company from Maine suffered its first casualty; Private John E. Kerr was killed. Two other men were also wounded. On October 1, 1918, the Company ended its long period in the Marne sector and moved to Gondrecourt to the railway shops of the American Army at Abainville. This remarkable installation was a monument to the vigor and expertness of Colonel Perkins, who had come with the regiment from home. Here Company C spent their days until December 1, 1918, constructing light and broad-gauge railways and in repairing rolling stock.

That day, Company C was ordered to Dombasle, ninety-five miles away, where it remained until February 12, 1919, operating railroads and repairing equipment. On February 12, the Company went to Abainville again and drilled for a time before being sent to Gondrecourt once more, where, after a brief stay they finally ended their journeys through France at the mouth of the Gironde. There, after almost a month's delay, devoted to weary and meaningless drill, they received orders to sail for home on April 16th, 1918. The steamer *Dakotan* took them aboard and on the 17th the men from Maine saw the misty shores of France vanish. On the 26th, Boston Lightship welcomed them home and the next day the men landed at Commonwealth Pier and went to Camp Devens. Quickly the men were processed and bidden good-by by the Army. At home, they were exposed to a round of banquets, field days and entertainments, for the railroads and all railroad men vied with each other in greeting their associates who had worked so hard and so well in France.



Company C had been originally commanded by Captain William L. Post of Alfred. First Lieutenants were David E. Hayes of Rumford, and Robert Sturgeon of Portland. Benjamin B. Whitney, of Portland, was the second lieutenant. The company returned home in the command of Captain Sturgeon, who had been promoted in France, with the First Lieutenant Albert E. Libby of Portland, and the second lieutenant, Austin A. Fahey of Calais. Lieutenant Libby had been commissioned in France from the ranks. Three men of the Company were decorated or cited in France: Carl E. Henry of Bangor, Wesley W. Jacobs of Waterville, and Arthur A. Langlois of Gardiner. Two men were killed: John E. Kerr and Harry C. Nopple, both privates.

#### ONE HUNDRED AND FIRST TRENCH MORTAR BATTERY

The 101st Trench Mortar Battery was originally Battery C, First Maine Heavy Artillery. On August 22, 1917, it was detached from its regiment and assigned to the Fifty-first Field Artillery Brigade, Twenty-sixth Artillery. The Brigade was in command of Brigadier General William L. Lassiter with the officers of the Battery being Captain Roger A. Green, First Lieutenant James A. Walsh and Second Lieutenant George E. McCarthy—all of Lewiston.

The Battery trained at Boxford, Massachusetts, until October 8th, when it left New York on the *Baltic* and arrived at Liverpool on the 23rd. Five days later it was in France and settled for training at Coetquidan. On February 6th, the Battery was given its first tour of duty at the front beginning on February 12th near Chemin-des-Dames, north of Soissons. Training continued here under German fire.

After being relieved from this first taste of combat, the Battery returned to Bieuxy where it received further drill and equipment. Plans had been for the unit to remain in training for some time but the big German spring drive caused the Allied High Command to alter arrangements drastically and the Battery on April 4 found itself in action for the first time with its trench mortars at Vignot in the Toul sector, as part of the Yankee Division. The first action of the Battery of moment came on April 10th, when seeing a German raiding party advancing through our wire, Sergeant Joyce on his own responsibility ordered the Battery to open fire. This mortar fire pinned the Germans down for the necessary few moments until the divisional artillery found the range and opened fire. By this time also, the 104th Infantry was in position to counterattack and the Germans were driven back. General Edwards on a report of this action, issued the unit's first citation.

This opened a two-day battle in which a large number of the enemy were killed and forty-eight German prisoners taken with only slight casualties on our side. The 104th Regiment received the Croix de Guerre for this battle and the Battery was commended for gallantry in General Orders on April 12.

The next action in which the Battery was engaged was Seicheprey, April 20 to 23, where amid a terrific bombardment of high explosives and gas, the trench mortars gave an excellent account

of themselves. Outnumbered four or five to one by German shock troops, the men of the Yankee Division stood fast in this battle for thirty-six hours and finally drove the enemy back with heavy losses. It was said that more dead Germans were buried than the division lost in killed, wounded or missing.

The next week, on the night of May 29-30, the Battery placed four mortars in trenches in No Man's Land north of Flirey, two hundred yards in advance of the American lines and, from these mortars, fired nearly four hundred bombs in less than thirty minutes, thus repulsing an enemy raid and winning another citation.

For nearly three months, the Battery was either in action or in reserve in the Toul sector and the men not only gained honors but also practical training which was to be needed in actions just ahead. Late in May the battery was sent from Vignot to Minorville where it remained until June 27 when the Twenty-sixth was relieved by the Eighty-second. At this time, the Battery lost its three lieutenants who were detached and sent to the Army Trench Mortar Schools as instructors. On July 9th the Battery went into camp at Chaumont Woods, relieving the Second Trench Mortar Company. Because of the terrain, trench mortars could not be used to advantage in this area and the Battery was detached and assigned to the 101st Ammunition Train.

This was very hazardous service since the dumps were under constant artillery fire from the enemy, as well as being raided frequently by the German planes. Caissons going up to the front were also under constant German fire. None the less the Battery carried out its assignment with efficiency and so contributed greatly to the success of the American Army in the Chateau Thierry offensive. While most of the infantry divisions were relieved on July 25th, the artillery was temporarily attached to the relieving division, the 42nd, and continued in action until August 4th. Notwithstanding the difficult and dangerous work performed, the Battery suffered very few casualties. Private Stephen W. Manchester of Westbrook was killed on July 18 and Private Arthur Lacasse of Lewiston was wounded the same day. Bugler Eugene A. Bowdoin and Private Joseph of Lewiston, were also wounded a few days later at Veilleux. The Battery at this time again lost two officers, First Lieutenants William W. Nairn, Jr., and Temple H. Buell, who joined the Battery on January 13, being sent to the Army Trench Mortar School on July 25th. They were replaced by First Lieutenant Alvin C. Baker and Second Lieutenants John F. Klein and Roy H. Sloan on July 26th.

From August 15 to August 30, the Battery enjoyed rest and an opportunity to refit but they were then rushed into the positions of the Twenty-sixth Division near Rupt-en-Woevre to participate in the St. Mihiel offensive. Until the 12th of September the Battery was occupied in getting its ten trench mortars ready for business and at one o'clock that morning, the Battery joined in the terrific bombardment of the enemy which opened gaps in the enemy wire, destroyed his communications and drenched his rear with gas. Each mortar fired nearly a hundred shells, most of which the men had to bring up to the position on their backs in heavy rain.



Following the advancing American infantry, the Battery moved its position daily and continued to share in the triumphant progress. Eight men of the Battery were cited for bravery during this action by General Edwards: Captain Roger A. Green, Sergeants Martin O'Reilly and James L. Miller, Corporals Carl E. Bartlett, Earl L. Swett and Henry Girbal, and Privates Benjamin F. Avery and Leon E. McNelly. Captain Green was detached from duty on September 15 and, promoted to major, was sent to the United States as an instructor. First Lieutenant James A. Walsh, who had been on detachment since March 30, was made a captain, and assigned to the Battery on September 17.

In the middle of October, the Battery was sent into the Neptune sector north of Verdun where the Twenty-sixth was engaged in the final battle of the war, driving the Germans from the commanding heights of the Meuse. The Battery's mortars went into action again on the 27th of October in the woods just north of Flabas and commanded enemy positions and communication lines. This was the most exposed firing point the Battery had occupied but their work was very effective. One mortar was destroyed by a direct hit, but only one casualty resulted—and that from gas. The work of the Battery in this sector, brought forth the following citation:

"I have read with much pleasure the reports of your battery and Brigade commander regarding your gallant conduct and devotion to duty in the field on October 27, 1918, under heavy fire—Bois d'Haumont—north of Verdun—and have ordered your names and deed to be entered in the record of the Yankee Division—First Lieutenant Alvin C. Baker, First Lieutenant John F. Klein, First Lieutenant Roy H. Sloan, Private John E. Phillippe, Private Rodney E. Haynes, Corporal William J. Wilson, Private Arthur Toulouse, Private George C. Thompson, Private James C. Foster, Corporal Peter J. Cloutier—Harry C. Hale, Major General, Commanding, Twenty-sixth Division."

After the Armistice, the men of the Division, after nine months of fighting, were ordered south for rest and rehabilitation. The Battery left the front on November 14, 1918 and, after various movements, finally embarked on the "Iowan" at St. Nazaire on February 28th, arriving in New York on March 12th, being the first complete unit of the Yankee Division to reach home. Discharge came at Camp Devens on March 26, 1919.

It speaks sufficiently for the value of this Trench Mortar Battery from Maine that, although this type of weapon was new, 30 of its 127 men were cited for bravery.

#### THREE HUNDRED AND THIRD FIELD ARTILLERY REGIMENT

This organization was initiated at Camp Devens, Massachusetts, on August 28, 1917 when its officers were ordered to report. Colonel Arthur S. Conklin, West Point, and at the time a Coast Artillery officer, was given the command, a post which he held until demobiliza-

tion in April of 1919. Lieutenant Colonel Frederick W. Stopford, second in command, was at the time in command of Fort Williams, Portland.

Recruits, drawn from Maine and New Hampshire, arrived on September 5th and, including ninety Maine men, the Headquarters Company was organized. More recruits arrived September 2-20 and the six batteries and the supply company were organized. The final batch of recruits arrived October 4-8. Late that month, much of the regiment's personnel was withdrawn to fill the complements of various divisions about to go overseas.

Training proceeded through the winter of 1917-1918 and on June 26th, 1918, a detachment of eighteen officers and thirty-three men went overseas on the *Justica*. The rest of the regiment sailed in two parts—on the *Winnifredian*, July 15th, and on the *Miltiades*, July 16th—both from Boston. In mid-ocean, the convoy was subjected to a violent submarine attack but American destroyers saved the ships from damage.

The regiment was reunited on August 1, 1918 in England and on August 4th, it was landed at Le Havre. During July and August, the regiment underwent extensive training and at last, on the morning of November 7th, at 0:31, fired its first salvo into the German lines in the Verdun sector. Private C. H. Clarke of Westerly, Rhode Island, Battery B, actually sent the shell away.

The Third Battalion went into action on November 8 at Mars-la-Tour and for three days it continued firing almost constantly, helping to demoralize the retreating but still vicious Germans. The Second Battalion did not go into action until the morning of November 10th. Thus its career was of only 24 hours actual action.

By December, the regiment was started on its long way home, going first to St. Mihiel and finally reaching Bordeaux on January 10th. The elated men considered they were as good as back in Maine but three more months elapsed before they actually were aboard ship. On April 12, 1919, their vessel, the *Santa Rosa*, took to sea and arrived in Boston, April 25th. On May 1, 1919, the 303rd Field Artillery was formally mustered out of the service with its personnel either being discharged or transferred to other army units.

### THREE HUNDRED AND THIRD MOTOR TRUCK COMPANY

Known popularly as "Bunker's Bulls" because they were organized by John E. Bunker of Bar Harbor, Secretary of the Maine Committee on Public Safety, the 303rd Motor Truck Company was raised in Maine early in the war and called into service at Boston on September 4, 1917, being attached to the 401st Motor Supply Train. By November 28, 1917, the unit was at sea aboard the *Huron* but severe storms delayed the arrival at St. Nazaire until December 20th. Despite the winter weather and their complete strangeness to France, the boys from Maine were ordered to duty with the First Division, about to enter the line in the Toul sector. By the 15th of January, 1918, the company was under shell fire—after only twenty-five days in France.



But records were something that "Bunker's Bulls" acquired as rapidly as their trucks picked up mud. From January 15th to April 3rd, the 303rd was the only motor truck company with the division and it was kept busy day and night bringing up supplies. This was not only difficult, due to the roads and the mechanical condition of the over-driven trucks, but it was dangerous indeed. For example, on the night of March 8, Sergeants Randall, Larkin and Chase, each driving a three-ton truck loaded with machine gun nest materials, came within eighty-five yards of the front line trenches. This is probably the nearest that any motor truck of the A E F got to the front lines.

On April 25th, when the First Division moved to the Cantigny Sector, the Truck Company assisted in loading men, equipment and supplies on troop trains and then, racing four hundred miles across ruined France, arrived ahead of the trains carrying the Division.

On July 18th, when the great Allied offensive opened, the company hauled the guns of the Sixth Field Artillery into action at the battle of Soissons. The roads were so bad that what horses had not been killed could not bring the guns up in time so if the trucks driven by the men from Maine had not done the job, the infantry would have had to jump off without artillery protection. During the battle, on the return trips after bringing in supplies, the company returned to the supply base with wounded for the hospitals.

Just at this time the company was broken into, as many of its members were drafted to Headquarters of the First Army to drive staff cars. Still the company carried on its primary job and its drivers were the first men to wheel trucks across No Man's Land and to enter German territory back of Mont Sec.

Right up to the Armistice, the Company kept guns and supplies moving up to the advancing front lines and, after the Armistice, their trucks were the first to cross the border on December 13, when they crossed the pontoon bridge into Coblenz. It is recorded that "Bunker's Bulls were the first American truck drivers at the front, the first to enter Germany, and the last to leave for home."

#### FIRST MAINE HEAVY FIELD ARTILLERY (FIFTY-SIXTH PIONEER INFANTRY)

This regiment was largely recruited from young business and professional men of Maine late in June and early in July of 1917. It was mustered into the Federal Service on July 25, 1917 and temporarily mobilized at Brunswick. A large part of Battery C, made up of Lewiston men for the most part, was detached with its captain and two lieutenants on August 22 to form the 101st Trench Mortar Battery, previously mentioned.

Late in August, the regiment, already treated by the Army as something of an orphan, was sent to Camp Bartlett at Westfield, Massachusetts, and upon arrival found that the area assigned for its camp was covered with heavy growths of trees and brush. This might have halted men from another state but the Maine men went to work, cleared the area in a few hours and by dark had their tents

pitched. Streets were laid out, the camp policed and within a few days the section was well organized and training begun.

From time to time, various elements were subtracted from the regiment but despite this treatment, it preserved its identity. On September 21, the Portland Rotary Club presented the regiment with its colors. Finally, what was left of the regiment went to Camp Greene, Charlotte, North Carolina, November 16, 1917 for further training. The site assigned was miserably unfit and by Christmas half of the men were in camp hospitals suffering from influenza, measles, diphtheria and meningitis. Poorly equipped, and shabbily treated as the men were, they continued to exhibit a marked degree of patriotism. The personnel of the regiment was really exceptional for they were representative of Maine's best citizens—well educated, established business and professional men and in all points the best of American manhood. Many of them had left wives and children behind, hoping to be of value to the nation. Naturally, these men chafed at the way they were being treated and fumed at being kept drilling with wooden guns week after week in the mud of a Carolina camp while thousands of draftees were being sent overseas. Maine officials at home, led in part by Congressman Wallace H. White, Jr., of Lewiston, brought pressure to bear in Washington and sought to compel the War Department to avail itself of the exceptional men it was permitting to waste time in a southern swamp.

Finally, the Army high command made up its mind what to do with the First Maine Heavy Artillery. It would make a pioneer infantry regiment out of the highly educated group! So artillery studies and drill were discontinued and instead, the ordinary infantry drill was directed. Finally, on February 9, 1918, the regiment was officially made the Fifty-sixth United States Pioneer Infantry. The batteries became infantry companies and they were brought up to strength gradually by the induction of draftees. Colonel Arthur T. Balentine of Portland was at that time in command with Lieutenant-Colonel Henry G. Beyer of Portland, second in command. Other officers included: by battalions, Major George E. Fogg of Portland, Major George C. Webber of Auburn, Captain Hugh W. Hastings of Fryeburg, Lieutenant James A. Carey of Portland, Lieutenant Emery O. Beane of Hallowell, Lieutenant John D. Haughey of Portland, Captain James W. Eastman of Fryeburg, Captain Benjamin J. Woodman of Westbrook, First Lieutenant Cornelius A. Feury of Portland, First Lieutenant Roy F. Stevens of Westbrook, First Lieutenant Frank E. Southard of Augusta, Captain William R. Ballou of Bangor, Captain Albert E. Whitehill of Portland, Captain James H. Hawkes of South Portland, Captain Hugh W. Hastings of Fryeburg, Lieutenant Francis J. Kyte of Lewiston, Captain F. W. Parker of Westbrook, Captain Wilbur H. Towle of Enfield, Captain Edward B. Hinckley of Augusta, and Captain Vernon W. Marr of Old Orchard.

The pioneer infantry assignment could not have been handed to a group of men better fitted to master the work. It was an entirely new departure from the American military organizations for the pioneers were, roughly, a combination of infantrymen and engineers.



They had, first of all and when necessary, to be crack combat troops. Then, putting their rifles aside, but keeping them within reach, they had such jobs to do as constructing communication lines from supply bases to the front, clearing the way for advancing troops through forests and other obstructions, constructing communication trenches and revetments, salvaging and stabilizing rear areas and rehabilitating captured towns—to name but a few jobs. If there was dirty work to be done, the pioneers were the men to get the job.

Once again the regiment was moved, this time from miserable Camp Greene on the afternoon of February 18th, to Camp Wadsworth at Spartansburg, South Carolina. Many of the southern camps were chosen for political rather than military reasons but their new quarters were a vast improvement over the old. The regiment marched into the camp in a heavy rain and were quarantined for two weeks but they went to work with a will on their new assignments—although they all had been originally sold the idea that heavy artillery was the thing the United States Army needed the most. More draftees from various sections of the nation were added to the regiment from time to time but most of them were withdrawn as soon as they had been fitted into the organization.

Finally, on August 30, 1918, the orders which the Maine men had so long awaited arrived. At last they were on their way to France with the opportunity to carry out the patriotic service for which they had left their families and their careers more than a year previously. On September 13, 1918, they arrived in France and after less than a week in rest camp, were attached to the First Army and ordered to the front.

Action was not long delayed. The various companies of the regiment were freely scattered all along the Argonne sector during the final battle of the war and many of them were under constant fire as they built roads, repaired railroads and kept lines of communication open.

After the Armistice the regiment reassembled at Dombasle and attached to the Third Army, was ordered into Germany as part of the Army of Occupation. It reported at Coblenz-on-the-Rhine on December 15th, being one of the first American regiments to enter Germany. But the unit was soon broken apart again and scattered all over the American area of occupation, being stationed at railheads, handling and guarding rations and supplies, feeding and clothing the American Army of Occupation and doing all sorts of odd jobs, such as receiving munitions surrendered by the Germans.

On May 25, 1919, the regiment was ordered to reassemble yet again at Treves, Germany, to be organized to return to the United States. Finally, on June 8th, the unit arrived at St. Nazaire and, once more broken apart, arrived in the United States, variously at Hoboken, New Jersey, on June 22 and at Newport News on June 29. The New England men in the regiment were sent to Camp Devens and there, on July 1-3, 1919, were mustered out of the service, after two years in the Army.

## FIFTY-FOURTH COAST ARTILLERY REGIMENT

This regiment, originally organized as early as April 5, 1873, as the First Regiment of Infantry, was reorganized in 1880 and later served in the War with Spain as the First Infantry Regiment Maine Volunteers. It remained an Infantry outfit until 1919 when it became the Coast Artillery Corps, National Guard, State of Maine.

On July 3, 1917, the Maine Coast Artillery reported for duty at the home stations and was soon assembled at Portland Harbor with fifty-four officers and 1,465 enlisted men. On August 23, many of the men were transferred to the 103rd Field Artillery and the 101st Engineers. Then, on January 1, 1918, the regiment was reorganized as the Fifty-fourth Coast Artillery and companies became the batteries of that organization.

On March 22nd, the outfit sailed from Portland, in large part aboard the *Canada* and arrived at Glasgow, Scotland—being the first American troops to reach that city. Shipped to Winchester, England, the regiment was soon sent to France, arriving at Le Havre on April 9th. Various assignments followed during the next four months until in September, it was split into three separate batteries and widely scattered. Finally, the units were reassembled at Brest in February and sailed for home on the *Vedie*, arriving at Boston, March 7, 1919. It was discharged on March 13, 1919.

This completes the outline of Maine regiments, or of regiments which included large numbers of Maine men, in World War I. Of the many thousands of Maine men in other units, no account can be given in the limited space available.

## POST-WAR PROBLEMS

While the actual fighting was over, Maine faced many problems in regard to its returned soldiers. First was the matter of a soldiers' bonus. The first legislation was passed in 1919 but subsequent amendments were required to make the payment available to Maine men who were still in active service and thus could not apply for payment within the time limit originally set.

The Bonus Act expresses the purpose of the bonus to be "to promote the spirit of patriotism and loyalty, in testimony of the gratitude of the State of Maine, and in recognition of the splendid services of Maine men in the War with Germany." The amount set was one hundred dollars to each person who so served.

Distribution of application blanks began on November 1, 1920 and, although thousands of applications were received daily, and each one had to be carefully examined and verified, as early as December 3, 1920, the first warrant calling for \$110,000 was sent to the State Treasurer.

The bonus was financed by a bond issue of \$1,000 bonds to the total of three million dollars. Each bond bore interest at the rate of five and a half per centum and the entire issue was purchased by the Equitable Trust Company of New York at a premium of \$2.10 per \$1.00. Maine paid out a total of \$3,224,900 in these bonus payments.



War Savings Stamps was an active program in Maine beginning in September of 1917. The purpose of the stamps was to afford people with limited incomes an opportunity to help finance the war. Herbert J. Brown of Portland, president of the Brown Company, and one of the leading manufacturers and business men of Maine, represented the State in the conference in the matter at Washington. Upon his return he created a State of Maine organization—which was most thoroughly and competently established, managed and operated. Maine stood third in the United States in the number of “retail” agencies in proportion to population in the nation. The State organization consisted of 1,441 individuals. Maine’s 4,969 schools, with their 152,923 students had 82,281 pupils active in selling stamps. The school children purchased alone a total of \$180,056 worth of stamps, an average of \$4.18 a pupil.

In 1919 the war savings stamp activity was taken over by the women of Maine with Mrs. Herbert J. Brown of Portland, State Director, and Mrs. Grace A. Wing of Auburn, State Manager. They established 413 sales agencies, exclusive of banks and postoffices, and 211 societies, exclusive of schools. The women did very well, indeed. The men to the end of 1918 sold \$7,929,762 worth of stamps; the women in their few months of activity, sold \$331,950 worth more.

In the Liberty Bond Campaigns, five of them, Maine, just as in all patriotic activities, did more than its share. In each of the five drives, Maine exceeded its quota, standing second of all the New England States in the percentage of over-subscriptions. The total amount in the five Liberty loans subscribed in Maine was \$118,388,650. The success of this war effort in Maine was in part at least due to the able, aggressive and inspiring leadership of Harry A. Rounds, manager of the Portland branch of the New England financial house, Lee Higginson & Company. Mr. Rounds served as State Chairman for all five campaigns, devoting himself to the activity for almost two years to the exclusion of all his other activities.

Of the several social organizations which developed in response to the need of war time service in Maine during this period, the Red Cross is an outstanding example. Before World War I, the Red Cross in Maine was not organized. Even Portland had no Chapter of its own. When Germany invaded Belgium, the various war relief organizations awakened interest everywhere and, naturally, Maine was no exception. Miss Lydia MacDonald Cook of Portland, an interested and active member of the Red Cross, secured a charter for a Portland Chapter of her organization—including not only the City but all of Cumberland County with the exception of Brunswick. This charter was granted May 12, 1916, but the Chapter was not actually organized until a meeting on February 12, 1917.

The growth of the Portland Chapter—a growth which was also taking place in other Red Cross chapters in other parts of Maine, of course—from that point on was rapid. The membership rose by leaps and bounds, by 1918 reaching 30,327. The work of the Portland Chapter was directed by an executive secretary, Miss Abba Harris (Mrs. Harrie B. Coe). The work, in addition to raising money included: military and civilian relief, surgical dressing production,

hospital supplies, packing and shipping of materials, nursing, investigation of cases, town and country nursing, housing, transportation and many other items of service to the city, state and nation.

In June of 1917 and in May of 1918, Red Cross campaigns for funds were conducted very successfully. Portland's quotas were exceeded in both instances with \$190,000 being raised in the first campaign and \$254,000 in the second. The Treasurer of the Portland Chapter, F. L. Rawson, in addition to his work on the Portland campaigns, also assumed charge of the State Campaign for 1917 and raised more than \$650,000—an accomplishment he continued as chairman of subsequent State Red Cross campaigns. In the first and second "war drives" of the Red Cross, Maine citizens gave \$1,564,480.

To conclude this account of the activities rising out of World War I in Maine, nothing could be more fitting than a brief outline of the development of the American Legion—the organization "to preserve the memories . . . of our association. . . ."

The Legion was established at Paris in the winter of 1919 but the actual establishment came later at a gathering at St. Louis in May of the same year. Maine delegates at the St. Louis meeting met separately during the big meeting and organized the Maine department with Albert Greenlaw of Eastport, chairman; James L. Boyle of Augusta, secretary; and Walter H. Butler, of Rockland, treasurer. Secretary Boyle sent application blanks to service men throughout the State of Maine and before long applications for charters for posts began to come in. When twenty-five posts were chartered, a State Departmental meeting was called and organization was promoted so well that, at the first State Convention, at Bangor on September 24, 1919, 54 posts had been organized.

But this was only the beginning. All through the second and third decades of this century, the Legion in Maine grew in numbers and in patriotic and civic influence. It is a typically American organization with no qualifications for membership, save that of service in the armed forces. The Legion is still very active in Maine and its story is continued later.



## CHAPTER IX

### *Into the Present*

G OVERNOR GARDINER was reelected again in 1931, over his Democratic opponent, Edward C. Moran, Jr., of Rockland, in the smallest total vote count since 1915. The whole vote for 1930 was 149,482, of which Gardiner received 82,310 and Moran 65,572. The same year also saw the election of Wallace H. White of Lewiston as U. S. Senator to succeed Arthur B. Gould of Presque Isle. White continued as U. S. Senator until his retirement in 1943, when he was succeeded by Congresswoman Margaret Chase Smith of Shawhegan. U. S. Senator Frederick Hale continued in office from 1917 to 1941, when he also retired and was succeeded by former Governor Ralph O. Brewster, who later had his name changed legally to Owen Brewster. Senator Brewster's second term will end in 1953, while Mrs. Smith, the first woman ever to be elected to the U. S. Senate in a regular election, will complete her first term in 1955.

The administration of Governor Gardiner was marked by passage of the Administrative Code (see Part Two, Chapter One) and by the first years of the nation-wide Depression Decade, which set in after the stock market crash of the second half of 1929. In common with the rest of the Country, Maine prosperity of the Roaring Twenties reached its climax in 1929, when apparently unlimited economic horizons beckoned to all. The twenties had seen a great post-World War I surge in commercial, industrial and home construction. Highway building was moving ahead rapidly as automobile and truck transportation mushroomed, and the vacation-travel industry developed rapidly as noted Maine regions became easier to reach. The stock market "fever" was at a high pitch, industrial activity was high and unemployment did not exist as a public problem. Stock market "tips" were picked up and relayed by hotel bellhops, elevator operators, barbers and others in daily contact with the "general public" and fabulous stories of quick fortunes were the order of the day.

Upon this roseate scene of unlimited financial and economic possibilities came the disastrous stock market debacle, beginning in the Summer of 1929. Many margin speculators, some with sizable paper profits, found themselves bankrupt overnight. The continuing decline went on unabated to the end of the year, by which time the Nation's industrial pace also had slackened greatly as markets dried up and unemployment began to be one of the greatest problems that ever had faced the Nation.

Due to the diversity of its basic economy, Maine did not feel the effects of the economic decline as quickly, or to as great an extent, as some other sections of the Country; and, in the general confusion, many local business voices were heard to be hoping against hope that prosperity really was "just around the corner." The shakiness of inflated values in all lines—equities, real estate, commercial, etc.—continued through 1931 and 1932 as general spending dried up. By



the middle of 1930, unemployment and the necessity for family relief began to be felt intensely in Maine as agriculture, industry, commercial fisheries and vacation-travel, the State's basic money-producers, all went into sharp declines.

The burden of unemployment relief descended most heavily on local communities, as private agencies and municipal governments were strained nearly to the breaking point to avert widespread suffering in the wake of thousands of individual bankruptcies. The Nation-wide ferment generated by this economic debacle also was felt in Maine and, as the low point of the Depression was reached in the latter part of 1932, a political upheaval resulted.

In Maine, this was signalled by the elections of Louis J. Brann, first Democratic Governor since 1914, and two out of three U. S. Representatives for the State, Edward C. Moran, Jr., and John G. Utterback of Bangor. Carroll L. Beedy, First District Republican, retained his seat by a comparatively narrow margin over his Democratic opponent. The Maine State Election, held in September, was an accurate forecast of the November national trend, which saw Herbert C. Hoover defeated by Franklin D. Roosevelt for President and was hailed as a momentous augury by the Democratic Party nationally.

"Rock-ribbed" Republicanism in Maine was, however, defeated by only a slim margin, Brann polling 121,158 votes to 118,800 for his Republican opponent, Burleigh Martin. The combination of this victory with the unseating of Republican Congressmen in the Second and Third Districts, nevertheless was sufficient to indicate strongly the ebb of Republican fortunes nationally, stemming from the Great Depression.

Seizing upon this issue, Brann campaigned the State in the Summer of 1932, proposing a greatly expanded program of economic development for Maine, especially a considerable expansion of the program of the Maine Development Commission, as well as other State measures to combat unemployment and alleviate the relief problems seriously harassing local communities. Brann had been a vice president of the Maine Development Association, set up in the Twenties by leaders of the Maine Publicity Bureau, and had been actively interested in State promotional activities for many years. The appeal of his program to vexed community officials, to business interests and to the public generally gave him an undercurrent of support in both parties and from many nominal local Republican leaders. Not a few traditionally Republican Maine newspapers also did not hinder his campaign, while some came out openly in his favor. The Maine Legislature, however, continued as majority Republican, as it has since and had for nearly a century previously.

Brann found his first Republican Legislature generally cooperative and measures were undertaken to carry out the major points of his campaign program although, at first, there was a tendency to await the inauguration of President Roosevelt, with his promised sweeping Federal measures to combat economic distress. That day came, and with it a nation-wide closing of banks, plunging the United States into the most serious financial crisis in its history. As the





Maine Publicity Bureau Portland



New Deal swung into action nationally, the Maine Legislature co-operated to solve the State's own problems, basically similar to the Nation's. Following the reopening of Federal Reserve Banks under new Federal regulation and control, the Legislature passed special emergency measures to permit the reopening of State-chartered banks, under the supervision of the Maine Supreme Judicial Court. Further details on banking developments during this period are given in Part Two, Chapter 11.

Activities of such Federal agencies as Emergency Relief Administration (ERA), Civil Works Administration (CWA), National Recovery Administration (NRA), Works Progress Administration (WPA), and Public Works Administration (PWA), from 1932 to 1940, resulted in the political-economic emphasis in the State being shifted largely from purely State influences into the larger Federal orbit, a trend which also had occurred in most of the rest of the Nation and which exists to this day. The growth and influence of these Federal agencies, which reached their climax in the economic control agencies of World War II, served to produce more job opportunities, although their long-range effect upon the State and the Nation still is the subject of sharp controversy currently being fought out between the Republican and Democratic camps.

The WPA of the Depression Thirties particularly will be the subject of debate for many years to come, its champions holding that it created jobs when these were desperately needed, effected many permanent public improvements in several major fields and levelled out the sharp valley of economic slump. Its opponents claimed and still assert that its major defect was to destroy human self-reliance and thwart aspirations for self-advancement; and that it gave rise to a tremendous waste of Federal finances, resulting in burdensome taxes, the effects of which will be felt for many years to come. Especially under fire, then as now, were numerous "make-work" projects, such as raking of leaves on public property, dancing instruction, and formation of entertainment troupes. A general term arose throughout the Nation for so-called "frivolous" projects: Boondoggling.

While the controversy raged in the mid-Thirties over the question of "make-work" projects, or those of permanent value, a Maine WPA official observed privately at the time: "What difference does it make what kind of projects we have? The main idea is to get the money out among the people to help general business."

A major public event in this area was the NRA Parade held in Portland as an affirmation of general confidence in the soundness of Maine's economy. It is believed to be the largest parade ever held in Maine, with scores of business and industrial firms participating and thousands of employees marching as company units, replete with floats and pageantry. It symbolized the State's economy pulling out of its depression, as, indeed, the subsequent years proved true.

With economic affairs of the State and Nation in a period of intense readjustment, labor unions throughout the State made rapid advances in membership. The textile industry, particularly, saw a



great growth in unions, mostly made by the Textile Workers Union of the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO). The CIO was founded by John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers and other national labor leaders in an historic break with the American Federation of Labor in 1935. It still retains its initials, although the name has been changed to Congress of Industrial Organizations. The CIO Textile Workers have achieved their greatest strength in Maine's cotton textile industry. The AFL's United Textile Workers of America retains its greatest strength in the woolen textile industry, although the CIO Textile Workers have made sharp inroads in that field also. The AFL paper mill unions continued and expanded their membership position in the State's paper mills, the only inroad of any consequence having been made in the past decade by the United Mine Workers' District 50, which has been elected bargaining representative at the Oxford Paper Company and several smaller plants in the Rumford area.

The fortunes of the CIO in Maine were set back considerably by the Lewiston-Auburn shoe workers' strike in 1936, with its attendant difficulties, which resulted in nine of the organizers, all from outside Maine, being sentenced to several years in State Prison for conspiracy against a court injunction. Several subsequent attempts to have them pardoned by the Governor and Executive Council failed.

A complete list of labor unions currently in Maine will be found in Part Two, Chapter 15.

The Depression Decade closed with Maine's economic fortunes on the rise. The expansion of the promotional, research and development activities of the Maine Development Commission, inaugurated by Governor Brann, the "pump-priming" activities of the Federal Government, but, principally, the natural economic expansion of a State with abundant economic resources, a growing population and an increasing stability being achieved as economic problems brought into sharp focus in the depths of the Depression were worked out, all contributed to an alleviation of the unemployment and business stagnation problem. By 1939, also, the increased demands upon industrial production made by approaching World War II were being felt in Maine and reflected in more employment in many lines. The growing vacation-travel industry, which resumed its forward surge in mid-1933, also proved a valuable asset in bringing the State back to economic recovery, proving itself a business "pump-primer" affecting virtually every field of Maine's economic life (see Part Two, Chapter Nine).

Governor Brann had been reelected in 1934 by a considerably larger margin than in his first term, polling 156,917 votes to 133,418 for his Republican opponent, Alfred K. Ames of Machias. Born at Madison, Brann was graduated from the University of Maine in 1898 and became a lawyer. He was Mayor of Lewiston for five terms until his election as Governor, and his flair for promotion won him the title of "the greatest Maine booster in the history of the State." Prominent national figures in the sporting world, including Gene Tunney, heavyweight champion boxer, were among his many friends; and he created national publicity for Maine's fishing, hunting and

vacation resources by sponsoring several Maine "junkets" for these and other national celebrities. He ran for the U. S. Senate against Wallace H. White in 1936, but was defeated by about 5,000 votes. Brann then returned to private law practice and died in 1948.

Succeeding Brann as Governor was Lewis O. Barrows of Newport, elected in 1936 over F. Harold Dubord of Waterville, Democrat, by a vote of 173,716 to 130,466. Brann tried to unseat Barrows for reelection in 1938, but the vote was: Barrows, 157,206; Brann, 139,745. Barrows became the 51st Governor of Maine in 1937 and continued the economic promotional activities started by Brann. His two terms saw continued economic expansion in the State, with Federal agencies engaging in larger and larger projects of permanent public improvements, including highway and bridge construction aid, public buildings and similar undertakings. Following his Governorship, Barrows went to Boston to become an executive officer of the United Mutual Insurance Company and the Liberty Mutual Insurance Company, positions he now holds.

Sumner Sewall of Bath became Maine's 52nd Governor in 1941, defeating Fulton J. Redman, Democrat, by a 162,719 to 92,003 vote. He was a World War I aviation ace and an associate of Eddie Rickenbacker, who rose to national aviation fame in the same conflict. Sewall served as the State's chief executive through World War II and directed Maine's defense efforts at that time, which included a considerable expansion in Maine's airport facilities. For his second term, starting in 1943, he defeated George W. Lane, Jr., Democrat, of Lewiston, 118,047 to 58,558. After leaving the Blaine Mansion, Sewall became an active director of United Airlines and later was appointed Civilian Military Governor of Bavaria in the American Zone of Occupation.

Horace A. Hildreth, a native of Gardiner, was elected 53rd Governor in 1944, defeating Paul J. Jullien, Democrat, of Waterville, 131,849 to 55,783. A graduate of Bowdoin College and Harvard Law School, he became a lawyer and rose through the legislative ranks to president of the Maine Senate and Governor. For his second term, in 1947-48, he defeated F. Davis Clark, Democrat, of Milo, 110,327 to 69,624. Governor Hildreth's terms were preoccupied with problems of post-World War II readjustment and he took an active part in economic promotional activities. He had previously served as Chairman of the Board of the Maine Publicity Bureau and, as Governor, was chairman ex-officio of the Maine Development Commission, the work of which he assisted greatly.

The primary elections of 1948 were notable for the wide-open contests waged both for the Governorship and for the U. S. Senate. U. S. Senator Wallace H. White had, at the beginning of the year, announced his intention of not running for reelection, and Congresswoman Margaret Chase Smith of Skowhegan immediately announced her candidacy. Mrs. Smith first had been appointed to fill out the term in Congress of her husband, Clyde H. Smith, but from 1938 on had been elected and reelected as U. S. Representative from the Second District. Her opponents in the primary for the Republican nomination to the U. S. Senate were Governor Hildreth, former Gov-



ernor Sewall and Albion P. Beveridge of Dresden. After an intensive campaign by all candidates, Mrs. Smith won the nomination by a total vote greater than that of her three male opponents combined. In the September election, she won the Senate race easily over Dr. Adrien P. Scolten, Democrat, of Westbrook.

In the same primary, Frederick G. Payne, a native of Lewiston and former three-time mayor of Augusta, won the Republican gubernatorial nomination from a field of five, strongest of whom was George J. Varney of Kittery, president of the Maine State Senate. In the September election, Payne won easily over Louis B. Lausier, long-time Democratic Mayor of Biddeford, by a vote of 145,956. Payne was reelected in 1950 over Earl A. Grant, of Portland, a former Republican, who had won the Democratic nomination.

Former Governor Hildreth since has accepted the presidency of Bucknell University, but still maintains legal residence in Maine.

#### MAINE'S ROLE IN WORLD WAR II

Even before America's entry into World War II, Maine had begun to feel the effects of the preparedness effort and the industrial assistance being given to friendly nations by the "Arsenal of Democracy." Every line of Maine industrial production was humming and, in addition, a huge new shipyard had been built in South Portland and turned out 30 Liberty ships for Great Britain. The Bath Iron Works, building super-destroyers, and the Portsmouth Navy Yard at Kittery, building submarines, also were busy. Textile, paper and shoe factories were boosting production too, along with virtually all other lines, such as lumber mills, wood products and foundry and metal working plants. Along with all this industrial production, agricultural effort also was being stepped up to a high peak.

Defense plants, not only in Maine, but as far away as California, were drawing young Maine men and women to their doors with prospects of much higher pay than was customary in Maine and the "gold rush" of 1940 was repeating history of a century before. In addition, armed services training programs were drawing an increasing number of young people from the State and the unemployment problem of the previous decade suddenly ceased to exist.

By the time Japan struck at Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941, Maine, in common with most of the rest of the Nation, already was moving in high gear in preparedness and defense efforts. From that date until the peak of production was reached in late 1944, Maine factories, farms, forests and fisheries poured out their fullest possible production to the war effort. Maine also became an important naval and air defense bastion of the Northeast, its spacious harbors and bays being of excellent service to the North Atlantic "bridge of ships" to England; and extensive new airfields were created to serve the Navy air arm, the Army's Air Force and the Air Transport Command.

Although all industrial effort operated at a high level to serve the Nation's defense, the most spectacular production records were made in the shipbuilding field. In 42 months from Pearl Harbor

to the observance of Maine Shipbuilders' Day on June 14, 1945, Maine's shipyard could boast of the following records:

Bath District: 64 high-speed super-destroyers, and two large cargo vessels.

Portland District: (A new yard had been added to the original establishment in South Portland) 234 Liberty ships, in addition to the 30 previously built for Great Britain, and seven wooden barges.

Mount Desert District: 724 vessels, including buoy boats, work boats, yawls, plane personnel boats, patrol boats, lifeboats, surf boats, motor launches, picket boats, freight boats, freight and passenger boats, tow boats, motor mine yawls and motor cargo boats.

Kittery District: 71 submarines and three torpedo testing barges.

Rockland-Camden District: 131 vessels, including coastal mine sweepers, net laying ships, auxiliary ocean tugs, sub chasers, salvage vessels, rescue tugs, coastal transports, wooden barges, plane rearming boats, buoy boats, harbor tugs and covered lighters.

Boothbay-Bristol District: 92 vessels, including motor mine sweepers, rescue tugs, sub chasers, salvage vessels, coastal transports, wooden barges, buoy boats, plane-rearming boat, coastal mine sweepers and district patrol vessels.

Industrially and militarily, Maine and its people made a notable contribution to the successful conclusion of World War II. Topping that contribution, of course, were the sacrifices of life; next to it, the services of 93,000 persons in the armed forces; and third, the production of materials to help bring the ultimate victory.

Of the 93,000 who served in the armed forces—more than 10 per cent of the population of the state—1,265 were killed in action in the Army and 399 were killed in naval combat. Figures of casualties were as follows:

*Army*

Killed in action.....	1,265
Died of wounds.....	205
Died of injuries.....	9
Died from non-battle causes.....	531
Finding of death.....	140
Missing .....	6

*Navy*

Killed in combat.....	399
Died in prison camp.....	2
Missing .....	6
Wounded .....	551

These cold statistics, translated into some semblance of reality by the human imagination, present at least a shadow picture of what tragedies befell Maine people and homes in World War II. Compared with the 93,000 who served in World War II, only 35,062 had served in World War I, and total deaths overseas and at home in that conflict numbered 1,026; although in the Civil War, of the 72,945 enlistments, there were 7,522 Army deaths alone.



The 93,000 who served in World War II included those who were connected with specifically Maine units and numerous others who were members of out-of-state divisions. The outstanding Maine units were the Forty-third Infantry Division and the 103rd Infantry Regiment, the 152nd Field Artillery Battalion, and Headquarters Company, Eighty-sixth Infantry Brigade.

Organized in 1925, the Forty-third Infantry Division performed service that was a glowing chapter in performance by National Guard divisions in World War II. Luzon and the Pacific Theater were the scenes of its major activity. When the Forty-third was activated, its troop basis was allotted to four states—Maine, Vermont, Connecticut and Rhode Island.

The question of a name for it arose. The Twenty-sixth had already been named the "Yankee Division." The Forty-third thereupon adopted a grape-leaf as its emblem—symbolic of Vinland, the name given to the American continent by the Vikings in 1000 A. D. or earlier. Those early Norsemen, impressed by the abundance of wild grapes on American shores, had designated the continent itself by this delightful name. The Forty-third used this leaf, placed on a quatrefoil, the four sections of which were to represent the four participating states. Some early patches featured a "48" on the leaf. Sometimes the outfit was nicknamed the "Red Wing" division after Major General Leonard F. Wing, of Vermont, who rose from the ranks to become a two-star general. He had a bright shock of red hair (hence "Red Wing") and a booming laugh.

The Forty-third began its service with the other Guard divisions in February, 1941. The "Winged Victory" Division, as it later came to be known, was assigned to Camp Blanding, Florida, and then transferred to Camp Shelby, Mississippi, after Pearl Harbor. Thence it was dispatched to Fort Ord, California, for amphibious training.

Going overseas in October, 1942, the Division had as its destination New Zealand, where it was to guard against a Japanese assault. As the Allied situation improved, it was transferred to New Caledonia, then to Guadalcanal, where it experienced its first combat duty, participating in the final phase of that campaign.

Along with other units, it was next sent to the Solomon Islands, where the Forty-third was assigned to capture the Russell Islands. The enterprise went well, since there was no enemy opposition there. A different situation awaited the Forty-third on New Georgia, where the opposition was fierce during the Division's invasion of the Rendova Islands and throughout a battle ending in capture of Munda Airfield. For thirty-five consecutive days the Forty-third received a true baptism of fire when it smashed against some of Japan's finest troops until all resistance was finally overcome.

After its experience on the Solomons, the Forty-third was transferred to New Guinea. There it participated in the Aitape campaign, chiefly the battle of Driniumore River. The Japanese in that quarter desperately tried to break through an American encircling movement that had been instituted, but they lost heavily in trying to force a river crossing.

The Forty-third Division's final campaign was in the invasion of Luzon as the Americans returned to drive the Japanese from the Philippine Islands. The unit, first of all, took part in the landings at Lingayen Gulf. Then it was engaged in the mountain campaign, which involved not only enemy opposition, but a battle against nature itself in a terrific terrain. Afterwards the Division pressed on Bauio, summer capital of the Philippines, and into the Zambales Mountains, and captured Ipo Dam, which protected Manila's water supply. The Luzon fighting was savage, and the Forty-third's losses were as heavy as those of any division in the war.

At the close of World War II, the Division was a part of the XI Corps, assembled for an invasion which never came—the over-running of the home islands of Japan. Its duty in Japan was merely as a part of the occupation forces.

In October, 1945, the Forty-third Division was deactivated, and in 1946 it once more became a National Guard unit, as did the 102nd of Connecticut.

#### THE 103RD INFANTRY REGIMENT

The 103rd Infantry, Maine National Guard, which had been a part of the Forty-third Division in the Luzon campaign, was set up as a separate regimental combat unit. It is a military organization of long standing in Maine. Twice, previous to World War II, it had seen active service at critical moments of war, and many companies in the original regiment dated back to the early days of Maine's statehood, one of them—Company C of Norway—to 1800, twenty years before Maine became a state.

At Little Round Top, Gettysburg, in 1863, the 103rd was in command of Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, who became a major-general in the Civil War and was at one time president of Bowdoin College and four times Governor of Maine. General Chamberlain was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for his regiment's heroic defense, in July, 1863, of Little Round Top, key to the turn of battle at Gettysburg, the war's centrally critical engagement.

The 103rd did not take part in the Spanish-American War, although many individual members volunteered for service in other units. The regiment participated, however, in the Mexican border difficulties in 1916, then was called again into active service in April, 1917, and left for France in the autumn of the same year as a unit in the Twenty-sixth ("Yankee") Division, afterward participating in all the major engagements in which that division fought. The 103rd Infantry, with the Third Battalion, under command of Major William Southard, of Bangor, captured Torcy on July 18, 1918, in the first offensive launched by any United States Unit in World War I. Major Southard's men were the first American or Allied unit to reach their objective along the whole front in the Allied victory operations at that time.

The regimental commander, Colonel Spaulding Bisbee, of Portland, still headed the unit when it went into training at Camp Blanding, Florida, after being activated for World War II service, as well as through the Louisiana and Carolina maneuvers and the final period



of training at Camp Shelby, Mississippi, before it was hurled against the Japanese in the Pacific Theater of Operations. While maintaining the defenses of one-half of the island of New Caledonia, the 103rd completed its training.

Before the regiment had completed its basic training at Camp Blanding in the spring of 1941, its ranks were swelled by trainees from infantry replacement centers, particularly Camp Wheeler, South Carolina. Many Maine men were included in these additions, but their number was still insufficient to hold the Maine identity of the regiment. To avoid wholesale losses to any one community in the event it encountered tough going, the War Department adopted a policy of not permitting large concentrations of men from a single area in any specific unit.

The 103rd then became a part of the Forty-third Infantry Division and the Thirty-first ("Dixie") Division. The Forty-third, as indicated above, was made up of Maine, Vermont, Connecticut and Rhode Island troops, while the Thirty-first was constituted of Florida, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi men. The northern troops were quartered in the southern part of Camp Blanding, and the southern troops were in the northern portion of the camp; and over the "Junior Mason and Dixon Line," as the dividing-line between them was called, considerable good-natured rivalry prevailed.

An incident of the training days was recalled recently by a member of the 103rd which typified this. In the warm-up maneuvers, before General Wallace Kreuger pitted his Third Army against General Ben Lear's Second Army, brigades maneuvered against brigades and divisions against divisions. In one phase of these, the 103rd found itself as a spear head against the 31st Division. The first part of the "fight" found the 103rd being pushed back consistently by the "rebels," and one of the Louisiana papers, reporting on the maneuvers, remarked "once again the rebel yell sounded through the Louisiana woods as the Southerners pushed back the Yankees from Maine." It didn't take long for the news to get around and on the night of the most serious setback that the 103rd had met in the maneuvers, Colonel Bisbee dismounted his regiment and made a night march through the nearby woods and swamps, hitting the rebels in the rear, routing them and "capturing" so many prisoners the 103rd didn't know what to do with them. When the change in the tactical situation was posted on the situation map at Corps Headquarters a staff officer inquired, "Who in the hell would be crazy enough to make a forced march in the middle of the night?" The reply was, "The foot cavalry from Maine, of course."

With the rest of the forty-third, the 103rd Regiment trained at Fort Ord, California. It had the distinction of executing the tactical exercise which gave the Forty-third Division its overseas priority rating. Through both maneuvers and combat, it was frequently the 103rd that was given the toughest jobs. According to "Red" Wing, the Vermont commander of the Division, this was true from Munda Airfield to Tokyo and back to San Francisco.

The 103rd received its artillery support from the 152nd Field Artillery Battalion, also originally from Maine. There were hundreds

of instances of individual heroism on the part of these Maine men—of determination and refusal to weaken, although the demands made upon them were sometimes brutal.

Out of the 103rd Regiment, too, came at least four full colonels who rose through taking special officers' training courses after they were in the national service. Other officers coming out of this unit included a score or more of lieutenant-colonels and others. The youngsters who were corporals and sergeants in 1941 and who fought their way to Tokyo as officers, non-commissioned officers and enlisted men, rose afterward to still higher positions. On two occasions the regiment was commanded by officers who originally went with it to Camp Blanding. Colonel Lester E. Brown, of Cape Elizabeth, was in charge at Munda as a lieutenant-colonel (he was chief warden of the Maine State Department of Inland Fisheries and Game in 1950). On another occasion Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace Devine, of Portland, was in charge while Colonel Bisbee was on a special training assignment in China and Burma.

This regiment, with the Forty-third Division, was one of the few units actually to make "Target Tokyo." After the war it returned to its former status as an active unit in the National Guard. It was on September 20, 1945, ten days after the Forty-third Division had landed with the initial occupation troops in Japan, that Major General Leonard F. Wing, its commander, issued from his headquarters sixty miles northwest of Tokyo the command that within five days the Ninety-seventh Infantry Division would relieve the Forty-third, which would immediately return home to the United States. Members of the 103rd Regiment, which had lived up to its motto, "To the Last Man," are entitled to wear four battle stars on their Asiatic Pacific ribbon, one battle star on their Philippine liberation ribbon, and also the American defense and American theatre ribbons.

Colonel Bisbee, in command of the history-making 103rd Regiment, was in charge of the civilian defense effort in Maine in 1950, with the rank of Brigadier General.

Coast Guard security measures increased as the war progressed, as did civilian defense preparations, with frequent air raid practice drills and an extensive civilian defense mobilization program. Rumors of submarine activity off the Maine coast spread from time to time and, after the war, some verification of such activity was published. Most notable was the revelation that two Nazi saboteurs had been landed at Hancock Point and had made their way to Boston and New York, where they were subsequently apprehended, along with other Nazi spies who had been landed on the Florida coast. The alertness of a Hancock High School youth in reporting and describing to authorities the two strangers who had asked him for road directions the day they landed on Hancock Point, was credited with providing a key lead that led to the FBI capturing the whole group. The two strangers were located by the FBI in Boston and trailed from then until their eventual arrest.

Following the end of World War II, problems of reconversion held sway until the beginning of the Korean hostilities in June of



1950. As war production tapered off sharply, several years were spent until 1948 in replenishing wartime shortages of civilian goods. By the middle of 1948, it was apparent that economic activities were due to slacken and that readjustments were beginning to be felt. Both the textile and shoe industries, among the State's leading job providers, showed signs of reverting to pre-war "seasonal" patterns, as lay-offs and curtailed production schedules went into effect. By the Spring of 1949, even the paper mills, always the first to feel the upsurge of national economic tides and the last to be affected by the ebb, had begun to cut back production and pulpwood procurement activities, the latter always running a year or more ahead of actual paper production.

Unemployment throughout the State also increased. There was a growing number of new business failures and some leaders were beginning to review the experiences of the Depression Decade to seek for policy guidance for economic conditions which again might lie ahead. Into this growing state of depression psychology came the Maine Publicity Bureau's Boost Maine Campaign late in 1948, which is described in detail in Part Two, Chapter Nine. Its forward-looking presentation of the State's economic prospects considerably brightened the psychological "climate" for Maine's economic life, with its sixteen separate county "booster" campaigns held in the space of nine months.

A more basic reason, however, for the gradual firming up of the State's economy during 1949 was, besides the intensifying international crisis, the fact that Maine industries, utilities, commercial enterprises and other lines of economic activity had laid out an estimated \$75,000,000 from 1946 on in capital improvements, such as production machinery, new buildings, power plants, transportation and communication and distribution facilities. Added to this was a growing housing and construction boom, new highway and bridge construction and similar basic improvements. Altogether, between 1946 and 1950, it was estimated that more than \$100,000,000 in capital investments was made in Maine.

At the time the North Koreans moved across the 38th Parallel on June 25, 1950, Maine industrial activity once more was moving into high gear and the economic picture veered sharply within the space of a few weeks from fears of over-production and over-supply to fears of shortages in many lines. Building materials already had begun to run short by the spring of 1950 and by mid-summer and early autumn critical shortages once more were evident in such strategic materials as cement, hardware and lumber. In the two months from May to July, 1950, a similar complete reversal took place in the paper market, running from over-supply to market scarcities in a brief 60 days. Textile and shoe mills also began to gear up and by Autumn of 1950 were operating at high levels, with prospects of peak operation until well into 1951, depending largely upon national preparedness demands. By early 1951, as this is written, unemployment continues its declining trend begun in mid-1949 and all industrial activities in the State are operating at levels higher, in many cases, than the peak activities of World War II,

reflecting returns already being produced from the capital investment outlays of the previous five years. Since mid-1950, the principal problem facing the people of Maine, as well as the rest of the Nation, concerns inflation; and the pinch in all fields of the State's economy is being felt as this record of Maine's modern history is concluded for the time being.

#### THE 1947 FOREST FIRES

No review of the most historic events in modern Maine would be complete without a brief resumé of the disastrous forest fires which swept many parts of the State in the autumn of 1947.

In that season an eight-year-long period of subnormal precipitation, extending over large areas of the State, came to a climax. Ground water levels throughout most of the State had fallen steadily since 1939, a situation relieved intermittently during 1945-46, when northern and central areas of the State again received sufficient snow and rainfall to fill major storage reservoirs. Early spring of 1947 also was comparatively wet, with planting of many crops delayed because of wet fields. After the middle of June, however, the heavens seemed to be shut off over most of the State. Except for a few local showers and slight rainfall, most of the State began to experience the most prolonged drought in its recorded history.

During August and September, rainfall records generally went to 25 per cent of normal or less. Generally hot, sunny weather also worsened the situation, extending through September to the first 28 days of October, when hardly a drop of rain fell anywhere in the State of Maine. Most farm wells had long since gone dry, streams and brooks were virtually without water, except in the deeper pools, river and lake water storage levels also shrank alarmingly. Woods and swamp sections which never had been dry in the memory of man grew parched and the forest duff, highly inflammable when dry, became "explosive." It should be noted that the same general conditions were to be found throughout New England and most of the Northeast.

By October 17, the Maine Forestry Department patrols and volunteers were fighting 38 separate woods fires throughout the State and, on the same day, Governor Horace A. Hildreth issued an emergency proclamation closing Maine's woodland areas to the public. New woods fires were springing up at the rate of about half a dozen a day. So far, these fires had been confined to woods areas and little damage was being done to homes and buildings. Many were believed effectively out during the next few days, but still a soaking rain was needed to completely stop the menace. It never came.

The next two weeks saw the greatest economic disaster ever to visit the State of Maine in its recorded history. From the western border of the State with New Hampshire, across the entire southern half of the State to Washington County, the number of fires, many believed of incendiary origin and others caused by carelessness, increased in number and extent, sweeping into towns, villages and settlements, threatening the outskirts of several city areas and blackening an enormous acreage of forest, wood and brush land.



The peak of the fury came on October 23 when dry, northwest gales swept the State, fanning the many smouldering fires into new intensity and sending them lurching forward on fronts several miles long at a speed, in some cases, as high as seven to ten miles an hour. That day of horror for the State of Maine reached its climax by nightfall. The most spectacular of these fires is recorded in Part Three of this work, under HANCOCK COUNTY, BAR HARBOR.

An official tabulation made the first week in November by the American Red Cross, whose disaster units had been called into action, showed a total of 1,068 homes and cottages reported destroyed, including 285 at Bar Harbor, together with 241 farm buildings also burned down throughout the State. More than 200,000 acres of woodland had been destroyed, approximately 2,500 persons were made homeless, sixteen fire-connected deaths had been reported and property damage was placed at around \$33,000,000.

Besides Bar Harbor, the hardest hit section of the State was York County, in Maine's southwest corner. Here a series of fires, extending from Brownfield, in the foothills of the White Mountains, had for more than a week ravaged woodland areas of towns in the Saco Valley. The real alarm came on October 20, when one of these fires, in North Kennebunkport, flared up and began to move with the wind across U. S. Route One toward the seacoast, on the southern boundary of the City of Biddeford. Before the week was out, this series of fires had become generally connected from Brownfield to the sea at Goose Rocks Beach, consuming hundreds of homes, farms and cottages, in a belt about 40 miles long and 10 miles wide. Most of the villages of Brownfield, Newfield, Waterboro and Lyman, and the summer colony of Fortune's Rocks, southeast of Biddeford, burned on that wild day of October 23.

Under the leadership of Governor Hildreth, emergency activities throughout the State had mounted from October 17 on. The Red Cross Disaster Units were in full mobilization; thousands of men, women and children volunteers manned the fire-fighting lines and supplied auxiliary services. Fleets of tank trucks carried water to the fire lines, construction and industrial firms sent their bulldozers into the battle to plow firebreaks, fire equipment from the cities was rushed into the disaster areas and Federal agencies sent help and equipment into the State under an emergency declaration by President Truman.

In the most afflicted areas, business came to a standstill as whole communities turned out to meet the fire threat and to help in evacuation. Tales of individual heroism and sacrifice were common. At the peak of the disaster, it was estimated that some 6,000 Maine citizens were temporarily homeless and 60 separate fires were ravaging the various sections of the southern half of the State. The northern half was only slightly affected, since it had been getting slightly more rainfall.

On October 29, a quarter-inch of rain fell on most of Maine and the end of the disaster was in sight. Within a week the danger was definitely over and widespread relief and reconstruction activities were underway on several fronts. In all, some several score

Maine communities were directly affected, either by actual damage or serious threat thereof and virtually the entire State was on a semi-mobilization footing.

Serious as was the disaster, in fact the most serious in the State's history, national publicity at the time, especially for October 23-25, reflected a certain degree of hysteria, which was not, however, general in Maine. National newspaper headlines, such as "State of Maine Ablaze," and similar streamers, gave a somewhat exaggerated picture. The tabulated results of the fire period showed less than one per cent of Maine's total area had been affected by the fires, less than ten miles of the State's 2,500-mile scenic coastline bore fire scars, and not one of Maine's major industries had been damaged. Several small-town industrial plants had been burned, and some forest acreage had been burned, but the natural resources of the State were scarcely scratched.

Not related to the forest fires, was an \$800,000 fire on October 23, which destroyed the south shed of the Maine State Pier in Portland and for a time threatened a large section of Portland's waterfront installations. Army tugs and Coast Guard cutters assisted the Portland Fire Department in quelling the big blaze. Another major community fire on the same day, also not connected with the forest fires, destroyed three old business blocks in Fairfield and for a time threatened most of the town. Maine and New Brunswick community fire departments helped to stop the blaze, which did an estimated \$150,000 damage.

Rainfall in 1948, 1949 and 1950 gradually returned to normal and by the winter of 1950-51, Maine's water storage basins were back to their best levels in more than a decade and the general ground water level also was back to normal, an important factor in rural sections. Most of the fire-damaged trees in southern and coastal Maine had been cut out, millions of board feet of lumber salvaged and the greenery of three successive springs was helping to cover up much of the woodland scars left by the 1947 forest fire disaster.





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## PART II

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## CHAPTER I

### *The State Government*

THE government of Maine is frequently described as having passed through four major phases: First, the Indian type of government; second, the proprietary stage; third, the stage in which what is now Maine was a part of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; and fourth, the period since statehood, beginning in 1820.

The customary procedure of the Indians was to have a chief, or sagamore, an office which was usually hereditary within each tribe. Sometimes a head chief presided over the affairs of several tribes, and tribal chiefs operated under him. There were no written laws. The chief and the council meted out justice and exacted penalties. One tribe near the New Brunswick border of Maine developed a very democratic form of government. The men of the tribe elected their sachem, or chief, although he was elected for life. The succession very often passed to the dead chief's son, although in this instance the son had to be elected by the tribe. The sachem had a council of six, whom he named, the warriors of the tribe confirming his appointments. The sachem was commander-in-chief of the war forces, although another was in immediate command.

Such was the form of government which the first white settlers found when they came to this part of America. The reception with which those settlers met in different instances and at different periods is a matter of special consideration in an earlier chapter of this work, treating the Indians. Our purpose here is merely to point out the development of governmental forms at different periods.

It was in 1606 that James I granted the charter of Virginia to Gorges and Popham, creating two companies for the carrying out of that charter—the London Company, the first colony in Virginia; and the Plymouth Company. A general council of thirteen sat in England, and on that council was one representative of each company in the colony. The code of laws was simple. Some of the provisions were that each colony could elect a president and councillors for one year; that land was to descend to the land-holders' heirs as in England; that trial by jury was to be assured whenever any one was accused of a crime; and that all offenders must be tried in the colony where the crime had been committed.

In 1620 General Popham was made president, with a council of five assistants. At that time James I gave to the Council of New England, as the successor to the Plymouth Company was called, a charter confirming and including nearly all the rights of the former charter of 1606. This charter prevailed for fourteen years, and during its operation several patents were granted in Maine, mainly between 1623 and 1631.

The First Patent of Agamenticus (York) was granted to Ferdinando Gorges. Others were the First Kennebec Patent, the Second Kennebec Patent, the Patent to the Planters at Saco, the Lygonia Patent, the Muscongus or Waldo Patent, and the Pemaquid



or Sagadahoc Patent. Civil control was granted to the patent holders, along with title to the land. The government of the patent varied with the temperament of the proprietor, who was usually Governor, although frequently a deputy did most of the active work of administration and even determined important policies.

The Council of New England lasted until 1635, when the King took control. Commissioners of the American Plantations were then named to handle colonial affairs. New England was divided into royal provinces, Ferdinando Gorges receiving the region between the Piscataqua and Kennebec rivers, which was called New Somersetshire. Captain William Gorges came to America to be the first deputy governor, and with six commissioners he held court at Saco in 1636. That session, incidentally, marked the first provincial court in the borders of present-day Maine. In 1637 Captain William Gorges returned to England.

Two years later, in 1639, Ferdinando Gorges received his long-desired charter to the Province of Maine, which included one-sixth of the area of the present state—all the land between the Piscataqua and the Sagadahoc, 120 miles inland. He ruled as Lord Palatine, simulating Lord Baltimore of Maryland. During this period the area was divided into eight bailiwicks, or counties, and subdivided into hundreds, parishes and tithings. There was a legislative body consisting of eight members elected by the people. A council made laws and levied taxes. The standing councillors were the deputy governor, chancellor, treasurer, marshal, judge marshal, admiral, judge of maritime cases, master of ordnance and secretary. Each month the council met as a court of justice. The accepted religion was Episcopalian. No provisions were made for schools, except what the ingenuity or interests of individual parents might lead them to devise.

In 1643 Sir Alexander Rigby bought Lygonia Patent, which had a deputy president and a general assembly consisting of assistant magistrates and deputies. The deputies were chosen by popular vote. The deputy president acted under the advice of a commission appointed by Parliament.

At Gorges' death, his heirs did nothing about his property, whereupon the inhabitants of the province formed a compact to see that the province was governed as formerly, with such new regulations as were not repugnant to the laws of their native country. Edward Godfrey was chosen as Governor, and continued in office until 1652, in which year Massachusetts took over Maine as a county, which was named Yorkshire. The so-called county of Yorkshire, at that stage, sent two delegates to the General Court in Boston. The inhabitants were allowed to vote without joining the Puritan Church, but still did not have full freedom of worship.

In 1660 Gorges' grandson claimed Maine for himself. His commissioners visited the country and set up their own government. But Massachusetts objected, and the commissioners of Gorges' grandson were recalled. In 1668 Massachusetts resumed full control, but between 1676 and 1678 the Gorges claim was revived. At that time Massachusetts settled the issue by purchasing Maine for £1,250 and taking over this entire region as its proprietor.

In 1680 Massachusetts reorganized the administration of Maine, after which a provincial president and a deputy president were chosen annually. The Legislature at that period consisted of a standing council of eight and a lower house of deputies chosen from the different towns. The first president under that system was Thomas Danforth.

The vagaries of politics were as subject to whim then as now, and in 1684 the charter of Massachusetts was annulled. Thereafter, for seven years, both Maine and Massachusetts were governed by the Crown. Dudley became president of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine and Rhode Island. He was assisted by fifteen councillors, appointees of the Crown. But his administration lasted only briefly. In 1688 Sir Edmond Andros was appointed captain general and vice admiral of New England, New York and the Jerseys. He formed a council of twenty-five members, five of whom constituted a quorum. All legislative, judicial and executive functions were vested in this group, and their rule was despotic and without constitutional limits.

When Andros was deposed, in 1689, a provisional government was established—"a council for the safety of the people and the conservation of peace," as it was called. Delegates were chosen from the towns, and a meeting of the General Court was held in Boston in May of that year. It was then decided to "resume the government according to charter rights," whereupon Danforth was restored to office as president of the Province of Maine.

In 1691 William and Mary granted Massachusetts her second charter, which allowed her full control of Maine as far as the St. Croix River. At that period the Massachusetts government closely resembled the English form. A Governor, Lieutenant Governor and Secretary of State were appointed and commissioned by the Crown to hold office during the pleasure of the sovereign. The Governor had supreme executive authority. The Legislature consisted of two branches—an upper branch, or council, or board of assistants, and a lower branch, or house of representatives. The council was chosen by its predecessor council and the new house of representatives. By charter provisions, three council members were always from Maine, and one from Sagadahoc. Representatives were elected by towns—eight of them from Maine. All laws were approved by the King.

In 1774 General Gage dissolved the General Court, and from 1775 Massachusetts was governed by a provincial congress of delegates from the principal towns of Maine and Massachusetts. This congress managed political affairs, but made no laws.

In 1778 the Continental Congress divided Massachusetts into three districts. The northern district was composed of York, Cumberland and Lincoln counties, and was called the District of Maine.

The Massachusetts constitution was adopted in 1780, vesting power in a Governor, a Lieutenant Governor and an Advisory Council of nine. A General Court of two branches was established, the branches being called a Senate and a House of Representatives, which met annually. Voters had to have an income of \$10 per year or an estate worth \$200 to exercise their right of balloting. Senators were chosen from counties or districts, their number being arranged



in proportion to property involved. Representatives were chosen from corporate towns, one to every 150 taxable polls, and one more for every additional 375 polls.

When the United States Constitution was adopted, Maine was made a representative district. The adoption of the Constitution was, for Maine, a critical problem, because opinion was very closely divided as to the advisability of its acceptance. The situation was the more critical because of the fact that, on the basis of action taken by Massachusetts (in which Maine was still included), the other thirteen colonies would probably accept or reject that historic document by following the precedent of the leading New England colony. In Maine, some favoring the new Constitution did so with qualms and quaking in their hearts. But those opposed promised to abide by the result even if it went against them—which it did—and to try to persuade their constituents to accept the verdict.

In 1788 Massachusetts held its convention to consider whether to ratify the Constitution or reject it. Several towns were not represented at that convention. Out of a total of 355 delegates, 46 were from what is now Maine. The verdict was 25 to 21 in favor of ratification. The vote was as follows:

Favoring Ratification	Place	Opposing Ratification	Place
Nathaniel Barrell.....	York	Elias Preble.....	York
Rev. Moses Hemenway.....	Wells	Moses Adams.....	Kittery
Nathaniel Wells.....	Wells	James Neal.....	Kittery
Jacob Bradbury.....	Buxton	Elijah Thayer.....	Berwick
Thomas Cutts.....	Pepperellboro	Nathaniel Low.....	Berwick
John Low.....	Coxhall	Richard Fox Cutts.....	Berwick
John K. Smith.....	Falmouth	Thomas M. Wentworth.....	Lebanon
John Fox.....	Portland	Samuel Nason.....	Sanford
Joseph McLellan.....	Portland	Moses Ames.....	Fryeburg
David Mitchell.....	N. Yarmouth	Jeremiah Emery.....	Shapleigh
Samuel Merrill.....	Yarmouth	Rev. Pelatiah Tingley.....	Waterboro
William Thompson.....	Scarboro	Daniel Ilsley.....	Portland
John Dunlap.....	Brunswick	Stephen Longfellow, Jr.....	Gorham
Isaac Snow.....	Harpswell	William Widgery.....	New Gloucester
John Dyer.....	Cape Elizabeth	David Murray.....	Newcastle
Samuel Perley.....	Gray	Samuel Thompson.....	Topsham
Thomas Rice.....	Pownalboro	Jonah Crosby.....	Winslow
David Sylvester.....	Pownalboro	Zaccheus Beal.....	Bowdoinham
Nathaniel Wyman.....	Georgetown	William Jones.....	Bristol
David Gilmore.....	Woolwich	James Carr.....	Hallowell
William McCobb.....	Boothbay	Joshua Bran.....	Winthrop
Samuel Grant.....	Vassalboro		
Moses Davis.....	Edgecomb		
David Fales.....	Thomaston		
Dummer Sewall.....	Bath		
TOTAL—25		TOTAL—21	

As the foregoing history reveals, Maine and Massachusetts were united through a community of interests, yet were frequently at odds with each other over numerous naturally conflicting points of view. It is interesting that, in 1785, three years before Maine's delegates voted by such a skimpy margin to ratify the Federal Constitution, a special convention had been called at Falmouth to consider separation from Massachusetts. In that same year—1785—the *Falmouth Gazette* was established to advance the cause of separation.

Through the period when separation was being considered but had not yet been acted upon, new counties were taking shape, indicating the steady growth of the region. What had in the beginning been "Yorkshire" gradually settled down into York County. Cumberland and Lincoln counties were incorporated in 1760; Hancock and Washington counties, in 1789; Kennebec County, in 1799; Oxford County, in 1805; Somerset County, in 1809; Penobscot County, in 1816; Waldo County, in 1827; Franklin and Piscataquis counties, in 1838; Aroostook County, in 1839; Androscoggin and Sagadahoc counties, in 1854; and Knox County, in 1860.

The Maine Legislature and state government as a whole met originally in Portland from the time of statehood until January 4, 1832, when the first meeting of the Legislature took place in Augusta. The cornerstone of the State House was laid on July 4, 1829. The design for the building had been executed by a Boston architect, Charles Bullfinch, and construction began soon after the laying of the cornerstone. The building was not completed, however, until 1832. Augusta, which had been one of many contestants for the honor of being chosen as the capital city—Portland, Brunswick, Hallowell, Waterville, Belfast and Wiscasset had also aspired to the distinction—showed its eagerness by subscribing about \$15,000 toward the cost of the structure. The total estimated cost of the State House was \$80,000; but when the work was finished, the actual cost was found to have been \$139,000.

The original building was about 150 feet long, including the central portion with columns and cupola, and two wings extending north and south. It was described as "like the Boston State House, yet different." It had the same high basement story, pierced by entrance arches, with high fronting steps. There was the same placing of the portico. The most striking difference was in the dome and its support. The building has been three times remodeled and once rebuilt; and it is still inadequate to house a state government which, though one of the most compact to be found in the nation, is yet rapidly spilling over into surrounding houses and buildings to find room for all its departments and activities. The State House interior was remodeled in 1852 and again in 1860 to provide more space for departments which even then were expanding. In 1890 and 1891 a large three-story wing was added at the rear, providing accommodations for the State Library and some offices. Again in 1909 and 1910 there was a remodeling, although the original Bullfinch front was preserved through all these changes. Granite for the new 1909-1910 construction came from a quarry in Hallowell, near the place from which the original stone came, about 1830. The dome built to replace the old cupola rises to a height of 185 feet, and is surmounted by the figure of Wisdom, made of copper and covered with gold—a design by the sculptor, W. Clark Noble. On the interior, the old rotunda was transformed into a room of great dignity, with eight Doric columns. In this impressive room are displayed historic battle flags. Corridors are lined with portraits of Maine's distinguished sons. The Senate and Executive Chambers occupy the south wing; the House of Representatives, the third and fourth stories, north wing; and the State Library, the second floor and part of the first, north wing.



In this building and neighboring structures, the state government remains centered today. From time to time changes have been adopted in this or that arm of government. There has been a steady trend toward a growth of activity and toward greater costliness of operations; and while many hold that such concentration of governmental power must naturally follow upon the desires of those employed in the different departments and divisions to keep their jobs and build up an ever-ramifying "bureaucracy," the fact remains that, when questioned, few citizens seem to wish the services of government to be in any way decreased. The advantages certainly are not to be enjoyed without accompanying disadvantages and even heartbreaking shortcomings.

One source of strength in Maine, as compared with many states, is that, because 60 per cent of its population is rural a large portion of its people live in areas where ordinary every-day human friendliness and the intimacies and personal relationships of an earlier day still prevail. Hence, the continuing significance of the town meeting in this state. The "town meeting" atmosphere has even extended to the now greatly ramified government centered at the State House in Augusta, where citizens chat freely with one another in the corridors and the different departmental offices, right up to the gubernatorial chambers.

This common intimacy and friendliness, which has not lost sight of the plain human touch, does much to preserve a kind of sanity that seems lacking where government has become far more unwieldy and has even revealed a tendency to become mechanized, statistical and (if the play on words may be forgiven) static. Here mind can still meet mind, theory grapple with theory and still keep sight of reality, and warring interests assemble and argue in the open—"town meeting" style,—whether at an official conclave or even around the old coal stove. A prevailing clear-sightedness has characterized Maine's efforts to keep corruption out of politics, and where politics is concerned in Maine today there is an evident desire, if one may generalize, to maintain a sense of equal rights of all citizens alike, whatever may be their differences of ability or interest outside the political sphere.

The growth of the direct primary movement was a case in point. For seventy-one years after Maine became an independent state, nominations of the leading officers of government could be made without legal restrictions of any kind as to how they were made. There was full freedom of "slate-making." The first direct step toward regulation by law of nominations came in 1891, when the Legislature adopted an enactment giving legal status to the nominating convention and regulated its procedure as an institution. By that enactment the party convention, or caucus, gained legal authority to do what it was already doing anyway. The right to make nominations was granted to conventions of delegates representing a political party which had polled "at least one per cent of the entire vote cast . . . for governor" at the immediately preceding election.

By 1903 an enrollment law was enacted, limiting participation in the party caucus to persons legally enrolled. To be "legally



enrolled," a citizen must file with the town or city clerk a written and signed declaration giving his name, place of residence, place of last enrollment, and party in which last enrolled. When newly enrolled, with a change of party, a voter could not vote in any political caucus for six months.

A corrupt practices act followed eight years later, in 1911. It was modeled on an already functioning Connecticut law. It applied to elections, caucuses and primaries, including party conventions and meetings to elect delegates to conventions. Expenses of any caucus or primary were thenceforth to be paid only by the treasurer or political agent legally appointed, and were to be recorded by the Secretary of State or the town clerk (although a candidate could designate himself as his own political agent if he so desired).

In September of that same year, 1911, a direct primary law was adopted in Maine, where the direct primary has been in force since that time. This movement came about as a result of a division within Republican ranks. An independent, progressive element had arisen among the Maine Republicans, and "ring" and "anti-ring" leaders came to grips with one another in a series of bitter feuds. Charges were made of "committee packing" and general corruption. The Democrats had demanded "honest caucuses" and "full publicity on all expenditures" in 1908, and by 1910 both parties adopted a direct primary plank in their party platforms.

In the ensuing election the Democrats controlled both houses of the Legislature which met in January, 1911. The Republicans first took the initiative, however, regarding the direct primary. The Davies bill, introduced by Howard Davies, a Republican, of Yarmouth, on February 6, 1911, was followed by the Democrats' administration bill, drawn up by Nathan Clifford and William M. Pennell, both of Portland, and introduced on March 10 as the Pennell bill. The committee favored the majority bill, and the Pennell bill therefore won in the House by a vote of 75 to 20 and in the Senate by 19 to 5. It applied to nominations for Governor, Representatives to Congress and United States Senators. And since that time the direct primary has been in force in this state.

The government of counties, towns and other political subdivisions is treated elsewhere in this work. It may suffice to stress here the significant effect of municipal governmental procedures upon statewide governmental forms and activities—an influence which we may hope will never wholly vanish. Procedures at the State House in Augusta bear many of the characteristics of the smaller community forms.

When a law is to be enacted, a bill is written, usually on a special blank form provided for the purpose. It is then labeled an "act," its text usually beginning, "Be it enacted by the people of the State of Maine as follows," then proceeding to the substance of the act. The name of a member of the Legislature who sponsors it appears on the bill, which is dropped into a box at the front of the Speaker's desk in the House or that of the President of the Senate in the Senate. A revenue bill is required by law to be introduced in the House. The member sponsoring it refers it to some



committee for consideration and a report; and it is so referred without ado unless a dispute arises as to the appropriate committee to consider it. The committee thereupon decides that it ought, or ought not, to be adopted, and so reports, sometimes with suggested alterations. The bill is then read in the branch where it was introduced, and is printed in final form for enactment. After being considered in both houses, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House sign it, whereupon the Governor receives it for his signature or veto. If he vetoes it, he must give his reasons. If he neither signs nor vetoes it in five days, it becomes law without his signature. If he vetoes it, a two-thirds vote of both houses can make it law over his veto. If he signs it, it goes to the Secretary of State for permanent filing. It becomes law in ninety days after the Legislature adjourns—unless it is an emergency measure and so labeled.

If, within these ninety days, 10,000 voters sign a petition after the Legislature's adjournment, requesting a statewide vote on the measure, it must then go to the people for determination. Meanwhile, it cannot become effective as law. This provision is called the "referendum." Similarly, 12,000 voters signing a petition can force any legal enactment. If the Legislature changes their bill, it must go to the voters for a referendum vote. This provision is called "initiative."

With the increase of industrial activity in recent decades has come a growing tendency to expand the complications of so-called "administrative government"—the turning over of numerous details of administration—executive, legislative, even judicial, to departments specially set up translate general principles and policies into a functioning mechanism. At the national level the Railroad Commission and the Interstate Commerce Commission were early examples of this type of governmental agency. Legislators, unable to go into the many ramified and specialized details of the law, and an executive organization unable to enforce a great complication of legislative enactments, sought refuge in more and more "commissions" and "departments," until state governments and federal government alike became an involved network of such newly created bodies. Finally these complications became a kind of legalized octopus that passed all understanding—a web of interlocking bureaus and departments with overlapping functions. Waste of public moneys resulted to such degree that those government officials responsible for broad, general policies found it well-nigh impossible to set matters straight, or even to understand the true nature of the difficulties they faced. High public office-holders committed to sound governmental practices felt incompetent to deal with the situation, or sometimes even to act responsibly with respect to the duties that were, basically, supposed to be theirs.

To relieve this situation, the Cole Committee made a study of government in the state of Maine, according to instructions from the Legislature, and made a report in 1922. Although that committee was limited by the order creating it, and for that reason could not study state institutions, it reported its conviction that such a study might show greater waste than suspected. There was, according

to the Cole report, no evidence of graft or deliberate wastefulness; but a great loss in efficiency resulted from the zeal of many departments to expand beyond the limits of the law's intention, with the outcome that many efforts and activities were being unwisely duplicated. There had been, the Cole Committee reported, a 75 per cent increase in the governmental clerical force in five years, and over fifteen years many new offices and boards had been created—the state auditor, the Industrial Accident Commission, the Highway Commission, the Department of Charities and Corrections, the School for the Feeble-Minded, state reformatories for men and women, three tuberculosis sanatoria, the Portland Pier and a system of pensions for the blind.

These new “creations” were a distinct cause for alarm in the view of the Cole Committee, which advocated reducing the number of institutional boards to three and the creation of a central pool of clerical and stenographic personnel. The committee also urged that department heads be directly appointed without the intervention of boards, the payment of all fees directly to the Treasury, the addition of the State Library to the province of the Department of Education, the placing of all new construction activity in the hands of one newly named official, the classification of state employes with regard to compensation, a unification of the many divisions within the State Department of Agriculture, and the consolidation of some departments.

Some of the committee's recommendations were enacted. But whatever part of the revision job was done was still done piecemeal. And throughout the rest of the 1920s the situation only worsened by growing more, rather than less, complicated. To pay for all these new arms of government, taxes were naturally rising, and the complaint was heard that taxation was discouraging new industry from establishing itself in Maine and so becoming an obstacle to the state's development. Every state faced the same type of problem, and the National Institute of Public Administration made studies through that period. In the light of these studies and resulting recommendations, fifteen states reorganized their entire schemes of government.

Then Governor William Tudor Gardiner, who had been a member of the Legislature in 1922, when the Cole Committee issued its report, decided that the time was at hand to seek a change that would really go to the root of the difficulty and, if need be, revise the structure of Maine's government on a basis at once broad and deep. As news of his attitude spread abroad, many complained that he was only aiming to enlarge the Governor's authority at the expense of the general freedom. On January 21, 1931, he formally introduced his proposals in an address to the Legislature, which had already ordered and obtained a further broad survey of governmental needs in Maine. That survey had been further considered by a citizens' committee and the more complicated details by an executive committee named by the larger group. To Governor Gardiner, there was no longer any doubt. His course was clear.

As he explained at that time, he had been Governor for a considerable period before, for instance, discovering that he was chairman of the Crop Pest Commission and the Board for Survey of



Lands. The whole situation was so snarled that it was impossible for the Governor to know his own duties; and, under such circumstances, he reasoned, how could he be blamed if, as Governor, he were to fail. He asked only that a system of state government be devised which would give him "a fair opportunity for success."

The Administrative Code that he proposed, basically, centered the most important elements of the state's activities, executive-wise, in four broadly conceived departments—a new Department of Finance, a consolidation of many organizations into a Department of Health and Welfare, a Department of Sea and Shore Fisheries and a Department of Education. A commissioner of each of these four departments was to be named by the Governor with advice and consent of Council, to serve three years or during the pleasure of the Governor and Council. A Department of Audit was to be administered by a department head who would be elected by the Legislature for a four-year term. Governor Gardiner's exposition of this new Code and the reasoning behind it was an excellent study in modern governmental techniques and problems, proposed in a spirit of true Maine independence—two years, it will be remembered, before the launching of the New Deal in Washington, D. C. In his own words:

"In the departments set up by the Code the commissioners are appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Council and are to serve at the pleasure of the Governor and Council. When it is realized that this means there is a stated term of office, public opinion will insist on the retaining of good men in these important offices. At present the tenure of office varies in the different departments; for instance the Commissioner of Education holds office only "during the pleasure of the executive." Two of the departments are headed by commissions serving for fixed terms under the existing statutes, and they designate their own executive officers. Department heads serve as an advisory staff to the Governor and are subject to his call but must meet at least quarterly. The Auditor is to be chosen by vote of the Legislature to serve for four years, and must be a certified public accountant or qualified by experience similar to that of the present incumbent. Bureau chiefs, subordinate officers and other employees are appointed by the heads of the departments with the approval of the Governor and Council but subject to personnel provisions of the Act. Under similar conditions salaries are fixed by the appointing officers. There are certain requirements as to bonding and annual reports. Next are general rules for the conduct of departments. Departments are listed and described, the first being the Executive Department with bureaus of administration, military affairs, state police, and buildings and grounds, with the provision that personnel work shall be started in this department through the appointment of an experienced personnel officer. Among the duties of the Executive Department is that of preparing annual reports, which may be edited and condensed. Thousands of dollars

are now thrown away each year for the printing of reports which mean little or nothing to anybody but the printer. The armory commission is put under the Bureau of Military Affairs; motor vehicle inspectors are made a part of the state police force, and the chief of the state police is given disciplinary control over the force. The park commission is continued in connection with the Bureau of Buildings and Grounds. Details as to the powers of the state personnel officer are gone into completely and I believe a careful perusal of these sections will make quite clear the inadequacy of our present regulations concerning our employees, an almost complete lack of system which is as unfair to our employees as it is inefficient from the point of view of the state. These portions of the Code are based on experience in personnel work in many states and follow the most successful and approved practices. The prime purpose of a personnel system is to provide for the continuous service, during good behavior, of trained experts whose appointments would largely be taken out of politics.

“The next department, that of Finance, will enlist your keenest interest, as finance is the hub of the administrative wheel. The Survey points out that the defects of our present financial system, if they are to be remedied, must include thorough-going reorganization of all agencies having to do with the collection and expenditure of money. Obviously these agencies can be best controlled and organized if they are grouped together in one department, and this is what the Survey advises, although some of the financial activities cannot be transferred at once. Three bureaus are proposed in the Department of Finance at this time, of Accounts and Control, of Purchases, and of Taxation. A budget officer is required and his duties explained, together with various stipulations as to the cooperation which department heads are to give him. Various means and measures to make a budget effective, are prescribed in the next sections and an advisory committee provided from the Legislature. A separate constitutional amendment will be submitted making the budget an integral part of our government. Also it is believed that we can have a more modern financial system if the work carried on in the office of the State Treasurer can be distributed among the appropriate bureaus of the Finance Department, and the same constitutional amendment takes care of that matter. A separate bill will be introduced setting up a Bureau of the Treasury, to take effect when and if the amendment receives the approval of the people. The statutory provisions of the Code are not made dependent on amendment, however, and it is hoped that we can secure great improvement in our financial methods shortly after the passage of the Act, if it meets with your approval. The work to be carried on by the Bureau of Accounts and Control is specified in considerable detail, and the methods of transacting business between the various departments and agen-



cies of local governments and the Department of Finance are carefully delineated. These financial details are rather technical and I feel that we can place the utmost confidence in the advice the executive committee has been able to place at our disposal. Similarly the work and powers of a purchasing officer who I am reasonably certain could save the State at least a hundred thousand dollars each year, are treated in detail, and here we must rely on the experience of other states. The provisions advised for us are those which have proven most advantageous wherever central purchasing has been established. It is interesting to note that an ex-officio standardization committee is set up, consisting of the Governor or his representative, the state purchasing agent, and the executive officers from the departments of Highways, Health and Welfare, and Education. The Bureau of Taxation affords an opportunity for economy through the elimination of duplicate work and the coordination which the grouping together of related functions makes possible. The duties of the state auditor's office in relation to the tax on gasoline, and of the attorney general's office in relation to inheritance taxes, are transferred to this Bureau; a board of equalization is provided consisting of the Commissioner of Finance and two associate members who are not state or local officials. The department is to perform the functions of the farm lands loan commissioners.

"The Department of Health and Welfare would be organized into three separate and distinct bureaus, with technical directors, the bureaus to deal with health, social welfare, and institutional service. The Commissioner may serve as director of the latter bureau and one of his chief duties would be to coordinate the overlapping work of the three bureaus, to promote cooperation among them and between local organizations and the appropriate bureau or institution. The Bureau of Social Welfare would include all the welfare work of the State, now scattered through various departments and agencies. The Bureau of Health in addition to the duties now performed in the Public Health Department, would take care of inspection of food, drugs, milk, water supply, drainage and sewerage. The recapitulation contained in this section of the Code is informative as to the great amount of health and welfare work which the state is attempting for the benefit of its citizens. Institutional heads would be appointed by the Commissioner of Health and Welfare, with the approval of the Governor and Council, and should be qualified and experienced in the management of the particular type of institution. An ex-officio parole board is provided in the Code and an advisory council of six, whose duties are to assist the commissioner and make recommendations. Local boards of visitors are also authorized for institutions.

"The consideration of our health and welfare problems more than any other phase of the State's activities led me

to have the Survey made, for they are concerned with the conservation of our human resources. Eighteen different agencies now spend twenty-seven percent of our legislative appropriations for these purposes. A critical examination of the organizations dealing with our dependents and our mentally and physically ill, shows that a point has been reached where we must have more efficiency or must make up our minds to spend more money without adequate returns. In theory the Governor with his Council is supposed to coordinate and closely supervise all these activities and separately managed institutions, but the task is an impossible one. The greater the number of independent administrative authorities with whom the head of the government is obliged to deal, the more difficult it is for him to develop good cooperation among them. In this plan for a Department of Health and Welfare there could undoubtedly be a great accomplishment in the coordination of such services as that of a dietician, of a farm supervisor, of transfer of inmates, of interchange of products manufactured or grown at state institutions. There is no intention of making health subordinate to welfare or vice versa. Each bureau would be in charge of a technical expert. The Commissioner who should be a man of high executive ability, would be of the greatest possible aid to the Governor and Council and certainly he would be of much assistance to the bureaus and institutions, and there could be a much wiser program in the preparation of the budget. A carefully prepared allotment based upon the needs of each special service would take the place of free-for-all competition for funds. The close interdependence among health and welfare activities and the institutions should make possible the harmonious development of the department. This plan is proposed after a careful study of the conditions peculiar to Maine and is deemed to be particularly suited to us because we have no adequate local administration of health and welfare matters. The relative importance of poverty and disease as a cause of human misery cannot be argued, but that they operate to cause each other is obvious. It seems equally obvious that if the field workers of the two bureaus could co-operate fully the benefit to the sick and the dependent would be incalculable, quite aside from any possible economy. Moreover the defective easily becomes the delinquent, and the delinquent often aids in the spread of disease. Surely an enlightened public policy which recognizes the viciousness of the circle of disease, dependence and delinquency, will operate to decrease the number of unfortunates who fall into those classes.

“In the Code the Department of Agriculture is to be organized in three bureaus dealing with animal industry, plant industry and inspections, and the Commissioner is given power to assign duties to the various divisions. Inspection of milk and dairies is transferred to the Bureau



of Health. There is no change in the departments of Highways, Banking, Insurance, Forestry, Inland Fisheries and Game, or Sea and Shore Fisheries, but in order to avoid overlapping there is provision for the joint deputizing of wardens by the commissioners of the last two departments. The Sea and Shore Fisheries Department is headed by a single Commissioner. There was considerable opinion in favor of a department of conservation as proposed in the Survey, but conditions do not seem right for its establishment at this time. I believe the fisheries industry is capable of further development and I hope to bring about some progress in this during my term of office. The Department of Labor is to include the Industrial Accident Commission and the Board of Arbitration and Conciliation, but they are attached chiefly for purposes of economy and convenience and will continue under the same statutory provisions as at present. The Department of Education is to include the state library, the museum and the normal schools board. The Department of Public Utilities is to continue as at present except for the transfer of some inspection duties to the Bureau of Health. The Department of Audit is somewhat different from the existing department as its functions would be to post-audit all accounts and records of the departments, agencies and institutions of the state government, to install accounting systems and perform audits for local governments, and to assist the Legislature in making investigations of any phase of the State's activities. The executive committee believed it wiser that the Auditor be elected by the Legislature rather than by the people. The Auditor is to serve as a check on Executive and administrators and his duties are to report immediately any evidences of improper transactions or any incompetence to the Governor, and in the case of any illegality he is required to report the same to the Attorney General. He may also make any facts public at any time. He shall not have any ex-officio duties or collect or handle any moneys belonging to the State. At the conclusion of the Code there is a section providing for transfer of records, property, authority and obligations consequent on transfer of functions, and a recapitulation of agencies abolished. This is in lieu of citing chapter and section of all parts of law referred to in the Code.

"If the essential features of this plan are adopted the governor can justly be held responsible for his administration, he can be rightly blamed for extravagance and praised for economies. The fathers of our State foresaw the changes that time brings and declared the plain principle that government should be responsible to the people, that the people should continue to control the government, rather than that its wheels with relentless momentum should come to enmesh a people without escape. If necessary to amend the Constitution which they formulated, we can take comfort in

the thought that it has already been amended fifty-two times, once to build a wharf, twice to build bridges, and four times to build roads. Why not amend it to improve the basic structure of our government?

"Political timidity or inertia are not excuses for failure to take every possible opportunity to improve the public business which is our government. Only a governor who is unwilling to assume greater responsibility would deny that our present system is unwieldy. The ambition of officeholders to be of service is sometimes outweighed by the fear that changes which they feel like advocating may prove a failure, thereby entailing a loss of political prestige. But we are not concerned with the problem as it affects any one who may now hold or who may aspire to hold office. A higher duty is that of service to the State, regardless of personal or political preferment. The interest shown in the Survey, as judged by the attendance at public meetings, through a great amount of correspondence, by the demand for thousands of copies of the report, and in many other ways, is convincing proof that the men and women of Maine take a vital interest in their government and that they are greatly concerned that the government shall be readily responsive to their will and shall be conducted with the greatest possible efficiency and economy. In your endeavors to be of service to your constituents I will be glad to cooperate and will welcome the opportunity of discussing with any of you questions regarding the administrative Code.

"My inaugural address made a plea that our deliberative action this winter should be free from personal or political consideration. It has been a source of great pleasure to attend public meetings and to sit in harmonious conference when those of opposite political allegiance have discussed freely and frankly the possibility of improving our machinery for public service. I trust that this spirit may continue. Our political affiliations are maintained because that is the orderly manner provided for participation in public affairs. Our government rests on the theory of two opposing political parties. There must be loyalty to those parties if there is to be loyalty to the State. There must be faith in the belief of those parties if there is to be faith in the State.

"The parties have spoken on this question by formal resolutions in their platforms adopted in conventions of their delegates representing the entire State. What attitude have they taken?"

On March 27, 1930, the Republicans wrote and accepted the following:

"We renew the suggestion contained in the platform of 1928 that the satisfactory progress of our welfare and health work be still further improved by co-ordinating the various



departments administering health, welfare, charitable and corrective institutions and activities.

"That there may be continued progress in efficiency and economy we believe this principle should be extended to other agencies of State Government. We, therefore, endorse the action of the present administration in arranging for a Spelman Foundation survey of the State Government without obligation upon or cost to the State or its citizens."

On March 19, 1930, the Democrats wrote and accepted the following:

"Efficient state government at minimum cost is the ideal being striven for in many states. Maine presents the picture of inefficient government at high cost. It is obvious that only with both able officials and an efficient form of government may the ideal be realized.

"No officials, no matter how able, can produce efficient state government at minimum cost if there are an excessive number of state departments. Most states have recognized this fact. Yet no change is made. The present government has spoken in favor of this change; finally near the end of two years in office, a survey has just been started. The Republican Legislature decisively defeated one effort at consolidation; there is no valid reason to expect approval of consolidation by another Republican Legislature. The actual record of the present Republican administration shows no accomplishment in this direction.

"It is hopeless to expect such reduction by any future Republican administration.

"We pledge the best efforts of our candidates for Governor and Legislature, if elected, to produce actual results in a program of consolidation of state departments leading to efficient government at minimum cost. On this great issue, touching as it does the pocketbook of every citizen of the State, we ask for the support of the citizens of Maine."

"There is the serene expression of the majority party; there is the militant challenge of the minority party. Do those paragraphs mean what they say or are they idle words, illusory statements to curry favor with the voters—what Shakespeare might have called 'springes to catch woodcock'? Are those plans in the platforms of responsible political parties or are they scraps of paper?

"May we not pause and ponder on the fact that we have come here under either one or the other of those political banners. Can we maintain any integrity before our constituents if we cut the halyards and say we were sailing under false colors?

"Yet, jurisdiction of personal action or opinion is not important for we are here not for ourselves but to serve the public interest. Unmistakably was the public interest

expressed in the questions we are discussing; the public interest lies between those two party expressions. The function of party government fails if between those party platforms, as if they were an upper and a nether millstone, the public interest is to be ground to dust. I am unwilling to believe that this will happen for with the information and material at hand it will be readily possible for you to carry into accomplishment the desires of the people expressed through their parties.

"I believe in progress. In the work of the State for the sick or for the well, for the delinquent or for the normal, for the dependent or for the taxpayer, I believe there should be employed every possible help that modern science or research can give us. We do not tolerate archaic or cumbersome methods in our hospitals, schools, banks, farms, businesses or homes. Why should we tolerate them in our system of government, on which all our other interests depend so largely? Our love for the State of Maine must not be merely passive affection or aloof veneration. Let us be willing to adapt our government to present needs. Let us couple service with our love, and seek to bring to our State such improvement as may be in our power."

Governor Gardiner's stirring and logical plea won wide legislative and popular support, although there were those who insisted that the Legislature was rushing to push through the bill as though it were no more than a casual \$500 appropriation for some minor purpose. These hesitant ones insisted that if the people of Maine were launching forth into a new way of life—at least a way as uncharted as this one—it was advisable to take time for a complete study of it before final action was taken. But the change requested was in the spirit of the times. It was a change that had its counterpart in many states and on the national scene, as well as in other nations; and the Legislature, after somewhat prolonged consideration, adopted the measure, called "An Act Relating to the Administration of the State," which was approved April 12, 1931, as Chapter 216 of the Laws of Maine.

The act, as adopted, included seven major divisions. The first of these was a general introduction, pronouncing that four departments (described in Sections 2, 3, 4 and 5 of the act) were being created and that all other departments and agencies, except as modified by the act, would continue as theretofore. The act was not to apply to the judiciary, the University of Maine, the state normal schools, the Port of Portland Authority, the executive council or the Legislature, except as specified.

The second major section dealt with the newly-created Department of Finance, which later came to be considered a remarkably efficient organization, wisely conceived and formed, and was widely studied and copied in other states. It was to consist of three bureaus—a Bureau of Accounts and Control, a Bureau of Purchases and a Bureau of Taxation, headed respectively by the state controller,



the state purchasing agent and the tax assessor. The Governor, with advice and consent of Council, was to appoint the state budget officer, who might also be the Commissioner of Finance. The Department of Finance was to approve all expenditures with relation to the work programs of every department before checks might be drawn out of appropriations granted. A budget document was required to be submitted regularly to set forth the full plan of state financing for the year ahead.

The third major section of the Administrative Code dealt with the second of the four departments created by the act—the Department of Health and Welfare,—which was to consist of three bureaus. These were the Bureau of Health, the Bureau of Social Welfare and the Bureau of Institutional Service. Since much of the work of the state Indian agent was concerned with relief activities and welfare efforts on behalf of the tribes, the office of Indian agent was placed within the jurisdiction of this department, which was really a “catch-all” for numerous agencies that had functioned overlappingly at loose ends and with increasing complications in the years gone by.

The fourth section of the act dealt with the Department of Sea and Shore Fisheries, which was to take over all rights, powers and duties formerly belonging to the Sea and Shore Fisheries Commission. The commissioner of this new department and the commissioner of Inland Fisheries and Game were to co-operate with each other in the distribution of wardens and in other matters jointly concerning them.

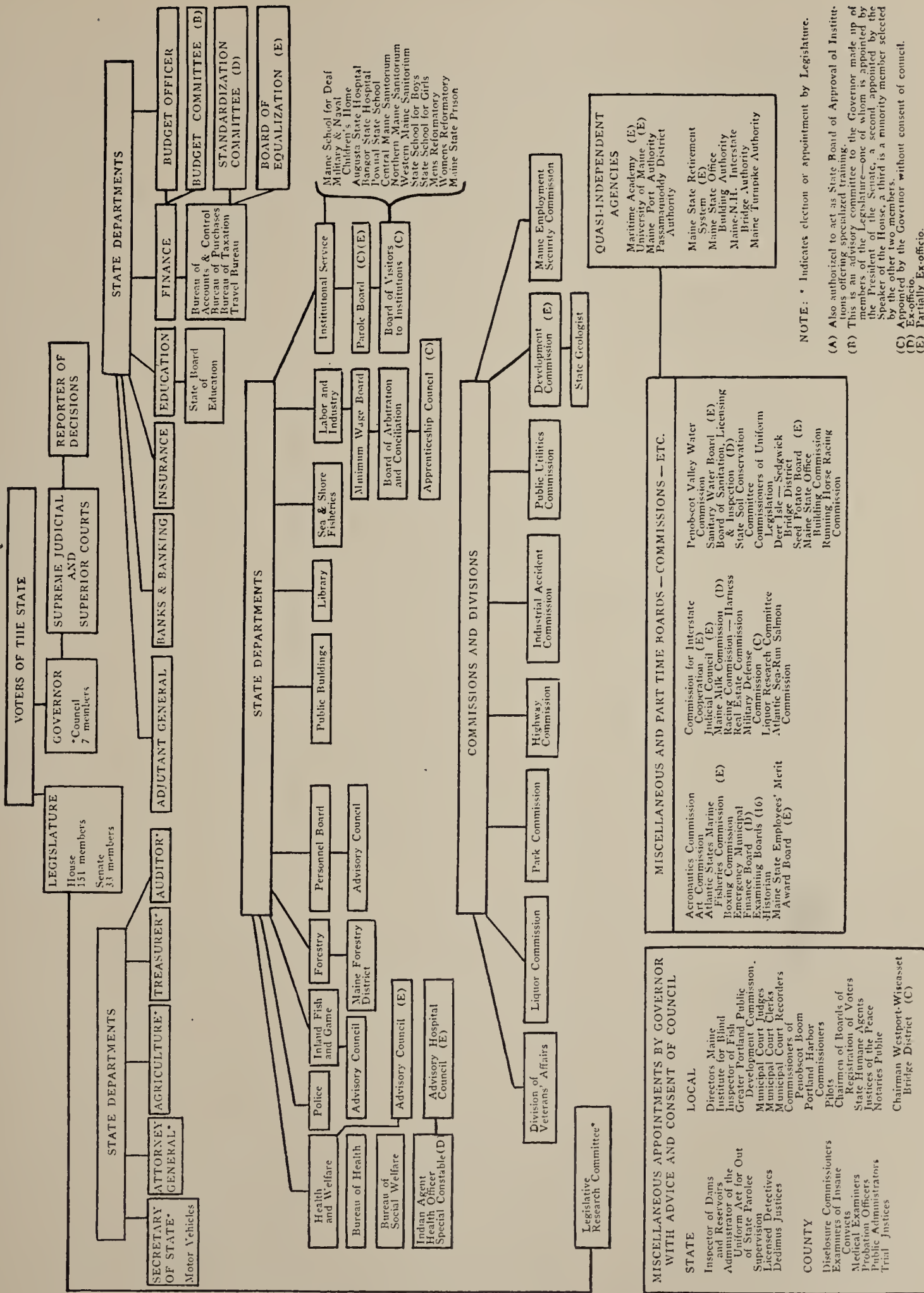
The Department of Education, as set up in the fifth section of the Code, was to have the same powers as had been reposed in the State Commissioner of Education previously. It was to supervise state normal schools, administer the teachers’ retirement system, supervise the State Library and have charge of the museum. It thus absorbed duties previously handled by such bodies as the Teachers’ Retirement Board, the Vocational Education Board and the Normal School Board.

The Department of Audit, the activities of which were prescribed in the sixth section, was to be directed by a department head, who was to be a certified public accountant of satisfactory experience in public accounts, and who was to be elected by the Legislature by a joint ballot of Senators and Representatives and serve for a four-year term, or until a successor was elected and qualified. If the office should become vacant when the Legislature was not in session, the president of the Senate or the Speaker of the House was to appoint a successor who would serve until the Legislature met and took action on the subject. The Department of Audit was charged with serving as a staff agency to the Legislature or the Governor if needed in that capacity.

The seventh and final major section of the Administrative Code, entitled “General Provisions and Repeals,” provided, generally speaking, that any laws or parts of laws inconsistent with these new arrangements were automatically repealed. That section also enumerated the agencies abolished by the act—Board of State Assessors, Committee on Budget, Superintendent of Public Printing, State

# STATE OF MAINE

## ORGANIZATION CHART OF STATE GOVERNMENT





Pension Agent, State Department of Health, Public Health Council, Board of Prison Commissioners, Trustees of the Reformatory for Women, Board of the Reformatory for Men, Trustees of Juvenile Institutions, Visiting Committee to the State School for Boys of the Council, Hospital Trustees, Visiting Committee to State Hospitals for the Council, Board of Trustees for Tuberculosis Sanatoriums, Department of Public Welfare, Public Commission (Commissioners of the Department of Public Welfare), State Board of Mothers' Aid and State Board of Childrens' Guardians, World War Relief Commission, Board of Trustees of Maine School for the Deaf, State Board of Vocational Education, Crop Pest Commission, Sea and Shore Fisheries Commission, Director of Sea and Shore Fisheries, Trustees of Maine State Library, Board for Surveys of Lands, Commissioners of Wrecks and Shipwrecked Goods, and Assayers of Ores and Metals.

The accompanying chart shows in diagrammatic form the organization of the Maine State Government as the Ninety-fifth Legislature started operations under it in January, 1951. Numerous specific changes have been effected by the Legislature since 1931, although essentially the Administrative Code adopted in that year still holds and Maine has been happy with it. It has accomplished many of the results that former Governor Gardiner and others envisioned for it.

One of the important changes since that time was, perhaps, the removal of state institutions from the jurisdiction of the Department of Health and Welfare in 1939. The Department of Institutional Service now functions as a separate administrative unit. The State Board of Vocational Education, abolished under the Code in 1931, has since been re-established and re-abolished. There have been other changes. Even today there are those who insist that certain functioning bureaus and departments have no legal existence whatever, on the grounds that they were terminated by implication under the language of Section VII of the Code—the blanket provision that any laws or parts of laws inconsistent with the Code provisions were automatically repealed.

The accompanying "organization" chart shows the picture of Maine government today, organization-wise, although this particular chart was not designed to depict the legal relationships established by the Code of 1931.

A list of Maine's Governors alone will serve to arouse memories or associations, or perhaps lead the studious to make further studies of their own along the lines of their inclinations in a subject the ramifications of which are endless. The Governors themselves fall in four major categories: (1) Under the first Massachusetts charter, under which they were elected annually; then, after a transition period, (2) under appointment and dictation by the English Crown; then (3) under the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; and finally, (4) since 1820, under statehood.

The first Governors were elected on a very liberal basis under the terms of the first Massachusetts Bay Colony charter granted by King Charles I of England. They were:

Governor	Dates
John Endicott.....	1629-1630
John Winthrop.....	1630-1634
Thomas Dudley.....	1634-1635
John Haynes.....	1635-1636
Henry Vane.....	1636-1637
John Winthrop.....	1637-1640
Thomas Dudley.....	1640-1641
Richard Bellingham.....	1641-1642
John Winthrop.....	1642-1644
John Endicott.....	1644-1645
Thomas Dudley.....	1645-1646
John Winthrop.....	1646-1649
John Endicott.....	1649-1650
Thomas Dudley.....	1650-1651
John Endicott.....	1651-1654
Richard Bellingham.....	1654-1655
John Endicott.....	1655-1665
Richard Bellingham.....	1665-1672
John Leverett (Acting Governor).....	1672-1673
John Leverett (Governor).....	1673-1679
Simon Bradstreet.....	1679-1686

The first Massachusetts Bay Colony charter terminated in 1686. Then there was a brief transition period during which the Governors were appointed by the Crown:

Governor	Dates
Joseph Dudley.....	May 12-October 8, 1686 (President of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine and Rhode Island)
Sir Edmund Andros.....	December 20, 1686, to the beginning of the new royal charter of William and Mary in 1692.

The royal charter of William and Mary lasted from 1692 to 1780, a period in which the Crown sought from across the Atlantic to "crack down" on the New England colonial area. Governors under that era were:

Governor	Dates
Sir William Phipps (Governor).....	1692-1694
William Stoughton (Lieutenant Governor).....	1694-1699
Richard Earl Belmont (Governor).....	1699-1701 (Died March 5, 1701)
Lieutenant Governor Stoughton and Council.....	1701-1702
Joseph Dudley.....	1702-1715 (Removed in 1715)
William Tailer (Lieutenant Governor).....	1715-1716
Samuel Shute.....	1716-1722
William Dummer (Lieutenant Governor).....	1722-1728
William Burdett (Governor).....	1728-1729 (Died September 7, 1729)
William Dummer (Lieutenant Governor).....	1729-1730
Jonathan Belcher (Governor).....	1730-1740 (Displaced)
William Shirley.....	1740-1750 (Also Commissioner to Paris, 1750 to 1753)
Spencer Phips (Lieutenant Governor).....	1750-1753



Governor	Dates
William Shirley (Governor).....	1753-1756
(Went to England, 1756)	
Spencer Phips (Lieutenant Governor).....	1756-1757
(Died April 4, 1757)	
The Council.....	1757 (April 4- August 3)
Thomas Pownall.....	1757-1760
(Left the Province)	
Sir Francis Bernard.....	1760-1769
Thomas Hutchinson.....	1769-1774
Thomas Gage.....	1775-until denounced, same year
Provincial Congress.....	1774-1775
The Council.....	1775-1780

From 1780 to 1820 Maine came once again under the constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and during that period the Governors were once more elected by the people. They were:

Governor	Dates
John Hancock.....	1780-1785
James Bowdoin.....	1785-1787
John Hancock.....	1787-1793
(Died October, 1793)	
Samuel Adams (Lieutenant Governor 8 months).....	1793-1797
Increase Sumner.....	1797-1799
Moses Gill (Lieutenant Governor 11 months).....	1799-1800
Caleb Strong.....	1800-1807
James Sullivan.....	1807-1808
(Died December 10, 1808)	
Levi Lincoln (Lieutenant Governor).....	1808-1809
Christopher Gore (Governor).....	1809-1810
Elbridge Gerry.....	1810-1812
Caleb Strong.....	1812-1816
John Brooks.....	1816-1820

At that juncture the separation from Massachusetts began a new era in Maine's political life. The Governors since statehood have been as follows:

Governor	Dates
William King.....	1820-1821
W. D. Williamson (Acting Governor).....	1821
Benjamin Ames (Acting Governor).....	1821
Daniel Rose (Acting Governor).....	1822
Albion K. Parris.....	1822-1827
Enoch Lincoln.....	1827-1829
Nathan Cutler (Acting Governor).....	1829-1830
Joshua Hall (Acting Governor).....	1830
Jonathan G. Hunton.....	1830-1831
Samuel E. Smith.....	1831-1834
Robert G. Dunlap.....	1834-1838
Edward Kent.....	1838-1839
John Fairfield.....	1839-1841
Richard H. Vose (Acting Governor).....	1841





2—CUMBERLAND.....	(R) Frederick N. Allen.....	Portland
	(R) Nathaniel M. Haskell.....	Portland
	(R) Ralph A. Leavitt.....	Portland
	(R) George W. Weeks.....	South Portland
3—OXFORD.....	(R) Henry W. Boyker.....	Bethel
	(R) Carlton S. Fuller.....	Buckfield
4—ANDROSCOGGIN....	(D) Jean Charles Boucher.....	Lewiston
	(R) Mary L. Kavanagh.....	Lewiston
	(D) Daniel Turgeon.....	Lewiston
5—FRANKLIN.....	(R) Clarence S. Crosby.....	Farmington
6—SAGadahoc.....	(R) Joseph W. Larrabee.....	West Bath
7—KENNEBEC.....	(R) Foster F. Tabb.....	Gardiner
	(R) Burton M. Cross.....	Augusta
	(R) James L. Reid.....	Hallowell
8—SOMERSET.....	(R) Arthur E. Ela.....	Anson
	(R) Brooks Savage.....	Skowhegan
9—PISCATAQUIS.....	(R) Carroll L. McKusick.....	Parkman
10—PENOBSCOT.....	(R) Robert N. Haskell.....	Bangor
	(R) John F. Ward.....	Millinocket
	(R) Freeman L. Wight.....	Bangor
11—LINCOLN.....	(R) Linwood E. Palmer, Jr.....	Nobleboro
12—KNOX.....	(R) Cleveland Sleeper, Jr.....	Rockland
13—WALDO.....	(R) Edwin H. Greeley.....	Morrill
14—HANCOCK.....	(R) Malcolm P. Noyes.....	Franklin
	(R) Wendell T. Smart.....	Ellsworth
15—WASHINGTON.....	(R) Oscar H. Brown.....	Eastport
	(R) Peter J. Christensen.....	Calais
16—AROOSTOOK.....	(R) George B. Barnes.....	Houlton
	(R) Albert C. Brewer.....	Presque Isle
	(R) Samuel W. Collins.....	Caribou

Republicans.... 31

Democrats.... 2

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33

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WILLIAM S. SILSBY, SPEAKER

### ANDROSCOGGIN COUNTY

(R)	Leslie E. Jacobs.....	Auburn
(R)	William J. Maguire.....	Auburn
(R)	Benjamin A. Turner.....	Auburn
(D)	Albert E. Cote.....	Lewiston
(D)	Paul A. Couture.....	Lewiston
(D)	Louis Jalbert.....	Lewiston
(D)	Thomas E. Delahanty.....	Lewiston
(D)	Leo S. Pierre.....	Lewiston

(R)	Percy F. Plummer.....	Lisbon
(R)	Robert H. Boothby.....	Livermore
(R)	William J. Ricker.....	Turner
(R)	Frank W. Philbrook.....	Greene
(R)	Frank Wood.....	Sabattus

## AROOSTOOK COUNTY

(R)	Lewis D. Bearce.....	Caribou
(R)	Dwight W. Dorsey.....	Fort Fairfield
(R)	Charles A. Jamieson.....	Presque Isle
(R)	R. Chauncey Robbins, Jr.....	Houlton
(R)	Lynwood E. Hand.....	New Limerick
(R)	Benjamin C. Bubar, Sr.....	Blaine
(R)	Paul L. Crabtree.....	Island Falls
(R)	Harry R. Williams.....	Hodgdon
(R)	S. Waldo Burgess.....	Limestone
(D)	John P. Madore.....	Van Buren
(R)	Ada M. Daggett.....	Ashland
(R)	John A. Story.....	Washburn
(R)	Orin H. Lovely.....	Westfield
(D)	Samuel G. Michaud.....	St. Agatha
(R)	George E. Morneault.....	Fort Kent
(D)	Claude L. Martin.....	Eagle Lake

## CUMBERLAND COUNTY

(R)	Earle W. Albee.....	Portland
(R)	Franz U. Burkett.....	Portland
(R)	Marguerite R. Fay.....	Portland
(R)	William P. Gilman.....	Portland
(R)	Clifford E. McGlaulin.....	Portland
(R)	Percy M. Wallace.....	Portland
(R)	Rodney W. Roundy.....	Portland
(R)	Benjamin T. Larrabee.....	Westbrook
(R)	Robert L. Travis.....	Westbrook
(R)	Albert Clayton Berry.....	South Portland
(R)	Jesse P. Fuller.....	South Portland
(R)	Charles O. Spear, Jr.....	South Portland
(R)	Alfred M. Senter.....	Brunswick
(D)	Bertrand A. Lacharite.....	Brunswick
(R)	Leon M. Sanborn.....	Gorham
(R)	Richard C. March.....	Bridgton
(R)	Levi T. Patterson.....	Freeport
(R)	William E. Dow.....	Falmouth
(R)	Edward E. Chase.....	Cape Elizabeth
(R)	Ervin A. Center.....	Standish
(R)	Earl W. Davis.....	Harrison
(D)	Carleton E. Edwards.....	Raymond
(D)	Owen L. Hancock.....	Casco
(R)	Archie F. Knapp.....	Yarmouth

## FRANKLIN COUNTY

(R)	John H. Macomber.....	Jay
(R)	F. Perley Caswell.....	New Sharon
(R)	Hervey B. Jennings.....	Strong
(R)	C. Stanton Carville.....	Eustis



## MODERN MAINE

## HANCOCK COUNTY

(R)	Cleaves E. Clapp.....	Brooklin
(R)	Frank M. Pierce.....	Bucksport
(R)	Lloyd T. Dunham.....	Ellsworth
(R)	David A. Peterson.....	Bar Harbor
(R)	Lawrence D. Phillips.....	Southwest Harbor
(R)	William S. Silsby.....	Aurora

## KENNEBEC COUNTY

(R)	Henry R. Albert.....	Augusta
(R)	Robert Martin.....	Augusta
(R)	A. Perley Castonguay.....	Waterville
(D)	Edmund S. Muskie.....	Waterville
(R)	Arthur N. Gosline.....	Gardiner
(R)	Carroll W. Keene.....	Clinton
(D)	William T. Dostie.....	Winslow
(R)	William L. Perry.....	Chelsea
(R)	Elwin F. Hussey.....	Windsor
(R)	William Loring Vaughan.....	Hallowell
(R)	Robert W. Maxwell.....	Winthrop
(R)	Ernest H. Brown.....	Wayne
(R)	Clarence R. Chase.....	Belgrade

## KNOX COUNTY

(R)	Frank F. Harding.....	Rockland
(R)	Seth Low.....	Rockland
(R)	Ralph E. Winchenpaw.....	Friendship
(Ind)	Maynard C. Ingraham, Dr.....	Rockport
(R)	Raymond E. Ludwig.....	Hope
(R)	Raymond W. Barton.....	Vinalhaven

## LINCOLN COUNTY

(R)	Norman S. Chase.....	Whitefield
(R)	J. A. Stevens, Jr.....	Boothbay
(R)	Spencer A. Gay.....	Damariscotta

## OXFORD COUNTY

(R)	Eugene H. Door.....	Mexico
(D)	Henry J. Parent.....	Rumford
(D)	William S. Kelly.....	Rumford
(R)	Henry W. Bearce.....	Hebron
(R)	Gordon M. Stewart.....	Paris
(R)	Philip H. Lord.....	Norway
(R)	Reuel O. Moulton.....	Sweden
(R)	John H. Carter.....	Bethel

## PENOBSCOT COUNTY

(R)	Wilfred A. Finnegan.....	Bangor
(R)	David W. Fuller.....	Bangor
(R)	James C. Totman.....	Bangor

(R)	Allan Woodcock, Jr.....	Bangor
(R)	Roscoe J. Grove, Jr.....	Brewer
(R)	John J. Nahra.....	Old Town
(R)	Otis J. Roberts.....	Dexter
(R)	James A. Emerson.....	Corinna
(R)	Parker R. Jacoby.....	Dixmont
(R)	Frank M. Chaples.....	Hudson
(R)	Gerald G. Nowell.....	Hermon
(R)	Roswell P. Bates.....	Orono
(D)	Howard P. Walls.....	Millinocket
(R)	Emery M. DeBeck.....	Holden
(R)	Elmore C. House.....	Lincoln
(R)	Evan C. Cobb.....	Lee
(R)	Raymond P. Potter.....	Medway

## PISCATAQUIS COUNTY

(R)	Harry I. Rollins.....	Greenville
(R)	Riley M. Campbell.....	Guilford
(R)	Harold M. Hayes.....	Dover-Foxcroft
(R)	Clarence W. Parker.....	Sebec

## SAGADAHOC COUNTY

(R)	Converse G. Fenn.....	Bath
(R)	Elizabeth Deering Moffatt.....	Bath
(R)	Vincent C. Jones.....	Bowdoinham
(R)	Frank R. Bailey.....	Woolwich

## SOMERSET COUNTY

(D)	Henry A. Lessard.....	Skowhegan
(R)	Paul L. Woodworth.....	Fairfield
(R)	Roy U. Sinclair.....	Pittsfield
(R)	Ralph C. Hamilton.....	Hartland
(D)	Irving D. Fogg.....	Madison
(R)	Walter E. Taylor.....	Norridgewock
(R)	Frederick D. Watson.....	Moose River Plantation

## WALDO COUNTY

(R)	George L. Clements.....	Belfast
(R)	Emery S. Dickey.....	Brooks
(R)	Albert West.....	Stockton Springs
(R)	William R. Cole.....	Liberty

## WASHINGTON COUNTY

(R)	Alvah D. Hall.....	Calais
(R)	John M. O'Dell.....	Eastport
(R)	Lewis H. Lackee.....	Addison
(D)	William C. Hanson.....	Machiasport
(R)	Roy K. Dennison.....	East Machias
(R)	Ernest C. Brown.....	Robbinston
(R)	George L. Bucknam.....	Whiting
(R)	C. Arnold Brown.....	Baileyville



## YORK COUNTY

(D)	Armand Duquette.....	Biddeford
(D)	Peter J. Farley.....	Biddeford
(D)	Napoleon L. Nadeau.....	Biddeford
(R)	George L. Hawkes.....	Saco
(D)	Reginald R. Frechette.....	Sanford
(D)	Raymond J. Letourneau.....	Sanford
(R)	Edward F. Gowell.....	Berwick
(R)	Truman I. Littlefield.....	Kennebunk
(R)	Herman S. Gerrish.....	Old Orchard Beach
(R)	Bernice B. Hanson.....	Lebanon
(R)	Curtis C. Taylor.....	Lyman
(R)	Fred N. Leavitt.....	Parsonsfield
(R)	Raymond H. Bradeen.....	North Waterboro
(R)	Harold L. Dow.....	Eliot

Republicans.....	126
Democrats.....	24
Independent.....	1

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 151

## CHAPTER II

### *Education*

FROM the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, upon separation in 1820, the State of Maine inherited both a system of education and principles of education. Both were extraordinarily good.

As for the physical educational plant, it must be remembered that at the time, the Province of Maine was a sort of poor relation of the busy and bustling and, comparatively, very wealthy Commonwealth. Indeed, it is likely that Massachusetts was pleased to see her responsibilities far to the east removed.

The Commonwealth and the Province had many difficulties during the two hundred years in which they were politically united. Education was one of them. Wealthy Boston and the large and prosperous towns beyond maintained what, for the period, were very good public schools. The Commonwealth required the fisher-folk of Maine, the lumbermen and the few and scattered farmers to do just what the merchants and business men of Massachusetts were doing. This Maine could not well accomplish, especially in the smaller and more remote towns.

Thus, as early as 1673, the General Court found "presentments" against the towns of Kittery and York for not "providing a schoole and schoolmaster for the education of youth according to the law." In 1701 the Selectmen of York "bargened with Nath'll Freeman to Ceep a free scool" for eight pounds a year and "three pence pr week for teaching to Reade; and four pence a week for writing and sifering and no moor." Perhaps the good selectmen of York might have given Mr. Freeman a few more pence weekly to teach town officials a bit of spelling!

Such as it was, the first school house in the present State of Maine was built at York in 1725. Formerly, schools had been held in the homes of the teachers who contracted to teach the "youth" the three Rs.

From that point on, education in Maine progressed, largely because the Province was becoming populous and, in a measure, more prosperous. By 1800, one hundred and sixty-one towns had been incorporated within the District of Maine and common schools were established within each of them, as the Massachusetts law required. In addition "grammar schools," which roughly correspond to our present high schools, were established in seven of these towns. Then, by 1820, when the District of Maine became the State of Maine, the State, with nine counties and two hundred and thirty-six towns, was well schooled. The first official returns on the state of education in Maine, made to the Secretary of State in 1829, although probably very incomplete, show that two hundred and sixty-three towns were supporting 2,461 school districts and "educating" 139,868 children. The school districts reporting during 1829 expended \$138,000 on public schools. This is about a dollar for each child which compares with the present national



figure of nearly \$100 a child. This latter figure of course includes modern secondary schools which were not then commonly supported at the public expense. For higher education—anything much beyond what the first few grades now give—children had to be educated at private cost.

But if the physical plant was thus rather elemental, the principles of education that Maine inherited from Massachusetts were magnificent. The devout Puritans who had established Boston in 1630 brought with them ideals for a new life which included much more than freedom of religion—according to their own particular ideals. Included in the scheme for the new society was the ideal that every child in Massachusetts must have an opportunity to acquire an education at public expense. "The good education of children is of singular behoof and benefit to any Commonwealth." That was the statement of this principle expressed when the General Court laid down the law that good schooling was not to be the privilege of the favored few but of every child. Thus every town or district within the authority of the Commonwealth "after the Lord hath increased it to the number of fifty householders," had to provide a schoolmaster or schoolmasters for at least six months in every year. The law also provided that these schoolmasters should be persons of good education and of "sober life and conversation," vouched for by the "learned ministers" in the parish to which each belonged.

It is to be remembered that this law was enacted, and enforced impartially and vigorously, while the Puritans were a mere handful of families perched precariously on the seashore, with the wilderness beyond peopled by Indians and wild beasts that superstition and misinformation had established as being a thousandfold more dangerous and dreadful than the actual truth. It is to the everlasting credit of these Boston men that they paused in their labors of scratching for enough to eat to establish the first public school system in America. Indeed, not content with providing free education for every child at public expense, they even went on to establish the means of educating their future leaders in church and in state with such famous-to-be institutions as the Boston Latin School and Harvard University itself.

Through the two centuries which followed, Massachusetts, through trial and error, gradually built up a practical as well as visionary system of public education and one of the first acts of the Legislature of the new State of Maine, in 1821, was to pass school laws, largely copied from the existing body of Massachusetts Law. Of course, Maine's situation was a little different from that in Massachusetts. Maine legislators had to bear in mind that the frontier towns in Maine, especially those in remote islands and coves along shore, as well as way deep into the forest, could not support a school system as well as, for example, the prosperous city of Portland could. So the Maine Legislature, while compelling towns and plantations to establish and support schools, did not prescribe the length of time that school should be taught each year. Instead, the Legislature said that not less than forty cents should be spent on education for each inhabitant in the school district. Since there were more adults and infants than children of school age, this meant that the amount spent per child would be adequate; yet it gave the very small and remote towns, whose popu-

lation was necessarily small, a fair deal. That small town children would not fare so well as city children, could not be helped.

The first education laws also provided for the certification of teachers, stressing as a basis for appointment, sound moral character. Of course, the Puritans were convinced that without morality, all else was worthless. So they established the ideal that the spelling book and the Bible went hand in hand. The first teachers were ministers—indeed that is in some churches even now the primary function of a minister; he is the teacher of religious and related ethics. So, the early Maine school laws provided not alone for reading, writing and arithmetic but also for instruction in piety, sobriety and proper respect for truth and justice. These legislators were, it must be remembered, sons of the men who wrote the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States—and who had thrashed Great Britain to win independence.

Just as in Massachusetts, the Maine school law divided the responsibility for supporting and managing the public schools between the towns. Each town could also, if large enough, be broken into districts, but each district was responsible to the town—for the town meeting alone had the authority to appropriate money. The towns at their annual meetings, elected school committees of not less than three or more than seven men who ran the schools. The committee examined and appointed teachers, visited and inspected the schools, looked into the discipline and progress of the children, selected the text books, and saw to it that no child played truant. In a word the school committees saw to it that the town received full value for the money it spent and that the children did likewise.

The school district, however, was more than just a division of the town's government to supervise the schools. The district was the basic organizational unit. It was legally incorporated "to take and hold any estate, real or personal for the purpose of supporting a school or schools therein." So, it was the district that actually selected land for school sites, built the school buildings, maintained them, determined each after its best wisdom the length of the school year, the age at which children had to go to school, the age at which they could leave, and in general ran each district as a unit. The only check the town itself retained was the appropriation of money, and any district school committee that transgressed from the narrow line of proper economy and efficiency, heard about it at the next town meeting.

Of course, this public school system as established in Maine was also soon supplemented by private institutions. In 1794, the General Court of Massachusetts had chartered Bowdoin College. This typical New England liberal arts college began functioning in 1802 and by 1820 had a student body of one hundred and two. On March 5, 1791, a charter had also been given to Hallowell Academy and, a few weeks later, one was given to Berwick Academy. Fryeburg and Washington Academies were chartered in 1792 and Portland Academy in 1794. These academies, some of which have long since vanished, filled the need of the times. They took up where the public schools left off and gave their students an adequate education for the professions and higher education at the colleges and universities. In a sense, they



were the origin of the modern high school which, basically is the former private academy supported at public expense.

By 1821, there were twenty-five of these academies established and operating in the State of Maine, and by 1825, their number had grown to thirty. The finances of these institutions varied from place to place and from time to time. In general, they were established by the public-



*Maine Maritime Academy, Castine*

spirited bounty of generous citizens who believed in education and used their wealth to make it possible for children to progress beyond the basic provisions of the public school system. Usually, to this initial endowment the Commonwealth of Massachusetts added support, principally by the gift of public lands "as the foundation of their endowment and to meet running expenses." Of course, the public gifts came with strings attached, usually in the form of some measure of supervision to a degree necessary to make certain that the public property so given into private use was not wasted. By 1820, Massachusetts had given 253,955 acres of wild lands to the Maine academies. This system, incidentally, also applied to private colleges and universities. The academies flourished until the establishment of free high schools in 1872.



Between 1820 and 1845, Maine did not do much in altering its original body of school law. Legislation was passed, much of it, but it dealt with primarily and comparatively trivial points. For example the legislation provided penalties for any disobedience of school laws, gave committees powers to expel or to exclude pupils, scheduled the frequency of committees' school visitations, set aside a fixed sum for fuel and for repairs out of each school budget, provided for the establishment of union schools in two or more districts, provided for salaries for school committees, gave special attention to the education of children in very remote sections, such as islands offshore, divided funds for school salaries between school masters and school mistresses, differentiated between the age and type of children that men teachers and women teachers should instruct, provided for the regular accumulations of school statistics and reports, set aside twenty townships of the public lands, the income from the sale of which was to be used as a permanent school fund, and established a State bank tax as a means of providing revenue for public instruction.

Of course, some of these points were important. The separation between school masters and school mistresses was the beginning of the system of graded schools with which everyone is familiar today. The establishment of a permanent school fund by the State through the segregation of public lands, and the provision of a bank tax for financing public instruction began the process of the State taking over some of the financial responsibility which originally was entirely that of the town. The beginning of collecting school statistics was the start towards efficient management of the public schools at the State level. However, the most important point of all, in the opinion of most educators, was ignored. This was the lack of any central organization either at State or county level. The teachers had no association or conventions. Maine, by 1845, had some three thousand school districts and each was a law unto itself, so long as the few and simple state laws were obeyed, more or less.

This final step towards the dawn of modern education was, however, not long delayed. E. M. Thurston of Charleston, one of Maine's leading educators, as well as a member of the Legislature, took the initiative. Chairman of the Legislative Committee on Education, in 1843 he introduced a bill to provide for a "board of school commissioners, to be appointed by the Governor and Council." This bill failed of passage because of fear of expense, partisan politics and State interference with the proper business of the towns. The bill was hard fought on both sides and the resultant publicity was of great value.

The teachers of Maine themselves took the next step, aided of course by legislators and others interested in the progress of education. In January of 1846, a meeting of teachers and others at Augusta appointed a committee to consider defects and to suggest remedies. This committee consisted of: Amos Brown, Philip Eastman, Samuel Benson and Alpheus S. Packard. In accordance with their instructions, the four drew up a memorial which, presented to the Legislature, enumerated the following faults: the multiplying of school districts, the prevalent inefficiency of school committees, the want of suitable qualifications in teachers, the confusion in schools arising



from improper classification of text-books and lack of system in courses of study, and the want of general interest in the free, public schools. To remedy these faults, the committee suggested a State Board of Education to supervise generally the public school system.

Once their attention had been attracted and their interest aroused the Legislature lost no further time and by July of the same year, 1846, the State had a Board of Education. The Board was to consist of one member from each county—the members to be elected by the school committees of the towns concerned and the clerks of the several plantations.

The first Board of Education consisted of: Stephen Emery, Horace Piper, Philip Eastman, Benjamin Randall, A. F. Drinkwater, Aaron Hayden, R. H. Vose, Samuel Alden, and William I. Savage, Samuel Taylor, Ebenezer Knowlton, David Worcester and Oliver C. Currier. William C. Crosby of Belfast was elected the secretary and, since his full time was required, he was allowed a salary of \$1,000 per annum. In three years, E. M. Thurston succeeded Crosby and served for three more years.

This Board, being all public-spirited citizens and blessed with efficient and enthusiastic secretaries, accomplished a great deal towards the development of Maine's public schools. However, it seems that they were too active, particularly in insisting upon the quality of teachers. Thus many politicians found their nominees refused—which was fatal. In 1852, the Board was practically abolished, despite the fact that the Board had dramatically shown the bad effects of poorly-lighted, badly-ventilated school buildings, raised the standards for teachers, improved the text-books, provided plans and demonstrations of model school buildings and teaching methods and, in all ways, greatly improved the school system. The school committees themselves were brought together and gently nudged along the path they should follow. Most important, Maine had a centralized authority which worked well.

The new system, adopted by the Legislature in 1852, lacked this central organization. Instead, the schools were given in charge to a series of county commissioners of education who worked independently of each other. Each commissioner was appointed by the Governor and Council and required to spend at least fifty days each winter inspecting schools, visiting the school committees, lecturing upon educational subjects and, in general, doing all that he could in directing the schools and in arousing public interest in their support.

The law did not work well, naturally, and in 1854 it was abandoned and a law providing for a State Superintendent of Schools, appointed by the Governor and Council, was substituted. The appointment was for a term of three years. This Superintendent was to devote himself to "the improvement of common schools and the promotion of the general interests in this State." Specifically, he was to "investigate the operation of the school laws, collect information in regard to the arrangement of school districts, the location and construction of schoolhouses, the use of the best school apparatus, consult with school committees on the selection of text-books, and on

methods of ascertaining the qualifications of teachers and of visiting and examining the schools in their charge, and to inquire into the most approved methods of teaching and the best means of training and qualifying teachers for their duties." For this, and more, the Superintendent was to be paid \$1,200 annually plus necessary travel.

The first Superintendent was Charles H. Lord, of Portland, who served from June of 1854 to March of 1855. He spent much of his time visiting schools in different parts of the State and his report, though lacking in statistics, is very interesting reading being filled with classical quotations, satirical comments and barbed criticisms.

He found few things to commend and many to condemn. For instance, he found many school committeemen inefficient in their examination of teachers. Most teacher examinations were based upon spelling of such uncommon words as phthisic and manoeuvre—words which could trip many a college graduate. But in Maine in the 1850's such words were beyond the scope of both the candidates for teaching and the school committees doing the examining. Superintendent Lord reported on looking at teachers' examination papers that he found such spellings as "Inglish, gramar, consamit, ignorence and certife-cats."

Other excerpts from his report follow. The female teachers often take the school because "they are kind of sick and can't do much work." The present moral code (1855) does not allow as it once did, the master to have a bottle of spirits in school "to sacrifice to Bacchus to be favored of Minerva," yet teachers often "show no more signs of intelligence than one of Maelzel's automata." Superintendent Lord said he was shocked to find that two of the masters, whom he met, spent the winter quarter teaching and the rest of the year in peddling, "forced after three months of 'tare and tret' to practice the other nine months in the merchandising of rags—to illustrate the harmony of 'proportion' in the music of tinware, and the truth of 'position' in the box of a peddler's cart." He also often finds the pupils so unintelligent and learning their lessons so much by rote, that they know not whether "Christian Consolation," the title of a reading selection, is a boy or a girl. The Superintendent rejoices, however, that Maine percentage of illiteracy is lower than in the whole of the United States, and much lower than in Russia. Thus he hopes Maine shall become a nursery of men, if not of cities "with spires and turrets crowned where low-born baseness wafts perfume to pride."

The second Superintendent of Schools was Mark H. Dunnell, of Norway. His term, 1855, was marked by another excellent report which, while it lacked so many figures of speech as were lavished by Lord's report, made up by having many figures of fact. Of the 379 towns out of the 384 in the State, and of the 66 of the 99 plantations that reported on school matters, there were in 1855, 3,965 school districts and 277 parts of districts. The number of children in these reporting towns and plantations was 238,248 between the ages of four and twenty-one. Of these, the average number in summer schools was 91,894 and the average number in winter schools was 100,560. The number of male teachers was 2,559 and of female teachers, 4,137.



The average monthly wage of men teachers, exclusive of board, was \$20.57, and of female teachers, \$7.60. On the average, the public schools kept 18.9 weeks a year. In 1854 the amount of taxes raised for school purposes was \$333,019.76, while the State contributed \$54,398.96.

This report also makes it clear that the teachers and the friends of public education were still struggling with the familiar difficulties so long experienced: small districts, ignorant school committeemen,



*Crosby High School, Belfast*

inadequate buildings, ungraded schools, diverse text-books and poorly qualified teachers. Progress does seem to have been made in a small degree, however.

One of the agencies that made this progress possible was the Teachers' Institute—a sort of convention. Each year a three to five day meeting was held in each county of the State and these the teachers attended, presumably voluntarily. Parents and others not actually engaged in teaching but interested in education were admitted at evening meeting, when lectures were given on educational subjects. These Institutes cost the State \$2,000 a year but it was regarded by the Superintendent as money very wisely expended.

J. P. Craig, of Readfield, was State Superintendent in 1856 and he was followed by Mark Dunnell, who served for three years—until 1860. It was during the latter's term of office that, in 1859, a State Association of teachers was organized. Save for a few years, this organization, under various names, has met annually and has



been of great help to the Maine teaching profession. It has initiated or supported many important school reforms during the past century.

In 1860 and again in 1863, when he was reappointed, E. P. Weston, of Gorham, for five years served the State very well as Superintendent of Schools. Indeed, 1863 was one of the big years in the development of education, for it was in that year that the teachers managed to convince many Maine citizens that teaching was a profession. Teaching was not just a stop-gap for young women waiting to be married or a soft-spot for men who were unable for one reason or another to hold down a man's place. Instead, teaching was an art and a science—a real profession which required years of specialized preparation as much as any of the other recognized professions.

This recognition actually became effective first in 1860, when the Maine Legislature abolished the old county institutes and, instead, established at each of eighteen selected academies a normal department. The plan was simple. Each academy was to provide recitation rooms and teachers for at least fifty pupils for two terms annually; men being instructed in the autumn and women in the spring. The trustees of the academy were to examine the students for admissions and the State Superintendent was to plan and supervise the courses of instruction. Each academy was paid \$100 the first year and \$200 annually thereafter. In the spring of 1861, despite the war, 457 students took these normal courses and 438 in the autumn. Of these students, 515 had already had some teaching experience. This was a very interesting experiment but the results were not as good as had been anticipated and the law was repealed in 1862.

But the idea had been demonstrated and the Legislature in March of 1863 passed a bill establishing two normal schools, one in the eastern part of the State and the other in the western. The western school was established at Farmington the same year, the trustees of Farmington Academy having transferred to the State "money, buildings, land and other property to the value of \$12,000." A new school building was erected and on August 24, 1864, the school opened for service. During the first year, fifty-nine students from thirteen of the sixteen counties attended. Ever since then the school has prospered and its record is enviable. Its equipment today is valued in excess of a quarter of a million dollars.

The Eastern Normal School was located at Castine and opened September 7, 1867. Only twelve students attended the first term, but by the close of the fourth year, the attendance was one hundred and forty. It also is highly praised for its accomplishments.

The two schools were, of course, just the beginning of teacher training at public expense. The State opened the Madawaska Training School at Fort Kent in 1878, the Gorham Normal School in 1879, the Aroostook Normal School at Presque Isle in 1903, and the Washington Normal School at Machias in 1910.

In May of 1865, Rev. Edward Ballard, of Brunswick, was appointed Superintendent. A new law increased his salary to \$1,800 and gave him \$500 for travel, besides giving him an office in the State House. In that office he "must preserve all school reports of the State and other States . . . the returns of . . . schools . . . in the various



towns, and such books, maps, plans . . . and other objects of interest to schools . . . as may be procured without expense to the State."

From 1868 to 1876, Warren Johnson, of Topsham, was Superintendent. A wide-awake and experienced educator, he worked with courage and determination to correct long-standing defects in the public school system, such as inadequate inspection, incompetent teachers, poor wages and short terms. To him is due the credit for the law which had teeth, for the first time. Under it, the State could stop payment of all school moneys to any town which failed to make legal reports. This law even imposed a fine upon school officials who changed school texts more often than once in five years. Teachers' institutes, abolished in economy moves in 1863, were reestablished and, most important, the counties were given supervision of schools.

Each county was to have a supervisor whose duties were to be to visit all schools in the county concerned, to inspect them carefully, to record all defects in teaching, in school houses and out-buildings, to give direction in the art of teaching, and to act as official advisor and consultant for teachers and school officers. With the State Superintendent, these County Supervisors were to form a State Board of Education.

The new plan worked very well. It disclosed many glaringly bad conditions and caused many politicians' relatives to stop "teaching." Indeed, the plan worked too well, for the Legislature of 1873 abolished the county supervisor system and returned the public schools to the old, haphazard, local control. However, this same Legislature did do one good thing for education—it passed the Free High School Law.

In Boston, of course, the Boston Latin School, founded in 1636, had provided secondary education at public expense for boys who wanted to prepare for Harvard. Other similar schools were organized in other parts of the Colony and the Commonwealth and when Maine became a State, there were seven such schools within her borders. The growth of the private, or semi-private, academies at about this time, checked the development of public secondary schools. For some fifty years, these academies were a glorious part of Maine's life. But, gradually, the idea of the free high school took hold again and the "high schools" increased in number and in efficiency.

By 1873 in Maine, many of the academies were fading out. "Of the seventy-one academies and similar institutions of learning chartered by the State before 1871, only thirty-seven made returns (to the Superintendent) that year, and twenty-seven of these were found to be without sufficient revenues." This meant considerable assistance from the State—\$18,500 in 1871.

So the Legislature considered that better value could be had for State funds, and better service could be given to the children of Maine, if the secondary school system were to be organized on a broader basis. So, the 1873 law gave authority to any town or city to establish a free high school, with the State to pay one-half of the cost of instruction. Instead of charging students tuition, as did the academies, these high schools were to be free. Many academies transferred both funds and property to the new free high schools at that time.

This meant the death of all but the very strongest academies which could survive only if they were large enough and famous enough to attract a large student body able to pay the necessary charges—unless the endowments were sufficient. Within a year after the High School Law was passed, one hundred and fifty high schools were opened in Maine and attended by 10,286 pupils. Some \$83,524 was spent that year in maintaining the 150 schools and the State paid out as its share \$29,133. Hardly any other act of the Maine Legislature has done so much for the advancement of education as this Free High School Law. The high school was the "poor man's college." At the close of 1949 Maine had fifty-six private academies and one hundred and seventy-three public high schools.

Wrote Superintendent Luce: "It has opened to large numbers of our youth the sources of culture; influenced for good the common schools; given better teachers to the common schools; and inspired the pupils with new incentives to work in the desire to qualify themselves for admission to the high schools." As a very broad comment, it is not too much to say that fifty years ago, or even less, the high school education was as important as a graduate university degree is considered to be today. The value Maine's citizens placed upon the new high school idea is attested by the statistics; by 1891, the number of high schools had increased to 228 and the attendance to 15,739. And Maine, it is to be remembered, was a relatively poor State where boys and girls of high school age were traditionally expected to get to work as early as possible in order to help with the family income.

W. J. Corthell, of Calais, served as Superintendent in 1876 and was followed by Nelson A. Luce of Vassalboro who was replaced for political reasons within a few months by Edward Morris of Biddeford, who also held office very briefly, being replaced by Mr. Luce in 1880. This time, Mr. Luce held office for fourteen years, until 1894.

He was a quiet and tactful man who worked very successfully for the development of the public school system. It was during his administration that women became eligible to membership of school boards (1881), and in 1895 teachers were compelled to give instruction in physiology and hygiene, with special reference to the effects of alcohol on the internal organs. Some men alive today still shudder when they remember those horrible crimson and purple and yellow charts that their grade school teachers waved before their innocent pupils.

In 1887, laws provided that children between the ages of eight and fifteen must attend school at least sixteen weeks in the year and no child under 15 was to be allowed to work in any factory unless he had attended school 16 weeks the previous year. In 1889, all towns were compelled to buy text books for the students and in 1891, another law made it mandatory that all teachers devote not less than ten minutes each week to teaching the principles of kindness to animals and birds. Finally, in 1894, Mr. Luce succeeded in abolishing the old, wasteful, inefficient district system. This he accomplished only after years of argument.



The reason for Maine's determined adherence to the district system was the traditional distrust of centralized power in either Church or State. Every man wanted to say his piece and did—in town meeting. Just so, every man wanted to have the spending of his tax dollar held in local control just as much as possible. The system of local self-government at the town level worked admirably, as long as the towns were small and civic projects were simple. But as towns grew larger and became cities, and civic matters became ever more complex, the manpower available at the town level to manage properly such things as education was lacking. The ignorant, the venal, the ill-tempered could have just as much to say about the choice of a new school, the amount to be spent on the schools and the hiring or firing of a teacher as the wisest and the most capable. As early as 1822, criticism of the district system arose, but more than seventy years were required to rid the State of the antiquated method of controlling the public schools.

W. W. Stetson, of Auburn, became State Superintendent of Schools in 1895 and he launched a careful investigation of two hundred rural schools in eight counties, both in newly settled areas and in old, well-established towns. His report shocked the educators of Maine. He found 41 per centum of the grade schools to be "poor" or "very poor." School decorations, in some places, consisted of advertisements of tobacco. The average age of the teachers was under twenty-five. Of the teachers, fifty-two per centum had had no education beyond the common schools, thirty-eight per centum had attended high school or an academy for one year, but only ten per centum were graduates of a normal school or a high school. Many of the teachers, he reported, were incredibly ignorant, and without any skill at all in applying pedagogical methods. The work in arithmetic, he reported, for example, in forty-three per centum of the schools visited was merely a senseless memorizing of rules which meant almost nothing to the pupils.

Next, Superintendent Stetson turned his attention to town school superintendents. He discovered that sixteen per centum of these superintendents had obtained all their education in common schools, four per centum had never attended any school, either public or private, thirty-five per centum had never taught school, sixty-eight per centum had never as much as read a book on teaching while only fourteen per centum admitted having read one such book. Seventy-one per centum of the teachers were legal residents of the town in which they were "teaching" and, what is more significant, twelve per centum of all teachers were relatives of members of the school committees, while an additional five per centum were related to the officials by marriage or business associations.

These facts of ignorance, incompetence, law evasion, favoritism and nepotism, caused President Hyde of Bowdoin College to exclaim, at a meeting of the Maine Pedagogical Society at Lewiston on December 31, 1898, "In the literal sense of the Old Greek word, the present is a crisis, a judgment, a parting of the ways, for our common

schools of Maine. The State Superintendent has done an audacious thing. He has had the courage to tell the plain and awful truth about these schools of ours."

Stetson was not content just to find fault. He immediately went to work to do what he could to correct the situation. First, he succeeded in winning a law which provided for the State certification of teachers. These certificates were filed at the State House and gave the person holding one the right to teach without examination by local school superintendent or school committees. This was the beginning of the State examination of teachers and thus the profession, gaining dignity and a more secure tenure of office, attracted a better type of men and women to the work—all for the good of the schools and hence of the State.

Mr. Stetson also managed to obtain from the Legislature provision for the establishment of summer schools for teachers. At these schools, the best teachers from schools and colleges were employed and excellent instruction was given, not only in professional methods and manners, but also in much of the subject matter taught in the schools. In 1895, seven hundred and ninety-eight teachers attended these schools, one of which was at the State University at Orono. Doubtless these schools did much to help the teachers do better work throughout the state.

Another great need of the Maine public schools was carefully planned study courses. Stetson applied himself to meeting this need and in 1895 he was able to send to every teacher and to every superintendent in the State a carefully prepared and skillfully suggestive outline of study courses for each grade and for every need.

Another accomplishment, which Stetson himself considered one of his best accomplishments, was the formation of the School Improvement League. He thought that rural schools in particular were bad because their communities lacked pride, that all too many parents took little if any interest in the schools; and that the children themselves, because of community indifference and parental nonchalance, had no interest in their school work but to pass the time until the law permitted them to get out and go to work.

The formation of Improvement Leagues was Stetson's answer. His purpose was to enlist the intelligent support and the cordial cooperation of the parents in providing better surroundings, better books for the children, better teachers—and even better pictures and the like to decorate the plain and ugly school rooms. The organization was very simple. Local leagues were formed in the various schools. Town leagues were made up of officers of the local leagues. A State league was made up of delegates from the town leagues. Membership consisted of children, parents, teachers, superintendents, school officials and all citizens interested, who paid dues—not less than a cent a month for children and not less than ten cents a month for adults. Soon the Improvement Leagues were working well, if each unit had at least one person of enthusiasm and drive. Fences were repaired, buildings were painted, books and pictures were



obtained—in a word, children and adults were convinced that the local school was not a prison-like institution at which the law compelled attendance, but a place in which they should be interested as a means of improving themselves and their community. The present Parent-Teacher groups so widely organized throughout the United States are an expression of the same idea—and are combatting the same old indifference and lack of general support.

Actually, however much Stetson thought of his League, his most valuable single contribution seems to have been his advocacy of expert supervision. He pointed out that no business, spending the money the public schools were using, would tolerate the blundering and inefficient methods by which the schools were operated. The reason, he stated, was lack of proper supervision. So, in 1896 he proposed the present system of expert superintendence for districts made up of the union of three or four towns—who could thus afford to pay a fair wage for a good man. This system initiated by Stetson is considered to be responsible more than any other single development for the betterment of the public schools of the State of Maine.

In 1907, Payson Smith of Auburn became the State Superintendent. From the very first, he was conspicuously successful—in contrast with the final years of Mr. Stetson's administration, marked by political bitterness. Smith was familiar with and favored much of Stetson's work. This he continued to push forward. He also did much more than that, however. His progress was made slowly and carefully, with each step ahead thought out in detail. His success was in no small part due to his skill in moulding public opinion—at which art he was a master. He with one hand managed the politicians at Augusta, and with the other, won entire communities in a single day to his way of thinking. For example, he could stand up before the assembled citizens of a town and tell them some very ugly truths about their schools. But this he did in such an obviously sincere manner and with such clear intent to be helpful that he won the town's support instead of its hostility.

One of Smith's accomplishments was the establishment of vocational or industrial training. This advocacy grew out of his frequently expressed dictum, "The common schools are for the common people." Traditional courses of instruction were all very well for boys and girls who were going on to college to study for a profession or a career in which foreign languages, Latin, Greek and all the rest, were of value. But for boys and girls whose education would stop at the grammar school, or at best with the high school, Smith considered it important that they should be taught things of immediate and practical value rather than the purely academic subjects and nothing else. So it was because of Smith that the Maine schools taught typewriting, shorthand, sewing, cooking, agriculture, mechanical subjects and so on. Whatever Smith critics had to say, the children were pleased, for attendance at the high school multiplied. At last, the boys and girls thought, there is some sense in going to school a few years longer.

Smith was also always keenly interested in the matter of adequate compensation for teachers. His first sentence in his very first report, reads, "No more serious problem confronts the people of Maine in education than that of the teachers' salary." Not one of his nine subsequent reports fails to mention the absolute necessity of Maine's teachers being better paid. Each year some progress was made in this direction; the most in 1913, when the teachers' pension law was passed. The amounts paid were small indeed, but even so, it was a long step in the right direction.

Smith also had other accomplishments to his credit. In 1909 came the law that provided for the appointment of a school physician in each town of less than 40,000 inhabitants. This law meant not merely that sanitary conditions in the schools would be supervised and corrected but also that each child would have health examinations and his ears, eyes, nose and throat examined. The step also helped towards the checking of disease epidemics amongst children—a matter becoming serious as the school attendance grew larger and larger. In 1909, also, the mill tax was doubled and thus increased State aid for children became possible. The old tax law, passed in 1872, provided for a tax of one mill on each dollar assessed upon all property in the State for the support of the common schools. In 1907 this was raised to a mill and a half, and in 1909 it was made three mills.

In 1909, also, the so-called Equalization Law was passed by which the State Superintendent could recommend to the Governor and Council that increased aid be given to those towns in which the tax rates for common schools were excessive. The same wonderful year, the compulsory attendance period was raised to 26 weeks a year.

In 1913, a law was passed preventing pupils of all public schools from having membership in any secret society whatever if the organization was in any degree a school organization. These secret societies had long been a source of trouble and friction in Maine schools, especially the high schools.

Perhaps the greatest accomplishment of Mr. Smith's administration was the establishment of the Superintendents' Conference at Castine, an expression of his interest in the unification of the administrative educational agencies of the State. In the buildings of the State Normal School there, Smith presented his superintendents with the best educators available. This was all well enough, but the great value was that Smith could personally and all at once make direct contact with the men whose support was necessary before any progress could be made. By talking things over, batting ideas around and reaching conclusions in a professional manner, in a few days the superintendents were able to make as much progress as could have been the case in years of correspondence and small and scattered county or local meetings.

In June of 1916, Smith, to the dismay of many, and to the delight of a few, resigned for political reasons and became the Commissioner of Education for Massachusetts, where he duplicated his successes in Maine. No new appointment was made immediately and the Deputy



Superintendent, Glenn W. Starkey, filled the office until July 1, 1917, when Dr. Augustus O. Thomas, of Nebraska, received the appointment. Starkey filled his office for the year with complete satisfaction. Starkey's report, as of 1916, is in sharp contrast to those earlier cited. The number of persons in Maine that year, between the ages of five and twenty-one, was 226,237, of which 113,942 were boys and 112,295 girls. The numbers of pupils in common schools was 133,407 and the number in high schools 15,144. The average length of the school years was 36 weeks. The average monthly wage of male teachers in common



*High School, Cornish*

schools was \$56.94, of women teachers, \$44.15; of male teachers in high schools, \$112.47, of women, \$66. The amount of money raised by the towns for the support of common schools was \$872,488, and the amount contributed by the State was \$1,559,236. This report also discloses the beginning of the trend toward a "junior high school" between the lower grades and the "senior" high school.

Also of moment is the report that the State, on January 1, 1916, appropriated \$5,600 for the employment of two agents for work in the rural schools. Their job was to visit the rural schools and to promote them physically and professionally. Unorganized townships also figured in this report. The problem of providing for the education of children in these remote and inaccessible sections has been difficult, especially, for example, on lighthouses. The cost of providing teachers and books for these children was prohibitive for the locality, so the State took over. G. W. Gordon in 1916 was appointed a special agent to undertake the job and his report for that year shows that free schooling was provided for every child in Maine no matter where he lived, in the deepest forest wilderness or on the most isolated rock



off-shore. For example, "a traveling lighthouse teacher" went along shore, spending a week at each station, carefully instructing the child and then laying out work to be done under the guidance of the parents, until she returned. The amount expended in 1916, when this work was organized, was but \$28,534.87, a trifling sum when the vast expanse of Maine's forest and the multitude of small places along the multi-miled Maine shore-line is considered. However, the Maine State Department of Education sent teacher and spelling book everywhere, because the people of Maine were determined that every child should have an opportunity to learn. This is the modern exemplification of the same spirit that prompted the old Puritans landing in Boston in 1630 to establish free schools among the very first things accomplished.

Payson Smith was succeeded by Dr. Augustus O. Thomas, appointed July 1, 1917. Dr. Thomas enjoyed an unusually long tenure of office and, with him, it may be said that modern education in Maine was developed. For example, in 1928, Dr. Thomas was able to report that in the ten years ending that year, the State of Maine's annual expenditure for education increased approximately from \$4,000,000 to \$12,000,000, and the amount of money "invested" in school property from \$9,000,000 to about \$30,000,000.

During Dr. Thomas' term of office, the Maine Legislature authorized him to set up standards for both elementary and secondary schools, these standards to include proper heating, lighting, ventilation and sanitation, as well as better ratings for teachers. In 1928, Dr. Thomas reported that more than eight per centum of Maine's teachers had normal training and that shortly, he expected, it would not be necessary to employ any teachers in the State without such training, or its equivalent.

The matter of adequate compensation for teachers was not neglected and, in particular, the business of proper pensions for teachers was at last given a firm foundation. Dr. Thomas reported: "In order to make the teaching profession attractive, it is necessary that the best possible conditions be placed around the teacher. Salaries in the profession are usually low and teachers are unable to lay by a competence such as persons in other lines of work are able to do. For this purpose, a teachers' retirement law has been passed. Each teacher who desires the benefits of the law may contribute a percentage of her salary, which is matched by the State. At the end of thirty or thirty-five years' experience, the teacher is able to retire with a reasonable annuity."

The improvement of school buildings was also a major activity of Dr. Thomas during his long term as Commissioner of Education. In 1928, he reported: "In 1923 the Legislature passed an act requiring that all schools provide suitable, sanitary toilets. . . . This has brought about a general improvement in all school property in Maine and today over 80% of the schools have completed their program of providing suitable buildings and environment for their children. More than one-half of the towns of the State providing free high schools



have built new schools or remodeled their old ones until they are as good as new, during the last ten years."

A notable development of the first half of the twentieth century has been the disappearance of many "little red schoolhouses" of the type that once dotted the Maine landscape. At the turn of the century there were still 2,930 such one-room schools in this state, sometimes as many as seven or eight to a village. Today there are fewer than 700. The modern trend is to build larger, more commodious schools and high schools, capable of accommodating the educational needs of greatly increased numbers of children at a single school plant, and to bring the children from remoter areas to these larger schools by bus.



*Huse School at Bath*

An instance in point, by way of example, is the Piscataquis Community High School, established in 1949 to solve a great variety of problems, including financial difficulties, facing the separate schools of Guilford, Sangerville, Abbot and Parkman. Distrusting "outside experts," and perhaps influenced by the initiative typical of the ancient New England custom of the town meeting, these communities appointed their own committees to solve their own problems. Guilford High School proved to be the most centrally located of all the schools; and with it as the center, the area of all four towns lay within a ten-mile radius raying out from it in all directions. The Town of Guilford enthusiastically leased the existing school to the District, which had been formed under terms of the act passed by the Ninety-third Legislature, charging the District the nominal fee of \$1 per year, then sold the adjoining town land needed for new construction. The result has been outstandingly successful. This is but an instance of a trend.

School registration generally has shown remarkable increases over a half century. In 1900 most high school graduates were young men and women who planned to teach, to enter the ministry, or to take up



other professions. A high school education today is regarded as a prime essential for any of large numbers of different types of jobs. Industrial education was still largely a dream of a few forward-looking individuals in 1900; but their dream received a strong push outward into the world of reality with the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917. By the Act, the federal government established a policy of matching federal with state funds to help establish vocational education in secondary schools throughout the United States. As a result, whereas Latin and mathematics occupied prominent places in the school curriculum at the beginning of this century, practical vocational training is attracting great numbers of children to high schools today. Classical subject matter is reserved more for those desiring to meet college entrance requirements.

Another great change has taken place on the side of teacher training, and the changes in this regard are expected to be still greater in the years ahead. In 1895 only 15 per cent of the teachers in Maine were professionally trained. By 1906, 1,448 teachers held state certificates, which they obtained by voluntarily taking state examinations. Passing the examinations entitled them to be engaged directly by local school boards without state approval or further ado of any kind. Today state certification is required.

The older normal schools at Farmington and Gorham have become full-fledged state teachers' colleges. Two newer schools of this type have been established—the Aroostook State Normal School, at Presque Isle, and the Washington State Normal School, at Machias. The Madawaska Training School at Fort Kent continues to serve schools of the St. John Valley area, and the Maine Vocational-Technical Institute opened in Augusta in 1946. Facilities formerly used at Castine for the training of teachers have now been turned over to the Maine Maritime Academy.

Teachers' salaries have mounted, too. At the turn of the century the average male teacher was receiving \$39.50 a month for his labors, while the average female teacher received \$6.63 a week. The school year was twenty-seven weeks long, taking an average figure. The school year in 1950-1951 was thirty-six weeks, and minimum salaries, by state requirement, were from \$1,500 to \$1,800. Most towns today exceed these figures.

The social welfare of school life is greatly changed. In 1900 school lunches were unheard-of. In 1949 lunches were being served to 35,000 children in 500 Maine schools. The 1945 Legislature initiated provisions for education of the physically handicapped. Physical education has received much more attention in recent years.

The total value of school property rose from \$4,699,475 in 1900 to \$45,574,959 in 1949, while state and local support of schools rose respectively from \$520,000 to \$5,186,542 and from \$818,000 to \$18,316,600 over the same half-century of time.

From one recent experiment of the State Department of Education has grown a series of interesting "curriculum bulletins." It was in 1943 that the Department initiated an activity that was at that



time unique but was afterward copied in several other states. Superintendents were invited to submit the names of teachers who might be willing, or particularly qualified, to work on developing new curricula, for which there was a great demand among teachers eager for an education to meet the needs of changed times. That need grew, rather than diminished, as teachers who had been in the armed services returned to civilian life after the war, their opinions and attitudes transformed by the rigors of wartime experiences.

From the names submitted, a first meeting was arranged. The movement grew, especially after publication in 1944 of an "Elementary Art Program" in mimeographed form—a little work which came to be widely accepted as authoritative in its field throughout the United States. The next step was to endeavor to evolve a philosophy of education adequate to the times. Four bulletins followed in the light of that effort: "Our Little Folks," concerning very young children, published in 1946; "The Good School," 1948; "School Days," a program bulletin, 1948; and "A Forward Step," introducing modern trends, 1948. From philosophy, the teachers proceeded to subject areas, with the following resulting bulletins: "Does Arithmetic Make Sense?" issued in 1949; "The What and Why of the Social Studies," 1950; and "The How of the Social Studies," 1951. Still another 1949 publication of the group was "The Language Arts."

An interesting fact about this effort is that no administrators are engaged in this work—only active teachers. Their expenses are paid when travel is necessary for meetings of the group. The State Department of Education has found the enterprise more than worth the amount paid in expense money for the teachers' gatherings. The movement is expanding, and as we go to press the same development is taking place at the secondary school level. Secondary school bulletins of a similar sort have been published as follows to date: "Teaching of English," 1946; "Business Education," 1949; and "Teaching of Science," 1950.

Further new experiments in vocational training, the initiation of "pilot courses" in school guidance and the improvement of educational facilities of schools in unorganized districts are of such character as to mark Maine as outstanding in modern educational efforts along a variety of lines.

In 1925 there was a total enrollment of 132,591 elementary school pupils and 30,839 secondary school pupils; these figures compared with 126,603 and 42,304 respectively in 1947. The number of pupils not attending school regularly decreased in that same period from 679 to 258, most of the decrease taking place between 1945 and 1947. Estimated value of school property in the same period mounted from \$25,152,312 to \$42,988,999. Generally speaking, moneys raised locally and on a statewide basis for school maintenance and extension of educational facilities greatly increased, as did also educational expenditures.

The summary of education accounts in the accompanying table portrays developments of recent years.

# SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURES

## EDUCATION ACCOUNTS

## EDUCATION

383

	ACTUAL				
	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949
Subsidies to Cities, Towns, and Academies for.....	\$ —	\$ 250	\$ 2,182	\$ 4,289	\$ 2,066
Plans and Surveys.....	156	—	—	—	—
State School Fund.....	150,803	183,387	191,743	219,084	233,458
Tuition.....	1,024,273	2,020,535	2,041,815	2,728,239	3,235,650
Teaching Positions.....	697,099	638,881	500,997	504,991	509,987
School Census (Enrollment since 1947).....	116,365	140,567	151,642	178,078	193,047
Conveyance in Lieu of Teaching Positions.....	1,152	1,579	872	1,698	2,792
Temporary Residents.....	129,319	122,341	134,012	133,336	132,793
Industrial Education.....	98,436	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000
Aid to Academies.....	28,615	32,255	34,237	35,300	31,643
Physical Education.....	—	—	841	1,150	1,510
Board of Island Children.....	—	7,500	7,312	10,000	1,690
Physically Handicapped Children.....	355,660	302,948	474,514	495,299	16,496
Equalization of Educational Opportunities.....	—	—	—	—	519,540
Sub-Totals of Subsidies.....	2,601,878	3,570,243	3,660,167	4,431,464	4,963,407
State Contribution to Maine Teachers' Retirement Association..	143,373	194,602	219,300	150,000	—
Administration.....	80,500	93,463	117,290	120,663	141,728
Teachers' Colleges and Normal Schools.....	382,933	388,107	564,054	663,047	745,868
Schooling of Children in Unorganized Territory.....	87,090	112,394	170,447	141,002	176,712
Superintendents of Towns Comprising School Unions.....	163,294	160,683	163,494	182,976	178,756
Vocational Education.....	23,757	39,634	46,127	88,608	180,875
Federal Vocational Rehabilitation.....	86,467	108,331	111,086	128,711	134,055
Vocational Technical Institute.....	—	12,538	110,343	65,751	122,179
Adm. of National School Lunch Program.....	—	—	11,003	13,185	77,623
Education of Orphans of Veterans.....	—	—	—	—	20,376
Sp. Com. on Approval of Inst. Offering Specialized Training for Veterans.....	—	—	—	—	450
Pensions for Retired Teachers (1913 System).....	285,316	1,309	307	633	442
	—	371,994	387,371	413,160	—
Sub-Totals of Operational Accounts.....	1,252,730	1,483,055	1,900,822	1,967,736	1,657,145
Grand Totals.....	\$3,854,608	\$5,053,298	\$5,560,989	\$6,399,200	\$7,101,719

\* Industrial and Physical Education subsidies now included with Teaching Position subsidies. Amount shown is subsidy for Evening Schools only.

\*\* Teachers' Retirement Systems combined with all others under the MAINE STATE RETIREMENT SYSTEM.



The Maine Department of Education was formerly headed by a Commissioner, but in 1949 the Legislature adopted an entirely new form of administration, establishing a ten-man Board of Education, appointed as follows: "One by the presidents of the liberal arts and teachers' colleges of the state, the appointee not to be an active college president; one by the Maine Municipal Association, the appointee not to be the active president of the association; one by the Maine Superintendents' Association, the appointee not to be the active president of the association; one by the Maine Congress of Parents and Teachers, the appointee not to be the president of the organization; one by the Maine Teachers' Association, the appointee not to be the president of the association; and 5 to be appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Council. The appointees shall take the oath of office prescribed for state officers. The 5 members of the first board appointed by the organizations listed in this paragraph shall by lot determine the member to serve for 1 year, 2 years, 3 years, 4 years and 5 years. Of the 5 members appointed by the Governor, one shall serve for 1 year, one for 2 years, one for 3 years, one for 4 years and one for 5 years. Regular appointments thereafter shall be for a term of 5 years. The Governor and the organizations mentioned in this paragraph shall appoint successors to their first-term appointees to fill unexpired terms or to serve regular terms, these appointments to be in accordance with the provisions for the 1st appointments. Members of the board shall be subject to removal from office by the governor and council for cause.

"Members of the board shall serve without pay, other than their actual expenses while carrying out the functions of the board."

The Board of Education chooses the Commissioner of Education, who calls board meetings; and business proceeds in accordance with arrangements designed to bring Maine's state educational administration thoroughly up to date.

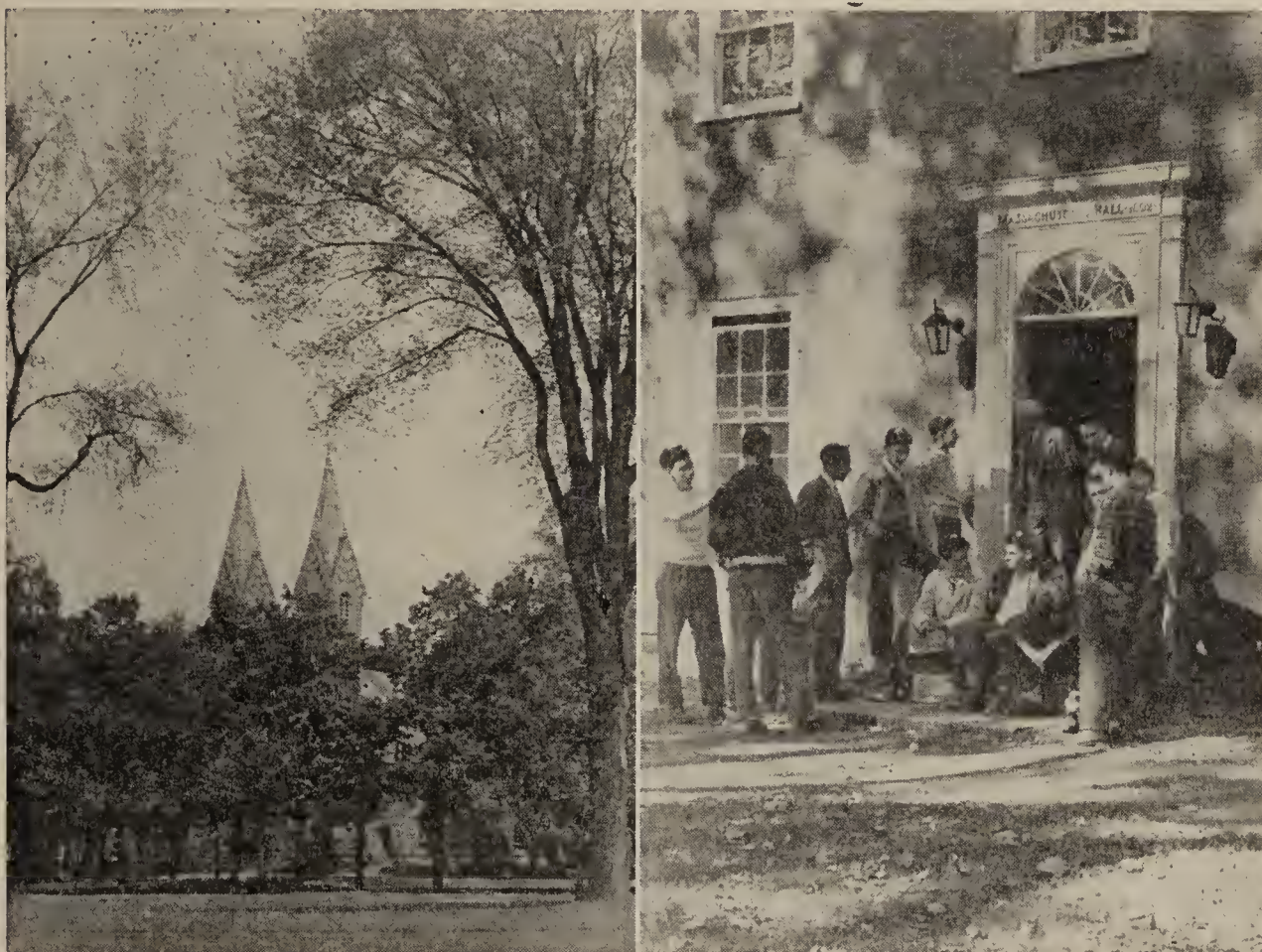
#### COLLEGES

The oldest college in the State of Maine is Bowdoin; indeed, it is older than the State itself. The charter was granted by the General Court of Massachusetts on June 24, 1796, and the first president, Rev. Joseph McKeen, a graduate of Dartmouth, and for sixteen years the pastor of a church in Beverly, Massachusetts, was inaugurated in September, 1802. The first professor, besides the president, was Jacob Abbott, who held the chair of ancient languages. The day after McKeen took office, the College opened with eight students in Massachusetts Hall, the only building then completed.

The infant institution was named after Governor James Bowdoin, a much-admired chief magistrate of the Commonwealth. Bowdoin gave the College, in 1794, \$1,000 and a thousand acres of land, then valued at about \$3,000. Before 1802, he gave \$2,800 more for the establishment of a chair of mathematics and natural and experimental philosophy. Later, he gave the College 6,000 more acres of land and in his will bequeathed some \$33,000, in addition to many valuable books and paintings which he had collected during four years' residence abroad.



This chair endowed by Governor Bowdoin was established in 1805 and the great Parker Cleaveland was selected to fill it. For fifty years he served with the greatest distinction, bringing renown not only to himself but to the little "down-east" college. One of his outstanding accomplishments was his book dealing with mineralogy, then an infant science, which won fame not only in the United States but the world over. It was of Professor Cleaveland that the poet, Longfellow, wrote his famed sonnet beginning:



*Left: The Familiar Twin Spires of Bowdoin College Chapel*

*Right: Front of Massachusetts Hall, the Original College Building, Erected in 1802*

"Among the many lives that I have known,  
None I remember more serene and sweet,  
More rounded in itself and more complete,  
Than he who lies beneath this funeral stone."

Bowdoin's first commencement was held in September, 1806, and it was the first such event in the District of Maine. The Bachelor of Arts degree was conferred upon six young men, products of Maine. It was also Dr. McKen's first commencement as president and his last, for he died within a year.

Rev. Jesse Appleton, of Hampton, New Hampshire, was chosen the next president. A graduate of Dartmouth, he was an eminent divine, as were most early college presidents in New England. He was much concerned with what he called college discipline and



throughout his administration, he laid great stress upon being watchful of moral and spiritual welfare of students. Also, he led the College forward. The students passed the total of fifty, a new dormitory was built (1808), and Bowdoin gained a reputation for "good morals and sound scholarship." Appleton died after thirteen years of devoted and devout leadership. His last words are reported as having been: "God has taken care of the College and God will take care of it."

In 1819, a Harvard man, Rev. William Allen, who had been pastor of a church at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and president of the short-lived Dartmouth University, was elected president. During the twenty years of his administration, Bowdoin made great strides forward. In 1820, the Legislature of Maine "established under the control, superintendence and direction of the president, trustees, and overseers of Bowdoin College, a medical school for the instruction of students in medicine, anatomy, surgery, chemistry, mineralogy, and botany." An increase in the number of students necessitated the building of another dormitory by 1822, presently known as Winthrop Hall.

Probably President Allen's greatest accomplishment, however, was his skill in adding great teachers to his faculty. Besides the "magnificent and massive" Cleaveland, there was the gentle and courteous Samuel Phillips Newman, "the faithful friend, the skillful and patient teacher, the accomplished Christian gentleman," from 1820 to 1824 professor of ancient languages and then, until 1839, professor of rhetoric and poetry. Then there was Alpheus Spring Packard, for more than sixty years on the faculty, from 1824 to 1865 the able and devoted professor of ancient languages and then, until 1884, professor of natural and revealed religion. William Smith was another great teacher, indomitable and uncompromising, stern in principle, rough in exterior, yet of the finest sensibilities, "a Great-heart in courage and kindness," professor of mathematics from 1825 to 1868. Another was Thomas Cogswell Upham, "sensitive and saintly, half hermit, half man of the world, a most extraordinary combination of bashful modesty and unflinching boldness," professor of mental and moral philosophy from 1824 to 1867. Finally, to mention but one more, there was Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Portland born, Bowdoin educated, the first professor of modern language, from 1829 to 1835, when Harvard claimed him and he went on to become one of America's great 19th century poets.

If Bowdoin early attracted a great faculty, so was it blessed with an unusual student body. Probably few small colleges have ever had such a brilliant assembly as Bowdoin had in the early days. Dr. Lyman Abbott, a graduate of Harvard, once wrote: "A more remarkable class never gathered under an American college roof-tree than the Bowdoin Class of 1825". Here was a group of boys of whom many soon became famous: William Pitt Fessenden, Franklin Pierce, Calvin Stowe, John S. C. Abbott, James W. Bradbury, Horatio Bridge, George Cheever, Johnathan Cilley, John P. Hale, Seargent S. Prentiss, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

Dr. Allen resigned his duties in 1839 and Dr. Leonard Woods, Jr., professor of biblical literature in the Bangor Theological Seminary,

was elected his successor. He was of an original mind and instead of following the customary harsh discipline of his day, introduced a method by which the students were treated with sympathetic understanding. This method attracted wide attention in the academic world and did much to advance Bowdoin's reputation. Perhaps as a result of this, some \$70,000 was added to the College funds in 1841-42, chiefly from the Congregationalists of New England. Woods was also responsible in large part for the erection of an impressive granite chapel in 1855. This building has since become dear to the hearts of a century of Bowdoin men.

In 1852, Bowdoin celebrated its semi-centennial, a firmly established, well-honored and grateful institution. During the Civil War, the student body was very sharply reduced, for a larger percentage of the College's graduates and undergraduates served in the War than was the case from any other northern college. In 1866, after nearly 30 years of highly successful administration, Dr. Woods resigned, having in that time influenced more than a thousand young men by his cultured mind and his forceful personality.

The next president of Bowdoin was the first executive to be a Bowdoin man. He was Rev. Samuel Harris of the Bangor Seminary. He was interested in the development of a science faculty at Bowdoin and added two great teachers, Professor George L. Goodale and Professor E. S. Morse. They greatly improved the science courses and helped in establishing the innovation by which all students were required to do individual laboratory work. Dr. Harris proved a good official, too good, in fact, for he was drawn to Yale in 1871.

Bowdoin's fifth president was General Joshua L. Chamberlain, of the Bowdoin Class of 1852. A graduate of Bangor Seminary also, he had enjoyed a brilliant career at Bowdoin as a professor of rhetoric but left to become one of Maine's greatest leaders in the Civil War. Returning, he served the State as Governor but returned to academic calm in 1871. He, too, was interested in the development of science in the College and established a scientific department "parallel with but entirely distinct from the academic department". This department was maintained for ten years but in that brief period it contributed some eminently successful men to the world. Among them were: Charles D. Jameson, consulting engineer to the Chinese government; Alfred E. Burton, dean of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Admiral Robert E. Peary of North Pole fame.

During President Chamberlain's administration, and largely through his efforts, an alumni endowment fund of about \$100,000 was raised, and Memorial Hall was built. In 1883, he resigned and for two years the College was without a president. Then, in 1885, Rev. William DeWitte Hyde was elected. He was then the youngest college president in the country and so markedly progressive that, while the younger alumni welcomed him enthusiastically, some of the older graduates were a bit disturbed. However, uncertainty was soon dispelled and during the thirty-three years of his administration, Bowdoin made such strides as to take rank as one of the most important smaller colleges in the United States. A student government system, largely devised by Professor Charles H. Smith, was put into satis-



factory operation. The curriculum was greatly broadened and, in particular, the number of electives was considerably increased. The endowment fund was multiplied nearly ten times and, besides the Hubbard grandstand and the astronomical observatory, more than five new buildings were added, five of them costing more than \$800,000. President Hyde, himself a scholar of distinction, noted for his books, magazine articles and public addresses, maintained the high standards which have always characterized Bowdoin. In 1917, his brilliant career was ended by his death at the age of fifty-eight.

In June of that year, another great president, Dr. Kenneth C. M. Sills, was elected to the office. A graduate of Bowdoin, Class



*Walker Art Memorial Building at Bowdoin College*

of 1901, he had been professor of Latin for twelve years, and for eight years of that period dean of the college, and for a year acting president.

During Mr. Sills' administration, the size of the faculty has multiplied almost threefold. In 1919 Bowdoin inaugurated a system of comprehensive examinations for the major field of study, and in 1923 started a series of institutes in different branches of learning. In 1928 the Tallman visiting professorship was founded, and in 1935 the Kent Island Scientific Station was established. Endowment funds multiplied almost fourfold from \$2,473,451 in 1917 to \$9,521,077 in 1948. New buildings included Moulton Union and Moore Hall, and the Pickard playing field was also constructed. Intercollegiate athletics in these years were placed under institutional control. In 1929 swimming, and in 1942 basketball, were recognized as 'varsity sports. The alumni organization was improved and, through a central office, brought into closer working relationship with the college. Relationships between students and the townspeople also were made more intimate and cordial through a series of wisely-planned steps. Newer organizations at the college include the Society of Bowdoin Women, founded in 1922 by Mrs. William J. Curtis and Mrs. George C. Riggs



(Kate Douglas Wiggin); and the Bowdoin Fathers' Association, started in 1945. An alumni magazine and a placement bureau are also among more up-to-date institutions at Bowdoin.

Provincialism is no more. Until well into the twentieth century Bowdoin's undergraduates were about nine-tenths Maine residents. In 1925 Maine residents were still a majority. Now only about one-third of the students are from Maine; and of a normal pre-World War II enrollment of 600 students, an average of about 100 came from outside New England—New York, Pennsylvania and still farther afield. Numerous Rhodes scholars have also emanated from remote fishing villages of Maine.

From June, 1941, to October, 1945, Bowdoin provided classrooms and laboratories for a pre-radar school for navy officers. Commander Noel C. Little, U.S.N.R., on leave from the college faculty, had charge of the school, and during that period about 2,500 officers completed the special four-month introductory course. Other World War II activities included organization, in February, 1943, of a Basic Pre-Meteorological Unit of the Army Air Forces, which the college administered until May, 1944; and also an Army Specialized Training Unit. At its peak, military, naval and civilian student personnel numbered more than 850. At one or another time, one-fourth of the entire faculty were away on military or other governmental service. Of the 3,086 Bowdoin Men who served in World War II, ninety-four did not return. The 1946 enrollment was 547, a figure that mounted to an all-time high of 1,083 in 1947. The accelerated study program initiated in 1942 continues at the time of writing.

Today, Bowdoin is a thoroughly modern, well-equipped and magnificently staffed institution. It has maintained into the second half of its second century, the same ideals of New England liberal arts training and has deliberately kept its regular student body small in order to meet efficiently the needs of the young men who come to it, not from Maine alone but from all the New England states and many other states as well as foreign countries.

(See Part III—Cumberland County, Brunswick.)

#### COLBY COLLEGE

Up the Kennebec at Waterville, Colby College is presently completing a magnificent reorganization and rebuilding program under the leadership of the eminent Dr. Julius Seely Bixler. Colby, during its existence of nearly a century and a half, has had four different names. It was organized by the Baptist Church in the District of Maine as the Maine Literary and Theological Institution on February 27, 1813. In 1820 the first Maine Legislature authorized it to confer degrees. On February 5, 1821 it became Waterville College, the title it held until January 23, 1867, when it was somewhat ambitiously reorganized as Colby University. On January 25, 1899, it received its present name of Colby College.

Bowdoin College was emphatically a Congregational Institution—with the capital I. Its presidents were Congregational ministers, its faculty were by and large prominently associated with the Congre-



gational Church and its trustees were in the majority, also distinguished members of the same denomination. In a sense, since the Congregational Church was the "State Church" of Massachusetts, Bowdoin was a part of the official ecclesiastical organization. The ministers and deacons and prominent members of the Baptist Church in Maine naturally felt that they had no influence whatever in moulding the policies and operation of Bowdoin. So, they came to think it necessary that the Baptist Church, too, should have a college, where Baptist young men could be given a higher education under Baptist government—especially young men who wished to enter the Baptist ministry. The Baptists of the District of Maine paid their respects to the General Court of Massachusetts and in February of 1813 received a charter. On October 1, 1817, the new college was located at a site just north of the center of the town of Waterville and Rev. Jeremiah Chaplin, of Danvers, Massachusetts, was chosen professor of theology. On July 6, 1818, the seminary opened for instruction and by May of the following year, there were seventeen students in the theological department. The literary department opened in October of 1819 with about twenty students under the direction of the Rev. Avery Briggs, professor of languages.

In June of 1820, the Legislature of the State of Maine gave the new college the authority to confer academic degrees and gave also the sum of \$1,000 annually for seven years to help the struggling college treasury. On February 5, 1821, the forbidding original title was changed to the smoother name of Waterville College.

The first president of Colby was Rev. Jeremiah Chaplin, professor of theology, who was given his promotion in June of 1821 and in August, at the first commencement, gave two young men the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The college plant then consisted of the president's house and two brick dormitories, which were built in 1821 and 1822. By 1833 there were professorships in mathematics and natural history, rhetoric and Hebrew, Greek and Latin. In 1833, since there were no students in the theological department, the chair in theology was vacated. By 1834, a chair in modern languages was established.

For three years, beginning in 1830, Colby also conferred the degree of Doctor of Medicine upon the graduates of the new Clinical School of Medicine at Woodstock, Vermont. Fifty-five medical students thus received their degrees.

As early as 1831, Colby embarked upon what may be termed an experiment in industrial education, a business much in the foreground today, but certainly a strange innovation back then, when formal Greek and Latin and theology were about all a man needed to win an A.B. Three workshops were built and in them the students made doors, blinds, tables, chairs and carriages, as well as printing, all of course under skilled instruction. Each student was given a particular job and was required to work three hours a day, for which time he was paid wages. Apparently, it must be confessed, the idea was not so much industrial education as to give the students an opportunity to help pay their way through college. The idea failed by 1842 and the workshops became "a useless monument of misjudged expenditure."

In 1833, President Chaplin resigned and he was followed by Rev. Rufus Babcock, Jr., of Salem, Massachusetts. Babcock faced a very critical task. Two professors had resigned with Chaplin. The College was \$18,000 in debt, and even the stoutest supporters of the institution were "filled with doubts and fears." Babcock sailed very close into the wind but he managed to claw off the lee shore in time. He collected money, increased the number of students to more than a hundred, and found \$6,000 somewhere with which to put up a new building. He worked too hard, in fact, and in 1836 poor health compelled his resignation. Despite Babcock's good work, the new president, Rev. Robert E. Pattison, of Providence, Rhode Island, faced an even more difficult time, for the College had literally no money at all. Indeed, in 1839, the entire faculty resigned in a body because of the financial situation. However, the College found new friends who contributed a fund of \$50,000 and kept the doors wide open.

From 1841 to 1843, Eliphaz Fay, of Poughkeepsie, New York, was president, being followed by Rev. David N. Sheldon, pastor of the Baptist Church at Waterville. For ten years, Dr. Sheldon ran the College quietly. Neither funds or students increased materially but, with the assistance of an able faculty he gathered, Dr. Sheldon, himself a man of broad experience and wide culture, established a firm basis for scholarship.

From 1853 to 1856, Dr. Robert E. Pattison again served as president, and he found the College struggling with the same life and death financial difficulties. Each month in turn was practically a crisis in which it was touch and go whether the College could continue in operation at all. All the presidents had been able men but their terms had all been much too brief to permit of accomplishment. The buildings were all badly out of repair, equipment was old-fashioned, even for that date and funds were less than \$17,000.

Professor James T. Champlin became president in 1857 and with his administration, the tide turned. He had a most difficult series of years at first, however. Despite his broad experience, his wide acquaintanceship, and his persistence and vigor and faith, he faced one trouble after another. A campaign for funds failed and then the Civil War cut the student body in half. But in 1864 the sun came out brightly for the first time. Gardner Colby of Newton, Massachusetts promised to give the College \$50,000 on the condition that other friends of the institution contribute \$100,000—and also, on the condition that the president and a majority of the faculty should be members in good standing of the Baptist Church. Within two years, the \$100,000 was subscribed and in 1867, at the request of the Trustees, the Legislature changed the name of Waterville College to Colby University.

In 1869, a building program was initiated with a \$50,000 Memorial Hall containing a chapel, library and alumni room and in 1871 Coburn Hall, a science building, was erected. That same year the Trustees voted to admit young women to the college on the same terms as young men and this added greatly to the attractiveness of the College to the young people of Maine—as well as its usefulness. Women were first actually admitted in 1871 to the new Independent College of Liberal Arts for Men and Women.



Dr. Champlin, concluding a most successful administration, resigned in 1873, leaving \$213,000 in the college funds and a much larger and better equipped plant behind him. Dr. Henry E. Robins was elected president and immediately devoted himself to increasing the student body which he shortly tripled from fifty to a hundred and fifty. He added physical training to the courses of study, enlarged the number of elective courses and improved the library as well as having the pleasure of receiving a bequest of \$120,000 from the estate of Gardner Colby.

Dr. Robins was followed in 1882 by Dr. George D. B. Pepper who served ably for seven years. During his term, a bequest of \$200,000 came from the estate of Abner Coburn and from Colonel Richard C. Shannon, Class of 1862, the brick Observatory and Physical Laboratory. Upon Pepper's resignation, the College funds had reached \$505,767.

Dr. Albion W. Small, Colby graduate, was the first alumnus to be chosen president. He introduced changes in the college course of study and also a student government plan. In 1892, he was succeeded by Rev. B. L. Whitman of Brown University. Whitman increased the student body to some two hundred, but he was hardly in his stride before he became president of Columbian University, at Washington, D. C. Dr. Nathaniel Butler, Jr., the next president, was taken away by the University of Chicago, but during his term he made many friends, for he was that type of administrator. He raised some \$60,000 by subscriptions and built a chemistry building at a cost of \$30,000.

From 1901 to 1908, Colby, made a College in 1899, was directed by Rev. Charles L. White. He received the gift of Foss Hall, a large, well-equipped building for the Women's Division of the College, from Mrs. William E. Dexter of Worcester, Massachusetts. Dr. White resigned in 1908 to be followed by Professor Arthur J. Roberts, Class of 1899, and for eighteen years a professor of rhetoric. He brought to the College an administration of vigor and determination and caused the College to prosper greatly. By the time World War I cut into the work of Colby, the faculty numbered thirty and the student body included 267 men and 173 women. Endowment funds were solicited and the college continued its development during the 'thirties.

Then, just before World War II, the College embarked upon a modernization program. After more than a century at the old location, beside the railroad tracks of the Maine Central, it was determined that the old and shabby buildings could no longer serve the needs of the modern Colby. So a gigantic endowment campaign was launched and, upon its success, the present new campus atop Mayflower Hill, a few miles to the west, came into being. Here in a group of splendid Georgian buildings, Colby has entered 1950 in commanding position. From a little Maine college up near the headwaters of the Kennebec, it has grown, through many lean and difficult years, into a modern institution which commands nation-wide respect.

However, despite present prosperity, Colby continues in the old-fashioned way as a small, typical New England liberal arts institu-

tion, true to the ideals of the founding fathers. Being modern, it no longer stresses the strict Baptist purpose of its charter, but it remains concerned not only with providing a modern intellectual training for its young men and women, but also the ethical and moral background which distinguishes its reputation. New England is famed the world over for the excellence of its educational institutions. For those who have faith in the liberal arts training, Colby is an outstanding example of excellence.

A few facts and figures of present-day Colby College are especially interesting. The College has an endowment of \$4,000,000. The Library contains 130,000 volumes. The enrollment is approximately 600 men and 400 women. The faculty numbered eighty-one in 1949. The only degree conferred is that of Bachelor of Arts, and no graduate courses are offered.

Colby is approved and accredited by the Association of American Universities, the Association of American Colleges, the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, the College Entrance Examination Board, the Association of American Medical Schools, the American Association of University Women and the Phi Beta Kappa Society.

(See Part III—Kennebec County, Waterville.)

#### BATES COLLEGE

The third of Maine's colleges, chronologically speaking, is Bates College, a non-denominational institution of higher learning. However, like most New England colleges it was established by a religious group, in this case, the Free Will Baptists.

Rev. Oren B. Cheney, a Free Will Baptist minister at Augusta, is regarded as the one man responsible for the existence of Bates College. The Parsonsfield Seminary, the only Free Baptist school in the State of Maine, was burned in 1854 and Dr. Cheney conceived the idea of establishing for his denomination a new school more centrally located. Enthusiastic, vigorous, persistent, widely experienced not only as a preacher but as a teacher, he was by nature as well as by deliberate conviction, an educational crusader. He immediately went to work to put his idea into practice and consulted many of his friends throughout the State. Of course, most of the Free Will Baptist leaders wanted the Parsonsfield Seminary rebuilt but, at the November, 1854 Conference of the denomination, held at Topsham, Dr. Cheney was so persuasive that, while the Conference agreed to rebuild the Parsonsfield Seminary, it also agreed to found another school elsewhere. The State was to be asked to contribute towards the establishment of the new school and, in 1855, the Legislature did give a charter and a gift of \$15,000 on two conditions—first, that only \$5,000 should be used for the necessary expenses and the rest should be set aside as an endowment; second, that the friends of the school should raise an equal amount.

The idea of a new school attracted wide attention and several towns requested consideration as the site, among them, Hallowell, China, Unity, Pittsfield and Lewiston. Lewiston was as centrally located as any of the aspiring towns and, in addition, promised to raise



the required \$15,000. One business firm alone, the Franklin Company, offered \$5,000 on the spot. So, Lewiston was selected, Dr. Cheney was appointed principal and in September of 1857, the new school was opened with six instructors, 137 students and two buildings, Parker and Hathorn.

It is probable that Dr. Cheney had no idea of establishing more than a school in the beginning, but as the seminary progressed, after five years he determined to transform his little establishment into a college. His trustees were hesitant but Cheney was a dynamo of courage and in July of 1863, right in the middle of the Civil War, application was made to the State of Maine Legislature for a college charter, which was granted in 1864. The seminary was to continue more or less as a separate institution but the property of the seminary was to be transferred to the new corporation, to be known as Bates College. This name was adopted in honor of Benjamin E. Bates, of Boston, who gave the seminary \$25,000, in addition to many personal services. The college subsequently received many munificent gifts from Mr. Bates.

The transformation of the seminary into the college was one of difficulty and there was also much honest and well-intended opposition. Many friends of Bates felt that it was too bold and too hazardous an enterprise. Others felt that it was distinctly wrong to abandon the seminary for the sake of a college. However, there were better reasons for the change. First, Bates College was the only Free Baptist college east of Michigan, and there were some 30,000 members of the denomination in New England alone. Second, there were many boys and girls, worthy of a college training, who were barred from existing institutions by the high cost of learning, a situation Bates proposed to ease by deliberately planning its costs to make them as low as possible. Then Bates frankly and emphatically put stress upon the development of individual Christian character by close, all but parental, oversight of each student. Finally, Bates threw its doors wide open to women.

The development into the college was difficult, indeed. The first twenty years were a period of struggle. The college began work with sixteen students in 1863 and a faculty of five, with Dr. Cheney president and Jonathan Y. Stanton professor of Latin. The Seminary was regarded at first as a preparatory department for the college and, later it developed into a Latin school, situated on the same campus but with a separate building and separate administration. The women's department of the Seminary was subsequently transferred to Maine Central Institute, a New Free Baptist School at Pittsfield, Maine. In 1870, a theological department was brought to the college from New Hampton, New Hampshire, and given the name of Cobb Divinity School, in honor of J. H. L. Cobb, of Lewiston. This school continued until 1907, graduating 147 divinity students.

The financial struggles were perhaps the most severe. Between 1870 and 1880 in particular, President Cheney spent many anxious days and nights. The faculty included men who worked with extreme loyalty—often giving up large parts of their salaries in order that the College might pay pressing bills. The body of students grew slowly

but steadily until by 1880 it totaled 147. But the very small endowment was a continual handicap, being but \$157,037—less than half of what was necessary. Usually, the College ran at a deficit, often as high as \$90,000. It was not until 1884 that the books for the first time were closed in black instead of red ink; that year there was a balance of \$71.52.

But in 1886, the tide finally turned. That year, J. H. L. Cobb, of Lewiston, gave Bates \$25,000 if the College could raise an additional \$75,000. Within two years, this was accomplished and, no sooner had the campaign been carried over the top, than an additional bequest of \$40,000 arrived. Since that time, Bates has not been in peril for financial reasons. However, it has been hard pressed from time to time, a situation inevitable in any growing institution based upon the ideal of giving its students services costing from three to five times the tuition paid. Indeed, in proportion to the growth of the student body, the need for funds increased. More students meant more dormitories, more courses, more professors, more of this, of that and of everything. Bates has always been operated on the ideal that a college that does not live a little ahead of its normal income cannot be called a progressive institution.

Bates has been particularly fortunate in its presidents. In some colleges, presidents come and go with only a brief tenure of office. At Bates, the first presidents enjoyed remarkably long careers. President Cheney, the founder, held office until 1894, when he resigned at the age of seventy-seven. Thus this man, who came to know so very well the needs and the ideals of the College, as well as its alumni and friends, was able to carry through to completion a multitude of tasks which a series of presidents holding but brief tenures could not have accomplished, however gifted they might have been. Cheney was followed by George Colby Chase, who as a student and a professor of English literature had been associated with Bates for twenty-five years. Thus he, too, knew the College and its problems intimately. Like Cheney, Chase was an indefatigable worker. He led Bates forward steadily and sanely, building it up to include twenty-one departments, with more than a dozen substantial buildings, a library of more than 50,000 volumes, a faculty of more than forty members, and a student body of about 500.

He was followed in 1927 as president by Dr. Clifton Daggett Gray. At that time Bates had more than 620 students, of whom 359 were men, 261 women. Ninety-six men and 133 women were also enrolled in the summer school. The faculty had reached nearly fifty members, and the annual budget was close to \$300,000, with an endowment of almost \$2,000,000.

As of January, 1950, Bates had records of 5,217 living graduates. In normal times, of recent years, the enrollment at Bates has been approximately 750, of whom 400 are men. Of the total number of students, about 25 per cent. are from Maine, 4 per cent. from New Hampshire, 40 per cent. from Massachusetts, 10 per cent. from Connecticut, and 20 per cent. from places outside New England—one more evidence that provincialism has vanished from Maine education.

The general policy of Bates College is a broad general education, backed by Christian ideals and a goal of service to mankind. Educa-



tion here is envisaged as a co-operative endeavor of teacher and student, and in this spirit friendliness and individual assistance are considered of vital importance. Bates is fully approved by accrediting agencies and learned societies, including the Association of American Universities (whose crediting function was discontinued after 1948), the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the American Chemical Society and the American Association of University Women. The college is listed in the Cambridge University (England) group of approved American colleges.

(See Part III—Androscoggin County, Lewiston.)

#### UNIVERSITY OF MAINE

Like most State Universities, The University of Maine owes its beginnings to the Morrill Act, passed by Congress in 1862. This law gave to the various states and territories large tracts of land. Proceeds from the sale of these lands were to be used "to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes."

Maine established, accordingly, what was first known as Maine State College, at Orono, on January 25, 1866, although the institution did not open for active work until September 14, 1868. Twelve students assembled to meet the faculty of two: Merritt C. Fernald, a graduate of Bowdoin, who was acting president and professor of mathematics, and Samuel Johnson, another Bowdoin man, farm superintendent and instructor in agriculture. The next year a professor of chemistry, Samuel F. Pechham, was added to the faculty. After three years, Professor Fernald asked to be relieved of his administrative responsibilities and Rev. Dr. Charles F. Allen, a Methodist minister, was selected as president.

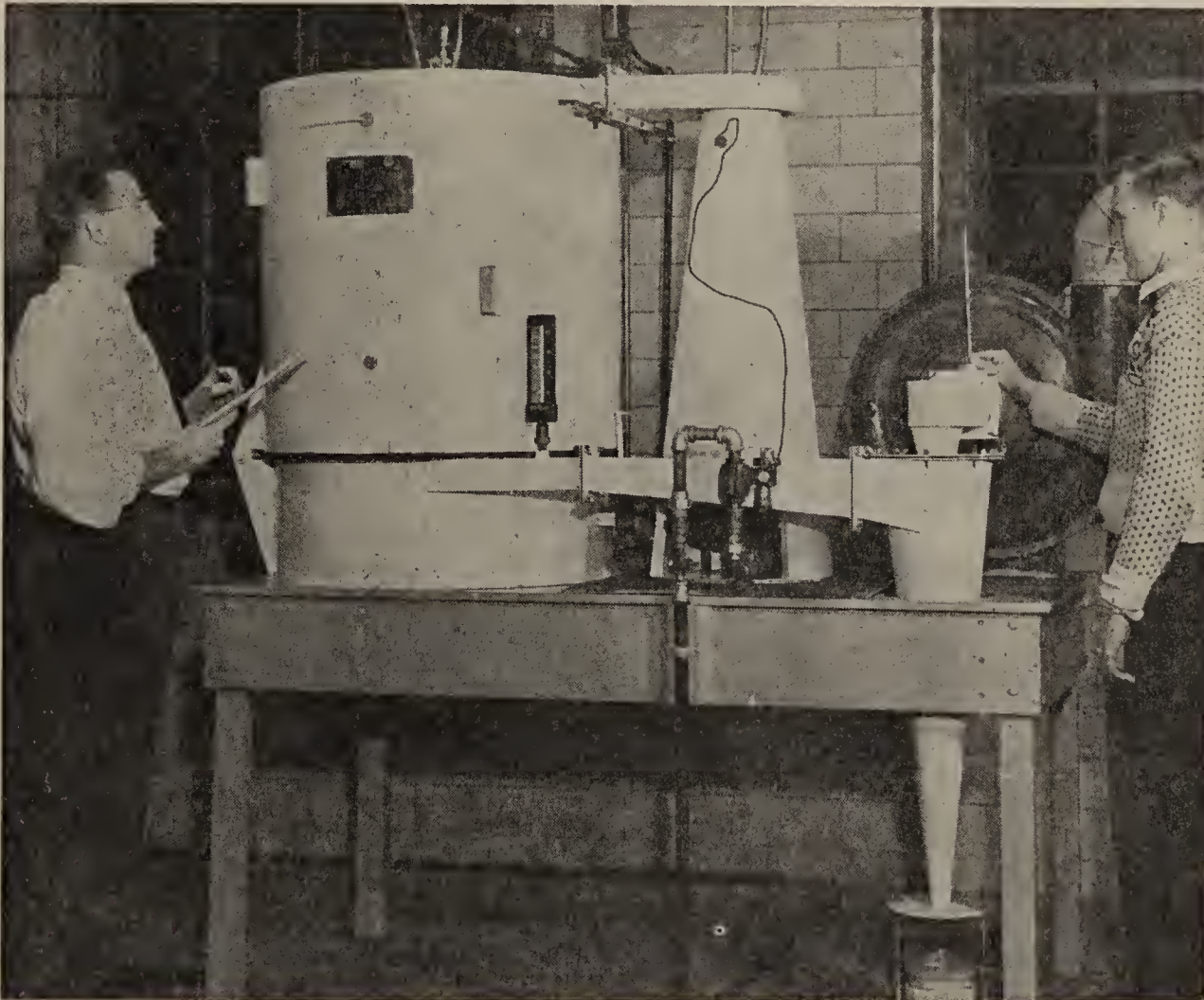
For seven years, Dr. Allen served as executive. He made progress slowly as was necessary because the "Greenback Legislature" would not grant the new college any appropriation whatever. What was worse, the solons voted to charge the students tuition which reduced the entering class from fifty to seventeen. One reason for this opposition at Augusta was that "scientific farming" was very new and many people of the State assumed an attitude of indifference or of ridicule. A farmer's boy was likely to be laughed at by his friends and neighbors when he announced that he was going "down to 'Cow College' to learn how to milk."

But Dr. Allen during his seven years of office worked persistently, erecting new buildings, adding new men to the faculty and offering new courses of study. In 1872 the College was made co-educational and the same year the first Commencement was held with six men graduates. By 1875 there were 121 students in the new College. Dr. Allen resigned in 1878 and Professor Fernald was chosen his successor in March of 1879.

Under Professor Fernald's administration, the college went ahead on the foundations laid so well by Dr. Allen. In 1883, the Legislature appropriated \$28,000 for the construction of a workshop in which the Russian system of shop instruction could be practiced. In 1885, the Maine State Agricultural Experiment Station was established at the College, although not under its administration, however in 1887, under



the Hatch Act, the Federal government provided \$15,000 a year to organize the Maine Agricultural Station as a department of the College. In 1888, came Coburn Hall, (for the departments of natural history and agriculture were finished), being named in honor of Abner Coburn who gave \$100,000 towards an endowment fund for the College. The State of Maine began giving more adequate appropriations (\$30,000 annually as in 1889 and 1890) and in 1890 Congress under



*University of Maine, Orono, Department of Industrial Cooperation*

the second Morrill Act gave each of the "land-grant" colleges an additional \$15,000 annually. Thus, Maine State College was becoming well equipped and soundly financed.

By 1892, President Fernald's health was failing and he sought to resign, but a successor was not found until September of 1893. During Fernald's twenty-five years of service with Maine State College, 1878 to 1892, the State of Maine had given an annual average appropriation of \$12,000, or a total of \$301,718. During these years, 367 had been graduated and 346 more had attended. The College in 1892 had 128 students and a faculty of nineteen.

Even if he could not longer support the tasks of the presidency, Dr. Fernald refused to leave his beloved College. From 1898 to 1908 he served still as professor of philosophy, endearing himself to another generation of students by his integrity, his friendship, and the exempli-



fication of the ideals of a Christian gentleman. Really forced to give up his profession that year, he became a professor emeritus and continued on the campus until his death, January 8, 1916. He was buried near the college which he had loved and served so well for fifty years. Few Maine teachers succeeded so well as he; his name is indelibly stamped on Maine's University.

On September 1, 1893, Dr. Abram W. Harris became the new president. Under his leadership, the College made continued progress. The older buildings were renovated and new ones were erected. He established courses to equip students for teaching and in 1895 opened the celebrated summer school. Because of the stature of the College, in 1897 the Maine Legislature changed the title of the institution to that of the University of Maine and raised the appropriation to an annual \$20,000. On October 5, 1898, the University added a School of Law, at Bangor, and in 1899, a classical course was added which offered students the standard A.B. degree. In 1901, Dr. Harris resigned, but he left behind him a thriving University in which the student body had grown to some four hundred.

Dr. George E. Fellows was appointed the new president, December 23, 1901; and in 1903, the University joined the New England Certificate Board, which meant that requirements for admission were standardized to meet those of all New England institutions, with the exception of Harvard and Yale. The same year a course in forestry was established and in 1904 several new buildings were constructed. Among them was Holmes Hall, the agricultural building, named in honor of Dr. Ezekiel Holmes, for many years editor of the *Maine Farmer* and a devoted and enthusiastic friend of the University. Another building was Lord Hall, for the engineering department and named for Henry Lord, for many years president of the Board of Trustees. In 1905 a \$50,000 library building, the gift of Andrew Carnegie, was dedicated and the same year, a department of education was established, followed by a department of domestic science. In 1910, the University dropped its membership in the New England College Certificate Board and began to admit students on certificate from any Class A high school in the State. Dr. Fellows resigned September 1, 1910.

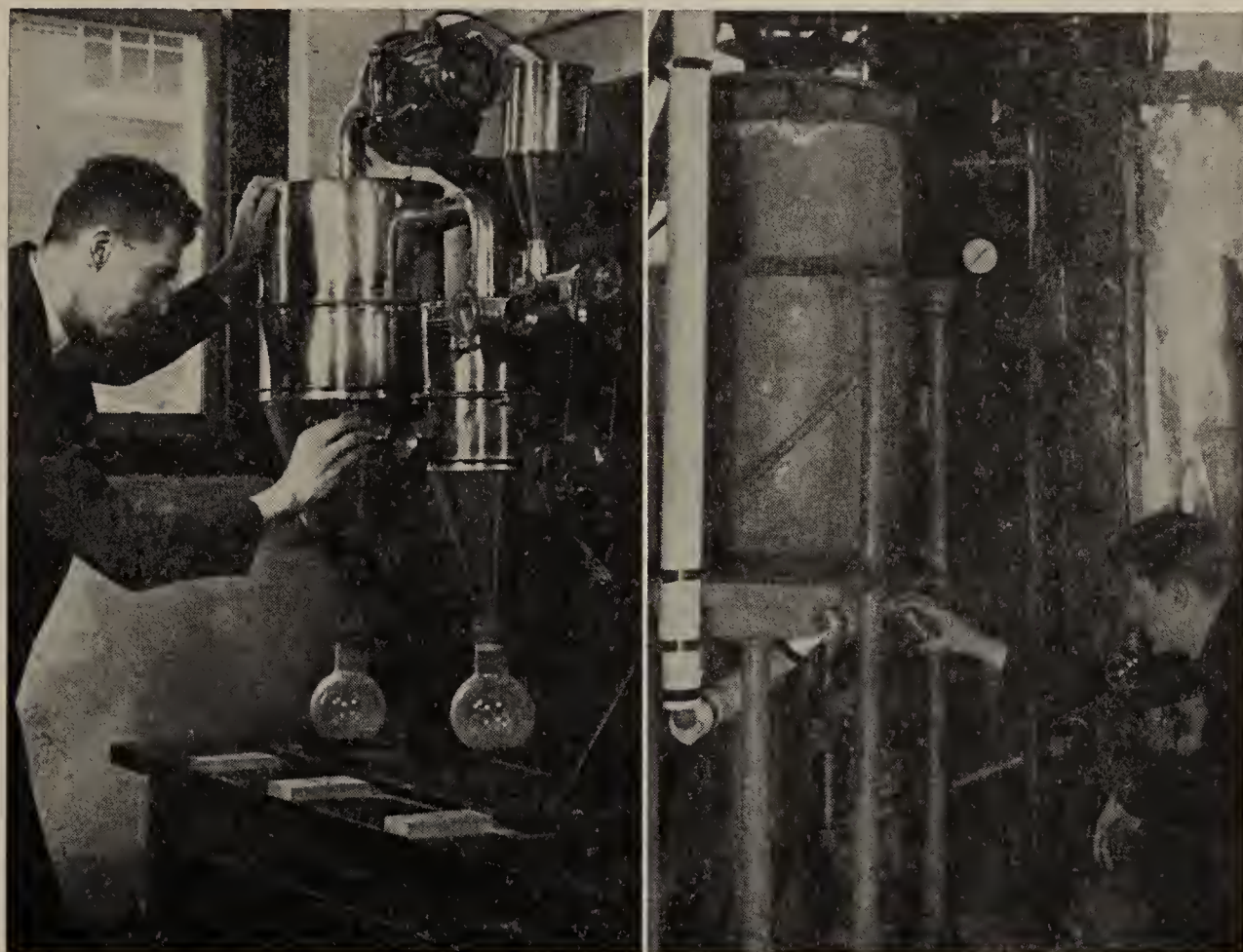
He was followed by Dr. Robert J. Aley, who had been State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Indiana. He demonstrated himself to be both an able educator and a sound administrator. He devoted himself to the development of the college plant, erecting a new dormitory for women, purchasing a building for the Law School at Bangor and adding other substantial buildings to the campus. When World War I broke out, the University had a student body of 1,260, including 170 women. The faculty numbered 144 and the State was appropriating about \$400,000 annually. During the War, 1,600 graduates were in the service and the gold stars upon the institution's service flag numbered 31.

Dr. Harold Sherburne Boardman followed Dr. Aley as president and he, too, continued the development of the University of Maine. By 1927, for example, the student body numbered 1,369, and the faculty



totalled 205, of which number, 140 were engaged in teaching and administration, 24 were at the Experiment Station, and 41 were in the Agricultural Extension service. The University's productive funds amounted to \$735,920.24 and the income for the year was \$849,131.17.

That same year, \$100,000 was received from Thomas Upham Coe, of Bangor, and the Trustees devoted the fund's income to research work which "should have some bearing on the development of the



*Laboratory Scene in the University of Maine's Department of Industrial Cooperation*

State." A brick dairy building, for instruction in dairy husbandry was built that year, and Crosby Memorial Laboratory, the gift of Oliver Crosby of the Class of 1876, was dedicated.

The present University of Maine includes numerous administrative units—Colleges of Agriculture, Arts and Sciences and also of Technology, as well as Schools of Education and Graduate Study, Summer Session, an Agricultural Extension Service, an Agricultural Experiment Station, a State Technology Experiment Station, and a Department of Industrial Cooperation.

Emphasis is upon practical considerations. The College of Technology, for example, offers curricula in chemical engineering, with an option in pulp and paper technology. In the civil engineering branch, there are options in such specialties as highway engineering, sanitary engineering, light building construction and city management.



## RICKER COLLEGE

The newest of Maine's colleges, Ricker, at Houlton, was set up in 1949, just 101 years after the original school, then called Houlton Academy, was founded in 1848. The institution had progressed from that time to Ricker Classical Institute, 1874-1926, in which later year a Junior College course was added. This institution today thus is almost unique among educational establishments, in that it operates on three levels. It is a high school, a junior college and a four-year college combined in one institution.

At moderate cost, the Aroostook County boy or girl can, if desired, enroll at Ricker Classical Institute as a freshman and emerge four years later with a high school diploma. Then, if he so elects, he may enroll in Ricker College for one of the various two-year programs, on completion of which he will receive the degree of either Associate in Arts, or Associate in Science. Or, if he aims still higher, he may re-enroll in Ricker College and, upon the satisfactory completion of two more years and the required courses, receive his Bachelor of Arts degree.

The impetus to create a full four-year college in Aroostook came from a fire, in March, 1944, which completely destroyed Ricker's Wording Hall, sole classroom building of the nearly century-old institution. But even as the frenzied flames conquered the sturdy walls and toppled them, dreams crystallized into plans and plans soon shifted into action. The pioneer spirit that had founded the original school in 1848 was sparked into new life among the citizens of Houlton, many of them descendants of the school's incorporators. And so out of the rubble and ashes of that night, arose the new Ricker, a modern institution serving a modern community, offering to boys and girls of Aroostook County eight years of educational development, a development that is as modern as the architecture of the new Wording Hall and as solid as the ledge on which the building rests. As an indication of the up-to-dateness of the Ricker scheme of education, Ricker anticipated by at least twenty years the new "Community College" movement. There also is a functional unity of the physical plant.

Back in 1847, Houlton was a struggling little frontier community, then far north in the Maine wilderness. Only a mile or so from the Canadian border, the little community was just recovering from the scare of a war that fortunately was settled before it really got started. In that setting, eight men (Joseph Carr, Jr., Leonard Pierce, Zebulon Ingersoll, John Hodgdon, Jeremiah Trueworthy, Shepard Cary, Zenas P. Wentworth and Benjamin L. Staples) were selected by their like-minded fellow citizens as the Trustees of a daring new venture, Houlton Academy.

A two-story frame building was erected on an elevated site on Military Street. The upper floors of the building were rented out as a courtroom, the lower floor was set aside for school purposes and, in 1848, Houlton Academy opened its doors. The scanty records tell us that the school was an instant success, meeting as it did, then and now, a definite community need. A succession of principals came and went, men who live for the most part now only as names. Few

attained more than limited fame, limited perhaps to the circle of devoted pupils they taught. A few names stand out as having a wider fame: William S. Knowlton, "The Old Schoolmaster"; E. R. Thorndike, in 1871, father of a celebrated trio of American scholars, Edward, Ashley and Lynn Thorndike.

In 1874, Houlton Academy ceased to be, at least by that name. From that year until 1926, it was known as Ricker Classical Institute, so named in honor of Dr. Joseph Ricker, a graduate of Colby and a Baptist minister and extension worker. In one of the school's dark periods Dr. Ricker interested himself in the affairs of the struggling academy and was instrumental in securing a small endowment that nevertheless enabled the proud school to carry on and develop. Five years later, the enrollment had reached 109.

In 1926, in spite of the serious doubts of many thoughtful men, as to the feasibility or even desirability of the plan, two more years were added to the four-year program already being offered. Principal Roy M. Hayes, in the true pioneering spirit of the founders, bravely announced that Ricker Classical Institute was now Ricker Junior College as well. Thus, Ricker became one of the pioneers in the Junior College movement in New England.

The announced purpose of the Junior College at that time was to serve the higher educational needs of the youth of the Aroostook and Eastern Maine community and to serve the community itself by returning to their respective towns young men and women enobled with a vision and ideals and equipped with the "know-how" to put their education to the service of the community. That purpose has not changed substantially in the intervening years. Today, having weathered the trials of more than one hundred years of living, Ricker still is going forward, still developing, still pioneering.

While Ricker, in the words of President Jasper F. Crouse (himself a native of Aroostook), sees its destiny as completely interwoven with the destiny of the community that it serves—Eastern Maine and particularly Aroostook County—this in no way means that Ricker shuts its doors to students from outside that area. The roster of students shows that Ricker draws its students from far and wide, although, as is only fitting, it does draw the great bulk of them from the community it especially serves.

Today, Ricker faces the future confident of its power to grow. Its adequate campus; its modern, well-equipped classrooms and laboratories; its large, new gymnasium featuring an excellent basketball court, dressing rooms and even accommodations for visiting teams; the huge stage that occupies one end of the big gym; the well-stocked and fast-growing library now housed in a building of its own; its three well-supervised dormitories; and, most of all, its well-trained faculty and staff—with all these assets in a setting such as Houlton and Aroostook, Ricker has every right to feel confident.

From the very beginning, as one observer declared, Ricker has been "A pioneer school in a pioneer countryside." In its grappling with the problems of the present to gain a foothold in the future, Ricker is ever conscious and strongly desirous of retaining its grasp on that rugged and indomitable pioneer spirit that brought it into being and nourished its growth.



## OTHER SCHOOLS

In addition to its public schools, normal schools, colleges and universities, Maine has always had a comparatively large number of private schools, most of them established to serve specific needs. Some of the old-time academies, which functioned so widely before the growth of the public high schools, have survived the ravages of time, and new preparatory schools for both boys and girls have been established. Location of these schools and academies is noted in Part III.

Then there is the Bangor Theological Seminary, at Bangor, a Congregational institution, established in 1814—a school whose record is as distinguished as it is lengthy.

Very specialized schools include the Maine School for the Deaf, at Portland, founded in 1876, which became a state institution in 1897 and is largely supported by state funds, although some tuition is charged. The aim of this school is to prepare deaf children for useful citizenship. Portland also has the School of Fine Arts.

Schools established and supported by the Catholic Church may be considered as having their beginning as early as 1698, when on the banks of the Kennebec, in the deep wilderness, Father Sebastian Rasle began teaching the Indians, continuing until his death in 1724. Father James Romagne, from 1800 to 1818, taught Indians at Passamaquoddy Bay, receiving a salary from the Massachusetts General Court. Father Bapst, from 1848 to 1859, tried unsuccessfully to establish similar schools at Old Town, Bangor, Ellsworth and Eastport.

In 1864, at both Bangor and at Portland, the Rt. Rev. Bishop David W. Bacon, the first Catholic bishop of Portland, opened elementary schools and an academy for girls. From this beginning, the system of Catholic schools in Maine progressed rapidly. (See Chapter III, next.)

## CHAPTER III

### *Religious Development*

THE Indians of Maine were intensely religious. They required no church organization, for they literally "saw God in the clouds and heard him in the wind." The Maine Indian intimately lived his religion. He was conscious of spiritual influences constantly. In fact, he believed he was attended by a guardian spirit who never abandoned him. This belief gave him great fortitude and peace of mind; for wherever he went and whatever he did, he was under the leadership and protection of divinity. He had belief in a Supreme Being and in lesser deities. There were no theological differences, no intellectual disputes, among Indian believers.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Europeans who were "discovering" America reacted to the Indian's religion and way of life with feelings of shock. John Cabot in 1497 claimed North America by right of "discovery" for the British Crown with the statement that any "heathen and treacherous lands, countries and territories, not actually possessed by any Christian Prince, nor inhabited by Christian people," were the lawful prize of any European who, landing on the shores of such areas, should set up a flag or a cross. The British Crown subsequently gave considerable areas to nobles and favorites, as did the King of France. Both, of course, had the example of the King of Spain, who had taken possession of large expanses in the Americas.

As for Maine itself, George Weymouth, who landed near Monhegan in 1695, kidnapped five natives, did some exploring and trading, and reported that his expedition had been very successful, since its aim had been "the public good and true zeal of promulgating God's holy church by planting Christianity." The Indians not only were subjected to such treatment; they observed the Europeans, particularly when they came into Maine to stay, establishing their own special forms of worship, each according to his desires. Although the English, French and other European fishermen who frequented the coast before 1600 may have set up modes of worship, indications are that the first formal religious service in Maine was Catholic. In 1603 France gave The Sieur de Monts, a stout-hearted gentleman, rights to all of America between Newfoundland and Philadelphia—a territory of vast extent. De Monts landed at St. Croix Island, and in 1604, with Champlain, explored much of the coast of Maine. With de Monts was Father Nicholas d'Aubri, who, in 1604, celebrated mass at St. Croix.

In 1607, the Popham Colony was established, and the Rev. Richard Seymour, the expedition's chaplain, held there the first service of the English Church in New England. He built a church at Popham, near the mouth of the Kennebec, and conducted religious services regularly for several months, or until the colony was abandoned later in 1607.



The white man's religion encountered obstacles in Maine, but not from the Indians. In 1613, the Catholic Mission at Mt. Desert was burned by the English, and Lay Brother du Thet was killed. In that year, however, King Louis XIII gave to Madame de Guercher-ville all of America between the St. Lawrence and the Floridas; and she, fired by missionary zeal, sought to bring Christianity to all the Indians in her vast domain and encouraged the Jesuits to establish themselves at Castine. So began a very ambitious effort by the Jesuits and other French orders in Maine, who at first were given a hospitable welcome by the Boston Puritans at trading posts along the shore and up the Kennebec. Soon, however, as wars between France and England clouded the atmosphere, men from Massachusetts began to fight the Catholic priests, believing them responsible for Indian attacks made by the Indians against the English.

When Father Gabrielle Dreuillettes reached the Kennebec in 1646, however, he was warmly greeted by the English at the trading posts. In the Maine woods religion was not so strict as in Boston. This French cleric finally established himself at Norridgewock, where he was very successful until replaced by the Capuchins. But Father Dreuillettes returned to his post in 1650, and was followed by Father Bigot in 1688, whose successor was Father Rale, or Rasle, a man of good birth and fine education, who brought to his missionary work an extraordinary zeal and ability. Soon he became the spiritual and temporal leader of the Norridgewock Indians and extended his influence widely over all the Abnakis. His report to church authorities declared that "the whole nation of the Abnakis is Christian and very zealous to pursue their religion." Since he was practically an Indian Chief, Rasle went with them into all conferences with the men from Boston and sought to protect the rights of his red converts. He was a man of high ideals, unselfish devotion and outstanding self-abnegation, and witnessed his Indian children being slowly pushed back by the English, whom he also saw taking possession of the great New World Empire which, in his view, rightly belonged to France. When he opposed English advances, the English saw him as their arch-enemy in Maine. They sincerely believed that he led the Indians in murderous attacks upon the frontier and was doing all in his power to exterminate the English in America. To Boston, Rasle was a man who had to be destroyed if English settlements in Maine were to be saved from ruin.

The English undertook to convert the Indians to the Congregational Church. John Eliot, the Boston "Apostle to the Indians," was a fine missionary; but the English were more practical-minded than the French,—they failed to push their missionary work to any degree. There seems to be but one record of an English missionary coming into Maine in the early eighteenth century. In 1717, in connection with the Council at Arrowsic, Boston sent the Rev. Joseph Baxter into the area. He labored until 1721 but with little marked success; for the English were primarily interested in establishing farms, trading stations and fishing settlements. The horrible French and Indian wars turned into soldiers those settlers who might have become zealous ministers of Protestantism. From 1675 these wars

cost the white settlers more than 6,000 lives, many a burned homestead and the ruin of devoted labors. But in retaliation and self-protection, the English visited their wrath upon the Indians of Maine and broke tribes to a position of insignificance. When the last shot and the final arrow whistled, the remaining Indians were no longer the free proprietors of the forests and waters of Maine; they were wards of Massachusetts.

The wrath of the English also fell heavily upon the French in Maine. Father Rasle was their special target. A price was put upon his head, and in the famous raid upon Norridgewock he was killed in 1724. After that year Catholicism departed from Maine and did not return officially for seventy-five years. The region was thus left to two Protestant Churches, the Established Church of England and the Congregational Church, the official denomination of Massachusetts. The Episcopal Church was actually the State Church of the District of Maine. In the 1622 charter given to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason, who were given the area between the Merrimac and the Kennebec, it had been stipulated that worship should be maintained according to the order of the Church of England. The Rev. William Morrill was commissioned in England to set up the Established Church in the New World, although its accomplishments were not tremendous during that period.

Morrill was reported to England as being "ineffectual," and on May 24, 1636, a new minister landed at Richmond Island, where he served for three years. Once he was arrested and taken to Boston to answer charges of "being wholly addicted to the discipline and hierarchy of England," which was undoubtedly true, although the Boston court had actually no jurisdiction over him and could not do more than make the worthy minister uncomfortable. Then the Rev. Robert Jordon was later also embarrassed by Boston, being ordered to refrain from ministerial functions. The order was naturally unenforceable, and Mr. Jordon worked until, during King Philip's war, the Indians raided his village and burned his house. With his family, he fled to New Hampshire. So ended the work of the Episcopal Church in Maine for eight years.

Massachusetts all the while did whatever it could do to advance the Congregational Church in the Province. The first Congregational minister in Maine was the Rev. Thomas Jenner, who was stationed at Saco. He wrote to Governor Winthrop on April 2, 1641, to answer a charge that he was "striking at the Church of England." He, Jenner, worked in Maine for about two years, then was transferred.

The Rev. John Wheelwright, classmate and friend of Oliver Cromwell, had been banished from straight-laced Boston for endorsing the "heretical" opinions of his sister-in-law, Anne Hutchinson, and he now purchased the town of Wells from Thomas Gorges and founded a Congregational Church there. He preached there until he returned to England in 1647, although no church records remain.

In 1652, Massachusetts completed her plans to gain complete control of the Province of Maine where Massachusetts law became effective. Under the laws respecting churches, every town of a certain size was required to support a minister by taxation and



to provide a ministerial lot or farm. The ministers, appointed from Boston, were usually Harvard men or immigrants from England who had been educated at Oxford or Cambridge. As such, they were well fitted for the positions which their office gave to them in town affairs. Actually each minister was an important town official. It was not necessary that each town build a church immediately, however. Often a properly appointed minister served for years without forming any church or administering the sacraments. Massachusetts was in effect a theocracy, and the people were served by the Gospel.

Probably the first Congregational Church in Maine was formed in York in 1673 or earlier. On December 13, that year, the Rev. Shubael Dummer, a graduate of Harvard, class of 1656, was ordained to the pastorate there. He had been a supply pastor at York from 1662, and served as minister at York for nineteen years before in 1692, as he was mounting his horse to join the other citizens in repelling an Indian attack, the Indians came upon him at his door, killed him, and took Mrs. Dummer prisoner. The organization of churches in Maine came as rapidly as the limited population made possible. Thenceforth, until the Revolution, the Congregational pastors held the reins of local affairs. A man who was denied the right to worship in the village church was outside the pale socially and in business. Education was also under the control of these ministers, who either taught in the public schools or determined who did teach in them, and who prepared the men who became the leaders of academies, colleges and universities. In Colonial New England the minister's position was of top importance, commanding respect, authority and a good living.

Yet, in Maine, their ways were sometimes difficult. Fishermen, for instance, paid scant attention to their authority save for outward show. There was even a saying among sailors, "There's no religion off soundings," which meant that once a ship's nose was out of the harbor the minister of the home port was forgotten until the ship returned. Likewise, if the trappers and lumbermen in the woods were out of touch with the towns, they could forget the churches.

Another cause of discomfiture to the ministers was the constant feeling of denominationalism. Adherents of other denominations were as firmly convinced of their beliefs as were the Congregationalists with theirs. The Quakers were then barred from Massachusetts and so from Maine. These quiet and gentle adherents of the doctrines of George Fox called themselves "Children of Light" because they believed themselves to be led by an inner light which revealed truth to their souls. Not wishing to apply the word "church" to themselves alone, because they considered that the church belonged to all Christians universally, they called themselves "Societies of Friends." Their beliefs came into direct conflict with those of the Massachusetts Congregationalists, to whom the Quaker's belief in the guidance of the inner light of his own soul meant disobedience to rightful authority. To the Puritan theocracy this amounted to anarchy. John Fiske, historian, said on this point, "There was nothing that the orthodox Puritan so steadfastly abhorred as the anarchical pretense of living by the aid of supernatural light."





*First Congregational Church, Kennebunk, 1774  
Unitarian Parish*



In July, 1656, two women sought to spread Quaker doctrine in Boston, and for their pains were imprisoned, their books were burned, and they were banished under sentence of death if they dared to return. Other Quakers came and were banished. Finally, some of those who had been exiled dared to return, and four were hanged. In 1662 Maine had its first brush with the Quakers—fortunately, not cruel. Three Quaker women—Anne Coleman, Mary Thompkins and Alice Ambrose—who had suffered imprisonment and were then whipped at the tail of a cart, as was the custom then, through three towns—finally reached Berwick. There, instead of being whipped and jailed, they were actually permitted to hold a meeting. Maine proved its sense of freedom. A Quaker historian, Sewel, reports of this meeting, “Shubal Drummer (sic), the priest of the place, came also hither and sate quiet. And the meeting being ended, he stood up and said, ‘Good women, ye have spoken well and prayed well, pray what is your rule?’ They answering, said, ‘The spirit of God is our rule and it ought to be yours and all men’s to walk by.’ He replied, ‘It is not my rule, nor I hope ever shall be.’” No other Quaker meetings were held in Maine for more than a century.

The Baptists were next to cross the path of the Congregationalists. William Screven and Humphrey Churchwood, of Kittery, on June 21, 1681, were baptized into the fellowship of the First Baptist Church at Boston. In the following year Screven was ordained on petition of the Baptists at Kittery for the purpose of establishing a church in the town. Although he was a man of prominence and considerable influence, the Kittery magistrates soon brought him into court for not attending the Sunday services of the Established Church, as all freemen in Massachusetts were required to do at that time. Screven continued to disobey the local magistrate’s command, and was again arrested, fined, imprisoned and finally released upon strict orders not to preach or hold any private exercises at his house or elsewhere upon the Lord’s Day, either in Kittery or any other place within the limits of Massachusetts’ authority. For the future, he was also enjoined “to observe public worship of God in our public assemblies upon the Lord’s Day according to the law here established in this Province upon pain of such penalties as the law requires.” Screven, however, paid little attention to this order, and when once more arrested and imprisoned “did in the presence of the said Court and President promise to engage to depart out of the Province within a very short time.”

When it seemed clear that nothing could change the hearts of the Massachusetts authorities toward the Baptists, that persecuted sect followed the example of Roger Williams, who had been banished from Boston in 1635 because of religion and had established Providence, there to find real religious liberty. Thomas Hooker, of Newtown, had also led his parish members away from the tyranny of Boston theologians in 1636 and had established Hartford, Connecticut, known as the “birthplace of American democracy.” So Screven and his handful of Baptists from Kittery, in June, 1684, went to Charleston, South Carolina, and near there founded the first Baptist church in the South. From this seed, planted by a man from Maine, all the Baptist Churches in the South developed, until the denomination became the largest and

the most powerful in that part of the country. When Chaplain Hezekiah Smith, of Haverhill, a century later founded the first permanent Baptist church in Maine, he was licensed as an evangelist by the Baptist Church in Charleston, South Carolina, the very church founded by the members of the little Baptist church at Kittery.

As the seventeenth century came to a close, the Congregational Church had its way in Maine, as in Massachusetts. A few Indians, particularly at Old Town and at Passamaquoddy, remained faithful to the Catholicism taught them by the priests who had been driven away a half century earlier. In the early eighteenth century the Congregational churches advanced in exact proportion to the growth of population. In 1700 Samuel Moody began his forty-seven-year pastorate at York, to be followed by Isaac Lyman, who served for sixty-one years. Of Moody, it is recorded that "his only salary was the prayers of his people." On his tombstone, the eulogy closes thus: "For his further character, read 2 Cor. 3rd chapter and six first verses."

The Berwick church was formed in 1702. John Wade, its first pastor, died within the year. He was followed by the Rev. Jeremiah Wise, "eminent for scholarship and piety," who served the church for forty-nine years. Falmouth (Portland) was entirely destroyed by the Indians in 1692, but when it was re-established the citizens lost no time in obtaining a new minister. Thomas Smith, Boston-born, who had entered Harvard at the age of fourteen, came to Portland in 1726 as chaplain to the troops stationed there, and ministered to the forty families who, beginning in 1718, had started to rebuild the town. When a new church was organized, March 8, 1727, Mr. Smith was ordained as pastor and served for sixty-eight years.

In the first half of the eighteenth century there were some murmurs against the authority of the Congregational Church, but on the whole men went to church on Sundays as law and convention demanded. Not all the ministers of the Established Church were strictly Congregationalists, however. Some were Presbyterian clergymen, university graduates, who had come to Maine from Scotland and Ireland. Splendid men, of the highest character and ability, they were welcomed into the church and became zealous and devoted servants despite the diversities of doctrine. An example was the Rev. Robert Rutherford, who came from the North of Ireland with a colony and settled in Maine. He preached at Bristol, Pemaquid and Brunswick between 1735 and 1742. It should be pointed out nevertheless, that these Presbyterians were not welcomed into the highest levels of the Congregational Church's government. They were regarded somewhat as a West Pointer might regard a National Guardsman.

Still, with this reservation, the Scottish and Irish clergymen and colonists were welcome. Cotton Mather, the great Boston divine, wrote to James Woodside at Casco Bay, "'Tis more than time that your brethren here should give you welcome to the western side of the Atlantic. The glorious providence of God our Savior which has been at work in the removal of so many people who are of so desirable a character as we see come and coming from the north of Ireland into the north of New England hath doubtless very great intention in it,



and what we do not know now we shall know hereafter." In Ireland, the reverse opinion existed; officials there were much disturbed at the departure of so many ministers and citizens for New England.

In 1734 William McClanethan, Presbyterian evangelist, was at Boothbay. Somewhat later, Alexander McLane was at Bristol, and the meeting house where he conducted services at Walpole became an historic shrine. In 1784 Dr. Nathaniel Whitaker, Presbyterian minister at Canaan, wrote to Dr. Obadiah Williams, of Winslow (Waterville), concerning the founding of a "seminary of learning in these parts where a too quick return to barbarism is apparent." John Murray followed McCheyne at Boothbay, where he was stationed from 1767 to 1780, and his revival there, the first great religious upsurge of the kind in Maine, attracted much attention. But these Presbyterian ministers could not hold to their own faith without the support of a Synod, so they all became Congregationalists. By 1820 they were either absorbed, or had departed; not a single Presbyterian minister remained.

By 1730 the Quakers were back in Maine, and held a meeting at Kittery. In 1743 they instituted a meeting for worship at Falmouth (Portland), and their missionaries visited several towns in Maine over a period of years, until by 1800 meetings were established in many parts of the District. Kittery, Berwick, Portland, Harpswell, Durham, Windham, Vassalborough, Fairfield, Limington, Winthrop, Greene and Leeds, Lewiston, Bristol, Sidney, Gorham, Dresden and Scarborough all had their meetings of Friends. But the Society of Friends never became really prominent here.

Soon after the middle of the eighteenth century the Established Church of England, Episcopal, also returned to Maine. In 1764 the Rev. William Wiswell, pastor of the Third Congregational Church at Casco, "declared for the church," in the quaint phrase of the time, and went to England for ordination. A year later he returned to Maine with an annual stipend of 20 pounds from the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He served in Maine for eleven years, but in 1775 he went away on a British warship because of his dislike for the political views of his parish. The Episcopal Church was more influential in Boston and, in 1770, they petitioned the General Court for relief from taxation to support the Congregational Church. The original petition was denied, but in 1772 relief was granted—a symptom of the breaking down of the theocracy which had ruled Boston from 1630.

The Revolution caused many strange events up and down the coast. One of the most ironic was the destruction of St. Paul's Episcopal Church when the British burned Portland, October 18, 1775. This church was not rebuilt until 1787.

The only other Episcopal church in Maine before 1800 was Christ Church, at Gardiner, established by Dr. Sylvester Gardiner in 1771, and long one of the most influential Episcopal parishes in Maine.

The Baptists re-established themselves in Maine at about the same time. The Rev. Hezekiah Smith, Baptist pastor at Haverhill, Massachusetts, and a Princeton graduate and friend of Washington, came to Maine in 1767 and preached in several towns, including Portland. He

was gratified by being able to baptize ten persons. In the following year he returned and organized a Baptist Church at Gorham.

Trouble followed when members of the new Baptist Church promptly refused to continue paying taxes to support the Congregational minister. Town authorities brought suit to compel payment, and judgment was given against the Baptists. In lieu of paying his \$6 tax, one Baptist lost his horse, "a good riding beast." He petitioned the court that they "set him on his own beast," which the court refused to do. Considerable stir resulted. The Rev. Jonathan Parsons, at Newburyport, declared from the pulpit that "we need not go back for proof to make it appear that men have attempted to enslave their brethren in ecclesiastical concerns. For all those that forcibly take away the money or property from their neighbors to support a ministry which they cannot in conscience attend, are guilty of spiritual tyranny." The battle for religious freedom was being waged. The Church was being separated from the State. Undaunted Mr. Smith continued his missionary activities, and in the same year, 1768, organized at North Berwick a church which is today the oldest existing Baptist church in Maine. Other evangelists joined him, and Baptist churches in Maine increased in number so extensively that they were soon grouped into "associations." On May 24, 1787, delegates from Thomaston, Bowdoinham and Harpswell met for the first association meeting. By 1800 there were forty-two Baptist Churches in Maine, with a membership of 2,186. They also formed a Missionary Society and sent a missionary, the Rev. John Tripp, of Hebron, "to the eastward in January and February of 1801." Baptist Missionary work, which later became important was thus begun.

Following the Episcopalians and the Baptists, the Methodist Church came to Maine in the last decade of the eighteenth century. A Virginian, Jesse Lee, a companion of Asbury, first Bishop of American Methodism, brought this church into Maine. Lee preached on Boston Common in 1775 because no pulpit was open to him there. He returned to New England in August, 1793, and was, he reports, "myself appointed to the Province of Maine, to travel through that country or form a circuit where I thought best. As there had never been any Methodist preaching there, we had no one to give us a particular account of the place or the people, but it was commonly understood that they were in want of preaching and that our manner of travelling and preaching would be very suitable for that part of the country."

Lee preached the first Methodist sermon in Maine on September 10, 1793, at the house of Elisha Ayer, in Saco, and preached in Portland two days later, and subsequently in Readfield, Hallowell and further east, eventually establishing the Readfield Circuit, which embraced the whole of Maine. A year later Philip Wager was named presiding elder of this circuit, and the first Methodist class was formed at Monmouth, November 1, 1794. In that same month the New England Conference met at Readfield at the new church, the first Methodist Meeting House in Maine. Bishop Asbury presided, and about 1,500 persons attended. Methodists at that time were vigorous enthusiasts, sometimes loudly shouting, "Glory" and



"Amen." Congregational ministers professed to be scandalized by such turbulence; and even some Methodists, sharing this view, met at Portland and split off to form a new group.

No early Methodist preachers were college men, and to ministers of other sects their declarations seemed "crude" and even "false." But the Methodists were fired by intense conviction, and their denomination progressed rapidly in Maine. Among leaders in the Province was Joshua Soule, born at Bristol in 1781, who, although without schooling, possessed great talent. He became a Methodist preacher at the age of seventeen, and before he was thirty was the presiding elder of the Kennebec District. As a delegate to the General Conference in 1808, he drafted a plan for a delegated General Conference, which was accepted and became an essential feature of American Methodism. He soon became an agent for the Methodist Book Concern, and after being elected a bishop of the church in 1824 he founded the *Methodist Review*.

When Maine became a State in 1820, it consisted of three districts with twenty-seven circuits, thirty-two traveling preachers and 6,017 members. These "circuit riders," riding or walking from town to town, often under conditions of grave hardship, found Maine a land of great opportunity. They made progress, and the new spirit of freedom that they introduced led to changes in the Congregational Church. Another result was the development of Unitarianism, which in a sense sought to simplify religion by denial of the Trinity. This church, somewhat intellectual and austere, never gained great numbers of adherents, but in proportion to its size it is said to have furnished more leaders to the United States than any other denomination.

Unitarianism did not become important in Maine; but Universalism, the second division of the Congregational Church, did become so. It first appeared in 1799. New Gloucester was settled by families from Gloucester, Massachusetts, who readily adopted the Universalist beliefs and thus gave Maine a new town and a new faith. Thomas Barnes, from Woodstock, Connecticut, had been appointed a Universalist minister at Poland in 1802, and was also appointed to serve Gray, Norway, New Gloucester, Falmouth, Livermore, Turner, Danville and Freeport. On one occasion, when the "orthodox" Congregational ministers refused to hold a funeral service for a suicide, the Rev. Mr. Barnes accepted the assignment, preaching from 1 Cor. 4:5. This sermon resulted in the formation of the "Eastern Association" of Universalist churches. The ranks of the Universalists were strengthened by the addition of Sylvanus Cobb, of Norway, who began his ministry at Waterville in 1821 and there organized the first church of communicants of his faith in Maine in 1826. The new denomination grew slowly, but took an active part in public affairs. Civic concerns have always interested the Universalists, whose weekly, the *Gospel Banner*, published at Augusta, was for years an effective aid to the denomination.

The Free Baptists originated in the work of Benjamin Randall, who had been baptized in the Berwick Baptist Church. His only education came from the Bible. Authorative statements by Calvin or others did not interest him, and, to his astonishment, he found him-

self out of harmony with his Baptist brethren. Establishing a "Free Baptist" church at New Durham, New Hampshire, he became an evangelist, traveling through Maine and organizing many churches. The Free Baptist represented an expression of the "ordinary people." The sect lacked organization, and for fifty years not a single minister of the denomination had a fixed salary which enabled him to give his entire time to the ministry. Doubtless many of these ministers, at least at first, were serving for love of it and did not want a salary.

The Free Baptists attained their largest membership in 1841, after which there were defections. The major difficulty lay in lack of education on the part of the ministers, none of whom could establish an efficient organization to hold the church together. Perhaps a still more fatal obstacle was that the Free Baptists, believing in religious freedom for the individual, welcomed members of all religious and cultural backgrounds, and the resulting disputes made defections inevitable. For example, the Bullock Movement in southern Maine, which denied the validity and use of written church covenants, written sermons, temperance, missions and all manner of formalism, led many Free Baptists out of the fold. The startling doctrines of the famous Miller, who was convinced that the world would end in 1843, also led many Free Baptists away from their earlier faith. Still, they performed a remarkable ministry in Maine, particularly in rural areas. Bates College and Maine Central Institute were fruits of their heroic self-sacrifice and devotion. The church was denied the right to carry its beliefs into the city areas of Maine, so it organized the State Mission Society which gave rise to large churches at Augusta, Bath, Portland, Bangor, Lewiston, Saco and Biddeford.

The Free Baptist movement ended with the Civil War. It became evident to all but a few die-hards on both sides that the doctrines the Free Baptists preached were identical with those of the Baptists. Doctrinal differences had disappeared. The churches were doing the same work side by side, and leaders of both denominations sought to bring them together. Among the workers for union were Dr. Burrage and Alfred Williams Anthony, of Lewiston, long secretary of the Inter-denominational Commission. Many years were required, however, to bring about this union, and it was not until 1915 that the Free Baptist Church became a part of the United Baptist Convention of Maine. The local churches retained their old names, but "the hatchet was buried" and the first instance in the United States of the union of two denominations became a reality.

In the nineteenth century the Congregational Church grew stronger, despite schisms, becoming more the church of the Pilgrims than of the Puritans. When the Revolution brought the end of tax support for the church, it became necessary to reorganize the former authoritarian basis upon which Congregationalism had operated. Congregationalists were, incidentally, as willing to stand with the Baptists against tax support for religion as was any other denomination. Taxation was always objectionable for any purpose, and the Congregationalists were ready to fight it, too; but without the tax support thus obtained, the Congregationalists had to adopt a new program. Congregational ministers, traditionally well educated, relied thence-





*First Church, Congregational, Belfast*



forth upon simple preaching—which became the basis upon which Congregationalism stood. Results in the ensuing century and a half more than justified the soundness of the new procedure. The church became a strong, conservative body, loyal to fundamentals, hospitable to new ideas, and a leader in civic, state and national life. Bowdoin College was of Congregational origin.

Another development of the Congregational Church in Maine was the organization of the Missionary Society in 1807 to provide for scheduled visits by ministers to places without preachers. Soon this work bore fruit in the establishment of small churches, and the Church supported work in such places, which provided an excellent practical training ground for ministers who were eventually to be assigned to larger churches, then in process of building. The Congregationalists also sent missionaries to the Maine Indians. The first was the Rev. Ephraim Abbott, the first graduate of Andover Theological Seminary.

The establishment of Harvard University and many other schools and colleges throughout America is evidence of the interest of the Congregationalists in education. In Maine they established Bangor Theological Seminary in 1814. This school's able faculty has since trained many of the strongest ministers and missionaries in Maine and throughout the world. Liberal support from the church has brought into existence numerous scholarships for young men who are deserving but without funds. Bangor Theological Seminary has steered a mid-course between conservatism and liberalism. It has always supported reform movements and civic betterment. Modern Maine Congregationalists have great resources, human and idealistic, and are efficiently organized. More respected than it formerly was as the "official" church, it meets the needs of the hour as they arise in the light of the age-old principles of its faith.

Unitarianism, differing from Congregationalism in a few points, started at Boston in 1786, when James Freeman introduced a Unitarian liturgy at King's Chapel. Five years later a Unitarian Church was established at Portland by Thomas Oxnard. The historic First Church of Portland also gradually became more and more Unitarian in fact, if not in name. The Second Church at Portland, rejecting a minister appointed by Congregational authority, selected instead the Rev. Isaac Nichols, a professor at Harvard. Dr. Nichols began his remarkable ministry at Portland on June 7, 1809. It was said of him that "he was a writer who said what his own age needed," and the great Dr. Channing, of Boston, referred to Nichols as "my superior." Many leading men and women of Maine became Unitarians. Free thought in religion, a guiding Unitarian principle, has proved to be its spiritual strength and organizational weakness. The Maine Unitarian Association, organized at Saco in 1878, has been a cohesive influence, however, especially in arranging the financial affairs of the denomination.

Through the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries the Baptist Church in Maine made steady progress. The original Missionary Society, founded in 1804, and the Baptist Convention, founded in 1824, along with the different Baptist Associations, organized roughly according to counties, have served the



denomination well, and missionary work has come to be largely centered in the Maine Baptist Missionary Convention. Dr. Joseph Ricker became Convention secretary in 1871, and his statesmanship through the following twenty years did much to give the Baptists their present prosperity. For example, former Governor Abner Coburn gave the Convention \$100,000 to advance its work, and Daniel S. Ford, of Boston, later gave the Convention \$200,000. Thus the church endowment was enlarged. Dr. Albert T. Dunn followed Dr. Ricker, serving until 1904, when Dr. Irving B. Mower took the office. It was during Dr. Mower's service that the Baptists and the Free Baptists united to produce a total church membership of 33,647 members in Maine, with 400 churches and seventeen associations. The Baptists were definite contributors to the cause of religious liberty in Maine, and later developed a fine patriotic devotion to the nation, civic leadership and warm support of education, charity, reform and evangelical faith. They even became the largest Protestant denomination in the state from which they were once exiled, and built up resources of men and money beyond the wildest dreams of the first enthusiasts.

John Wesley, founder of Methodism, once said that in his opinion, the inspiration given to the world by his faith would spend itself in 150 years. This prediction did not prove to be correct, particularly in Maine. With a minimum of material resources, the Methodists developed a maximum of personality and established a great and abiding church. In 1828 they had sixty traveling preachers in Maine. But their churches multiplied. The Kent Hill School was their creation, and its Women's College was given the right to confer academic degrees in 1860. They also established the Seminary at Bucksport.

When slavery became a burning issue, the Maine Methodists found the expressions of their denomination's General Conference "so conservative as to allow all the South could ask." Then a real Abolitionist Conference was held by the Maine Methodists, who sadly but with earnest conviction voted for division of the southern and northern Methodists. They advocated many other reforms, including interdenominationalism. It was a Maine Methodist minister, the Rev. C. S. Cummings, who made the original proposal that resulted in the establishment of the Interdenominational Commission of Maine. More will be written in this chapter of the special significance of inter-church work for this state.

Individualism has always been strong in Maine. It led to a multiplication of denominations, and tended away from Catholicism. Still, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Catholic Church, weak in Maine until then, began to gain strength. Chief adherents until then were the Maine Indians who largely held to their old faith taught to them by colonial Catholic missionaries. Increasing immigration of Canadians into Maine, most of them French-Canadians, again brought Catholicism to the fore. These people entered the lumbering regions in the north and established large towns which later became almost exclusively Catholic. To serve these people, the Church not only sent priests and built churches, but also founded schools, con-

vents and hospitals. In the manufacturing cities, Catholic population also grew, notably in Lewiston, Biddeford and Waterville. By July 29, 1853, the Diocese of Portland was formed, at first including all of Maine and New Hampshire. The first bishop-elect, the Very Rev. J. Caskery, of Baltimore, Maryland, declined the nomination, and the Right Rev. David W. Bacon, consecrated April 22, 1855, became the Catholic leader in the area.

He directed the establishment of six churches and eight priests in Maine, but soon encountered trouble. The "Know-Nothing" party, then still active, sought to arouse public sentiment against foreigners and Catholics on alleged patriotic grounds. The Catholic Church at Bath was burned. At Ellsworth, Father John Bapst was ordered out of town; then, upon his return, he was tarred and feathered and ridden out of town on a rail. In Bangor the authorities refused to permit a church in State Street, although the obstacles were at length overcome there and the foundations of St. John's were laid October 12, 1856. In Lewiston the Catholics bought an old Baptist church and moved it to a new site on Lincoln Street, where it was burned by incendiaries.

Despite this violent opposition, Bishop Bacon was indefatigable in leading his Catholic family in the new diocese, never losing courage and always inspiring his helpers with enthusiasm. He succeeded in multiplying the number of Catholic churches in Maine tenfold by the time of his death, November 5, 1874, and established twenty-three schools and brought the number of Catholics in the state up to 80,000. The Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, at Portland, was erected during his episcopate. Irish Catholic immigration also began to increase.

On June 2, 1875, the Right Rev. James Augustine Healy, D.D., was consecrated, and he immediately launched new churches and schools and promoted church charities. Under his direction, St. Mary's College was established at Van Buren and given into the charge of the Marist Fathers of France. In 1884 New Hampshire was withdrawn and made a separate diocese. Bishop Healy died August 5, 1900, and on May 19, 1901, His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell was consecrated Bishop of Portland. He was named Coadjutor Archbishop of Boston on February 8, 1906, and succeeded to the See of Boston on August 30, 1907, being created Cardinal on November 27, 1911, and continuing so to serve until his death, April 22, 1944.

Meanwhile, on October 18, 1906, the Right Rev. Louis S. Walsh was consecrated Bishop of Portland. He did much to build Church institutions—schools, hospitals and charities,—and aided substantially in organization work in the early years of the twentieth century. Under his episcopate, Maine Catholics reached a stage at which they could participate fully in the great world organization of their Church. He died May 12, 1924. Among his other accomplishments, Bishop Walsh presided over the events of the Golden Jubilee period—October 12, 13 and 14, 1919,—at which time the Cathedral was a half-century old.



The Right Rev. John Gregory Murray, D.D., was consecrated April 28, 1920, and on May 29, 1925, was transferred to the Diocese of Portland. After his transfer to the Archdiocese of St. Paul, October 29, 1931, the Most Rev. Joseph Edward McCarthy, D.D., was appointed to succeed him on May 13, 1932, being consecrated Bishop of Portland on August 24, that year. The Most Rev. Daniel Joseph Feeney, D.D., was appointed Titular Bishop of Sita and Auxiliary Bishop of Portland on June 22, 1946, and was consecrated on September 12, 1946.

Catholic growth in Maine is indicated in a few figures representing institutions in the state in 1950. In that year the Catholic Church had in Maine, 132 parishes with resident pastors, 39 chapels with eight resident chaplains and thirty-one non-resident, and 135 missions. There were 343 priests in the Diocese. In twenty-four religious orders of women, 1,506 Sisters were carrying on the work assigned to them. Two colleges were in operation—the College of Our Lady of Mercy, conducted by the Sisters of Mercy in Portland; and St. Francis College, Biddeford, conducted by the Franciscan Fathers of Maine. The total number of students in these two colleges was 241. In eleven parochial high schools, 2,557 pupils were enrolled, 1,381 boys and 1,176 girls, while there were several score elementary Catholic schools.

Maine also had six orphanages and infant asylums, caring for 568 children; seven general hospitals, treating 20,421 patients annually; one special hospital, treating 597 annually; four schools for nurses; and three homes for the aged, with 240 inmates.

The Catholic Church had 999 teachers in Maine in 1950—52 priests teaching on a full-time basis, 741 Sisters, 104 Brothers, 20 scholastics and 82 lay persons. Of 8,622 baptisms in the year, 7,927 were infants and 695 were converts. There were 2,865 marriages in the year, 2,387 of them between Catholics and 478 of them mixed marriages. Deaths totaled 2,284 among the Catholic population, which was 226,186 in Maine in 1950.

At an early period Jewish settlers appeared in Maine, the first of them in pre-Revolutionary days. Early in the eighteenth century Jews of Spanish, Portuguese and German origin appeared in Bangor, on the Cranberry Isles and at Islesboro. The families of Lowe, or Levi, were among the first. Their descendants, of the Lowe and Lurvey families, still live in Hancock County.

German immigration brought the first permanent Jewish settlements in Maine. The first organized group is said to have been at Bangor—the Bangor Hebrew Center—in 1834; and their first congregation was Ahawas Achim, founded in 1849, the year in which the first Jewish burial-ground was also consecrated.

The first Jew to settle permanently in Maine, as far as is known, was Susman Abrams, who came from Germany. Beginning as a peddler and trader of old clothes in Waldoboro, Thomaston and nearby communities, he was later engaged in coopering and tanning. He kept account in Hebrew characters. William Engel was a prominent Bangor business man who, coming to the United States at the age of sixteen years, became the owner of timberlands of value and

a holder of public office. He served on the City Council and in the State Legislature, where he had important committee assignments.

Synagogues appeared as the need for them arose, and along with religious organizations came the Council of Jewish Women, Hadassah and the Zionist movement. Maine Judaism today falls into two groups—the Orthodox and the Conservative Hebrew faiths, respectively. Hebrew temples began to appear in Portland in the early 1880s, although many a religious meeting was held in some city tenement before the organization of a congregation and the building of a synagogue. Shaary Tphiloh Temple was constructed in 1905. Other temples are Chaim and Anshe Sfaard, in Portland, both of the Orthodox variety, and Beth Jacob, Shearith Israel and Beth Midrash Hagodol.

Rabbis meet periodically with other church groups in the Maine Council of Churches, and participate in good will work through such movements as that represented by the Conference of Christians and Jews.

William James, the American philosopher, wrote at length of "Varieties of Religious Experience." Perhaps few states other than Maine have witnessed so many varieties. Large numbers of Maine people, from time to time, have exercised their desire for religious freedom by embracing a variety of doctrines. Some of those not included in the foregoing pages are:

Adventists, three varieties—Advent Christian Church, Adventist Church of God, Seventh Day Adventist.

African Methodist Episcopal Zion.

Church of Christ Scientist.

Church of the Nazarene.

Church of the New Jerusalem (Swedenborgian), appeared as early as 1805 in Bath.

Eastern Orthodox Catholic Church.

Orthodox Society of Friends.

Hebrew.

Latter Day Saints.

Lutheran.

Original Church of God.

Pentecostal Assemblies of the World.

Shakers.

Spiritualists.

Unity.

Jehovah's Witnesses.

Salvation Army.

These and many other organizations have satisfied the spiritual needs of either larger or smaller numbers of Maine people. Still others—the Millerites, Sanfordites and Holy Rollers, the Black Stocking Group—have had their place and day. Many concomitant movements, notably those for different kinds of reform, such as temperance, have sprung up from time to time and had varying spans of life. A temperance meeting took place at Sanford as early as 1834; its form was personal testimony, which led to debate. At an earlier day many types of missionary societies came into being—the



Maine Sea Coast Missionary Society, founded in 1905 to minister to the physical and spiritual needs of fishermen's families in isolated coastal areas; the Maine Missionary Society, founded in 1807; Protestant retreats on the Fisherman's Island estate of the Rev. John Henry Wilson, a monastic community where clergymen of different faiths came to discuss religious problems and commune with God and nature; the Young Men's Mutual Reform Society of Bangor; the Bangor Moral Society of Tythingmen, created "to enforce the laws against vice and more particularly against profane swearing and Sabbath breaking"; the Society for the Suppression of Vice and Immorality, in Bath and North Yarmouth; and several anti-slavery groups. In fact, several of these groups fought both slavery and liquor.

Abolition had its supporters among church members and non-churchmen. Prohibition was largely church-supported. At the Congregational State Conference at Fort Fairfield in 1896 resolutions were passed "that we believe in the fair, honest, and impartial enforcement of the law; that we believe in the total suppression of the liquor traffic; that for that end we will pray, work and vote," and "that the Moderator of this Conference appoint a committee of three to co-operate with the other Christian denominations of this State for the purpose of organizing a Civic League, looking to the enforcement of the law and a higher standard of civic righteousness."

Other Maine denominations accepted the idea and at Waterville on March 29, 1897, the Christian Civic League of Maine was established. Its purposes, as expressed in part in its constitution, were ". . . by all means at our command, and by co-operation with other existing agencies: 1. to educate the people in all that pertains to good citizenship; 2. to arouse and maintain throughout the State a reverence for laws, their impartial execution, and the choice of competent officials to that end." The League was led by strong and able men, and the loathing with which many regarded it was perhaps an outstanding tribute to its success. Even its enemies admitted its beneficent aims. Its methods were primarily educational, but where education failed it sought direct action through law enforcement.

In many of these and other movements which have arisen and either remained or passed away, as well as in all the churches, women have been ardent participants. In prayer and work they have taken a leading role. In the early days, Congregational and Baptist women took the lead in forming their respective "Female Missionary Cent Societies," organizations in which small contributions built up to sizable totals. These "Cent Societies," formed as early as 1815, developed gradually into the more formal Women's Missionary Societies in one denomination after another. Through bean suppers, fairs, bazaars, sewing circles and the like, the church women have often well-nigh kept the churches solvent. Many a pastor may thank their fund-raising genius for his own salary. In Maine a few women have even entered the pulpit, and many have taught in the Sunday schools, where the children are prepared for later church membership. In schools, colleges, hospitals and missions, the women of Maine have extended their blessed influence the world around. Their religion

has not been just that of attendance at worship on Sundays; not a fine-spun, dogmatic theory nor a controversy—but actual works, beautiful sacrifice and noble deeds.

The shift from the “established” religion in Maine coincided with a shift from the Federalist party—one more expression of Maine people’s love for conscious freedom of action as a guiding principle. This same ideal—conscious freedom of action—led to a series of interdenominational efforts. The Bible Society of Maine represented such an effort. The Bible Society of Maine was founded in 1809. Because no Bibles were published in America, they were often imported from Europe. Finding European prices too high, the Bible Society determined that every Maine family which wanted a Bible should have one. It sent agents throughout Maine, and they visited every household. Fifty languages are spoken in Maine, and in each of these the Bible Society has had Bibles printed. During World War I, for example, more than 8,000 Bibles were given to men in the armed services. Thousands of Bibles are still distributed annually.

There have been numerous other interdenominational efforts, both at state and local level. Maine has, indeed, pioneered in interdenominational cooperation. In 1869, for example, the Maine State Sunday School Association was organized, bringing Sunday School workers of many Protestant denominations into a fellowship which still continues in the successor organization, the Maine Council of Churches. In 1890, under the leadership of Dr. William DeWitt Hyde, then president of Bowdoin College, the official representatives of the denominations of Maine created the Interdenominational Commission to prevent duplication of effort among Protestants, particularly in small communities, and to provide closer co-operation among all denominations.

Building upon this heritage of co-operation, the period from 1925-1950 brought genuine progress in church work in this state. Maine’s problem of churching the rural areas remains one of the most difficult tasks. In 1929 a state-wide survey was made in an effort to discover the religious needs of rural Maine, and charts, maps, conclusions and recommendations for readjustments in existing church programs were prepared. In the ensuing twenty years many changes occurred in rural religious life because of the forcible and convincing way in which the survey report was presented. Among the techniques used—and again Maine has been a pioneer in this—was the “Larger Parish” plan, or groupings of small churches in a natural geographical area under the leadership of two or more trained religious leaders. By pooling their slender resources and planning their total program through a Larger Parish Council, churches long closed were able to reopen their doors and churches inadequately served could command the leadership of fully-trained men and women as pastors. While some of these Larger Parishes were set up on denominational lines, most of them were organized across denominational lines—Methodist, Baptist, Congregational, Universalist and other denominations working happily together to achieve a larger ministry to the entire area.



One recommendation of the survey previously referred to was for the expansion of the interdenominational co-operative work done by the Maine State Sunday School Association into an inclusive church organization which would carry responsibility not only for religious education but for social action, evangelism and many other areas of church concern. Consequently, on October 31, 1938, the Maine Council of Churches was organized in Lewiston. The Sunday School Association, organized in 1869, and many concerns of the Interdenominational Commission set up in 1890 were thus merged, the Commission becoming the Committee on Church Comity of the new Council.

The Maine Seacoast Missionary Society, incorporated in 1905, continues its service to thousands of coast families otherwise isolated from the church. By using a boat to carry religious, health, social and welfare ministry to these people, the Seacoast Mission carries on part of its significant work. The Sunbeam III (fifth of the boats since 1905) is a welcome sight to many a lonely island dweller, bringing some of the well-trained Mission staff with their program.

New techniques have also been applied to serving those unable for reasons of health or age to enjoy the regular fellowship of the church. The Maine Council of Churches throughout its career, and its predecessor organization, the Sunday School Association, made use of radio to reach those the church cannot serve directly. Religious services of all types have been given. Most popular has been a program begun in November, 1942, called "The Church School of the Air," attempting to reach children in areas where no church school exists. In 1950 it was still being heard every Sunday morning over three stations of the Maine Broadcasting System, supplemented by "The Church School by Mail," a plan for sending into homes material suitable for Bible study and devotional use to aid parents in guiding the religious education of their children. Interest in this program for children led to establishing, in October, 1946, an adult Bible study program by radio called "Book of Books," heard fifteen minutes later than "The Church School of the Air" each Sunday morning over the same stations, and featuring outstanding Bible students from Maine and other states in a carefully planned series of lectures.

A recent experiment still serving unchurched and inadequately-served rural areas in 1950 was that of a rural field worker, added to the staff of the Maine Council of Churches, who carried the message of the church to many in unchurched communities by personal calls and contacts, assisting ministers to open Sunday schools long closed, arranging transportation to the population center from the outlying areas, training teachers and parents in teaching religion, and performing many similar tasks.

In Maine, as in other states, the years since 1925 have been a period of growth in Christian unity and co-operation. The organization in our state of the Maine Council of Churches, the organization of the National and World Councils of Churches, bear witness to the fact that Protestant denominations are working more closely together

and because of this are able more adequately to serve the needs of the people of any given area.

In World War II all Protestant bodies united to maintain a joint staff of trained workers who served as chaplains and religious leaders in housing projects in Kittery, Greater Portland and Bath. Seven men and women were employed for a period of several years, and rendered invaluable service in the name of all the churches to thousands temporarily away from their homes and in need of counseling and pastoral help.

Another interesting evidence of the value of co-operative work is the service carried on by the Protestant denominations through the Maine Council during each legislative year. By maintaining at Augusta during most of the session of the Legislature a man who serves as "legislative agent," the Council provides an information service on pending legislation, and helps make citizens aware, alert and articulate regarding matters of social, moral and spiritual significance. Plans for maintenance of this work in 1951 included regular issuance of copies of "The Augusta Newsletter" from the headquarters of the Maine Council of Churches' Legislative Agent in Augusta.

Maine also became the cradle of another religious organization which spread into practically all nations—the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor. It was on February 2, 1881, that the Rev. Dr. Francis E. Clark, pastor of the Williston Church, Portland, called the young people of his church together and suggested the new society. Its purpose was service, and the members were to bind themselves with a solemn pledge calling them to Christian duty. The original pledge was: "Trusting in the Lord Jesus Christ for strength, I promise Him that I will strive to do whatever He would like to have me do; that I will pray to Him and read the Bible every day; and that, just so far as I know how, throughout my whole life, I will endeavor to lead a Christian life."

At the time not even Dr. Clark realized what had been accomplished. The foundation had been laid for an organization which soon was to become world-wide, with nearly 100,000 Christian Endeavor Societies at work in nearly 100 denominations, with literally many millions of members. In 1895 the World's Christian Endeavor Union was founded in Boston. The program of work under the control of each local church, included all forms of Christian service to all people.

The Young Men's Christian Association appeared in Portland in 1853. Its purpose was to advance young men in Christian faith, good companionship, good health and business education. Emphasis at first was laid upon prayer meetings and evening classes in business. In Maine such men as Robert A. Jordan, of Bangor, president of the State Association for more than thirty years, and Horace C. Day, of Auburn, helped the "Y" to grow to its present position. It is not primarily a religious organization, but is a semi-church institution of value to all faiths. It has counterparts in the Young Women's Christian Association, as well as in the Young Men's Hebrew Association and the Young Woman's Hebrew Association.



Another example of Maine's interdenominationalism is the Interdenominational Conference of Maine, originally suggested by the Rev. C. S. Cummings, pastor of the Methodist Church, at Rockland, who urged that "plans be made for co-operation when the work is mutual." He brought forward his idea at a Congregational Conference at Bridgton in 1890. His purpose was to unify religious forces, especially in small communities where churches were divided and each group tended to be feeble and ineffective. Dr. Hyde, of Bowdoin College, the first president of the Conference, held that office until his death. The constitution adopted by the Maine organization was widely copied.

## CHAPTER IV

### *Industry*

IF MAINE does not stand at the top of the list of states in the quantity of its industrial effort and output, it offers an excellent opportunity for the study of industry in its basic connections. Men from Maine are found in every industry in the nation, and Maine has operated and is operating many types of industry successfully. But lack of investment capital has perhaps been a retarding influence, as has the state's geographic isolation. If remedies for some of these obstacles are forthcoming, Maine's industry will most likely react favorably in the future, particularly since the state has so much to offer the general economy in basic natural resources.

The tendency has been, rather than to attempt operation of difficult industries at prohibitive costs, to concentrate upon the development of industries for which Maine's resources peculiarly adapt it. As a result, manufacturing on the whole is profitable, and is taking an increasingly important position in a state which was and still is predominantly agricultural. Maine has its own wealth of forests and streams, of water power, and of skilled and loyal workers. These assets, linked with wise management, make the industrial future secure.

### PAPER AND PULP

Probably representing more than twice as much invested capital as any other industry in Maine, the paper and pulp business has enjoyed a most remarkable development, particularly since the beginning of the twentieth century. The reason is, of course, that America has become a stupendous consumer of wood pulp in paper and paper products, and Maine is ideally situated to supply a portion of that need. Newspapers, for just one example, use as much wood pulp in their single Sunday editions as the entire nation once used in a year before the advent of modern mass circulations of newspapers.

Paper was made in America at Philadelphia as early as 1690. Samuel Waldo, a Boston merchant and Province of Maine landowner, in 1731 "contracted to build and lease a paper mill on the Presumpscot River at Falmouth." The first mill was actually built about 1735. Thomas Westbrook at that same period constructed a paper mill at Stroudwater, also near Falmouth. Several years previously the General Court of Massachusetts, seeking to promote the manufacture of paper in the Province, had given a ten-year patent to Daniel Henchman and his associates, extending to them the sole right to make paper. If Waldo and Westbrook did make paper in Maine, they must have obtained rights from Henchman.

No evidence has been found that these two paper mills ever operated, if indeed they were built at all. Paper making was undertaken in Maine some time afterward, however, possibly soon after 1800. Paper then was made from rags, shredded and pounded in water. This pulp was placed in a mesh-bottomed box which drained



the water away, and the resulting pulpy sheet was hand-ironed or rolled with heat to a useful substance. This paper was of uneven quality, but such samples of it as have survived show little damage from the years. Paper made today of wood pulp, by contrast, seldom lasts more than a few-score years.

The Federal census of 1840 showed paper making to be well advanced in Maine. Six factories, with \$20,600 invested capital and a total of eighty-nine employees, were then in operation. In 1850



*Pulpwood, International Paper Company, Livermore Falls*

seventy-one persons in Maine were listed as "paper makers." In 1860 Maine had fourteen paper-making establishments, employing 406 hands and having \$519,100 in invested capital, with an annual production valued at \$949,675. By 1870 the industry had fallen off a little, although the value of production had increased, due no doubt to rising prices and the existing premium on gold. In 1879, Maine had a dozen paper making establishments, with 1,067 hands employed, \$1,995,000 invested capital and an annual production valued at \$2,170,321. By this time Maine ranked seventh in order of importance in paper production in the United States. In 1890, the number of establishments was seventeen, and they employed 1,568 hands, had \$4,273,825 invested capital, and produced paper to the value of \$3,281,051.

The turn of the century brought a remarkable growth in paper making and pulp production. Official figures for 1900 show that thirty-five establishments, with 4,851 employees and \$17,473,160

invested capital, had an annual output of \$13,223,275. By 1910, there were forty-five establishments and 8,647 wage-earners in the industry, with \$65,133,248 capital. By 1930, thirty-six pulp and paper mills were in full operation, with an approximate valuation of \$23,000,000. They were making \$95,778,802.93 worth of pulp and paper, and had an annual payroll total of \$18,842,635.79, which went to 13,007 employees. Thirty pulp and paper companies reporting in 1947 produced an output valued at \$211,119,630.80 in 1947, paying out \$47,174,934.30 in wages to 16,976 employees, 15,143 of them men and 1,833 of them women. In 1949 forty-six establishments making paper and allied products reported to the State Department of Labor and Industry. They were making products valued at \$206,365,332 and paying \$48,221,111 in wages to 16,486 employees—14,506 men and 1,980 women.

The reason for the remarkable development of the paper and pulp industry in Maine was two-fold: First, it had the raw materials, namely wood and water; second, many technical improvements in paper making helped advance the industry.

Paper making is an ancient art. The Egyptians and Chinese practiced it. For centuries it was almost entirely a hand process, which limited production and kept costs high. In colonial America the mechanical process had changed but little, and the only good raw material, rags, was very limited.

It was at about the end of the eighteenth century that the invention of the continuous web process revolutionized the industry, replacing the old method of making a single sheet at a time by hand-dipping a mesh-bottomed tray into a vat of pulp. This process, which spread very slowly indeed, was eventually developed into the so-called Fourdrinier machine which became fundamental in cheap, efficient production of paper. Problems of illiteracy and consequent lack of a market for paper were largely overcome by the turn of the century, when a sudden demand for books, reading material and paper for a variety of uses swept the United States. Some favored few authors began writing "best sellers" which sold 1,000,000 or more copies of each book. Magazines poured from the presses weekly and monthly, not in lots of a few thousand, as formerly, but by the hundreds of thousands. Eventually five million or more copies appeared of a single periodical. Great metropolitan dailies mushroomed overnight as the magic wand of advertising transformed newspaper merchandising from a haphazard business into a giant industry.

The old method of making paper from rags could not have met this demand. "Linen bonds" today are still expensive and are limited to very special uses. Naturally, paper makers had been seeking substitutes for flax and cotton fibers, trying great varieties of vegetable fibers with little success. By 1826 Italian paper makers were utilizing the thin barks of trees, such as willow, and in 1833 an Englishman was given a patent for making paper from wood ground to a paste. Poplar was found to be the best wood for this purpose. The wood was "ground" by being brought against the abrasive face of a rapidly spinning wheel.

Bark was still favored over wood, however, and in 1855 an English patent was given for paper making from the inner bark of



various trees, such as basswood, poplar and willow. Then, in 1862, at a London fair, samples of paper were displayed which had been made from a mixture of wood pulp and rag pulp. This paper was of good quality; and the same principle is used today, some good modern papers being made from wood pulp with a "rag content."

In 1867 a German, Herman Voelter, exhibited at Paris an improved machine for grinding wood into pulp instead of sawdust. This machine, or one similar to it, was brought into use at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, for the production of the first ground wood pulp in America. The mill had a capacity of a half ton a day, and the product was sold for 8 cents a pound, beginning in 1867.

There was still considerable feeling among paper producers against using wood for paper. They doubted the commercial utility of paper made from wood and questioned its practicality. An English publication commented in 1874; "Great endeavors have been made to introduce wood pulp as a fiber, but practical papermakers deem it a failure. Two kinds are in general use, mechanically prepared and chemically prepared. The great fault of the first is weakness—after all, it is mere sawdust. The chemically prepared seems a good fiber, but its price of one hundred dollars wet, or one hundred and eighty dollars dry, per ton, is sadly against its use." In 1873, the *Paper Trade Journal*, an American trade publication, discussed various fibres, concluding in favor of straw as against wood! Many others, even less than a century ago, protested vehemently the extensive use of wood fiber, complaining of the threat to the forests. Actually, something was to be said for their argument. The inevitable destruction of our forests by annual timber cuttings to supply the paper industry has created a problem for conservationists, and experiments have been, and are, under way to find new and less destructive sources of paper pulp. Sugar cane, cornstalks and other items have been successfully tried, and the invention of a new process which makes good paper from the quickly growing yellow pines of the southeastern states has served to relieve the industry's depredations upon northern forest reserves. The uses of paper are unquestionably greater. There is no question but what today, we are using more paper than the forests can supply, as is shown by increasing imports from Canada, Newfoundland and even Sweden.

As soon as the utility of water fiber in paper making became established, it was clear that Maine was destined to take high rank among the paper-making states. There were two reasons for this. First, the Maine forests were rich in spruce—which, of all trees, makes the best paper pulp. These trees were particularly valuable in that vast numbers of them were growing on or near the sides of streams, which facilitated transportation to mills at small cost compared to the price of overland haulage. Also, Maine had abundant water. This was important, not only because water power meant cheap energy for the operation of paper and pulp mills, but also because paper making requires vast quantities of pure, clean water.

When paper and pulp making began in Maine, the few small mills were therefore established along the three principal rivers—at Mechanic Falls, on the Little Androscoggin; at Gardiner and Skow-



hegan, on the Kennebec; and at Hampden, on the Penobscot. Although paper making has spread, the industry still has large concentrations along these rivers.

The first commercial production of ground wood pulp in Maine was begun in 1868 in the basement of a sawmill at Topsham, owned and operated by Charles D. Brown and E. B. Denison. This little mill had a capacity of about a ton a day, and the product was sold to paper makers for about 7 cents a pound. Two years later, in 1870,



*S. D. Warren Co. Plant, Westbrook*

these same two partners organized the Androscoggin Paper Company, regarded as the oldest pulp company in Maine. Within a few years they had considerably enlarged their operations, establishing ground pulp mills at Brunswick, Skowhegan, Saccarappa, Paris, Norway and Great Falls.

In 1888, the Otis Falls Pulp Company built, at Otis Falls, a mill of a size and scope and type theretofore unknown in the state. Using close to 5,000 horsepower, the new mill turned out between fifty and sixty tons of pulp a day, because it utilized production ideas theretofore unknown in Maine.

At about the same time, the development of water power began at Rumford Falls, but it was several years later that hydroelectric power became available to manufacturers. Then paper makers began moving into that area, which became the chief seat of paper making in this state. During this same period a number of other large mills were constructed and went into operation, especially along the Kennebec and the Penobscot.



Four processes are employed in reducing spruce and other logs to paper pulp in Maine. The oldest is the mechanical or grinding process, said to have been used in Norway, Maine, in 1854. First commercial output by grinding was at Topsham in 1868. The second is the soda process, a chemical method introduced in England in 1854 by Hugh Burgess and patented by him in the same year in the United States. The soda process became practicable only in the 1860s, and it was not established in Maine until 1872, when a soda mill was



*Rumford and the Oxford Paper Company*

established at Yarmouthville. The S. D. Warren plant, at Cumberland Mills, in Westbrook, began using the soda process in 1880, and soon other soda mills were operating at Fairfield, Old Town and Rumford. The soda process was not wholly successful in Maine, however, because it functioned most satisfactorily in this region on poplar wood, which was not abundant.

The third, or sulphite process, consists of separating the valuable fibers of spruce wood from the undesired portions, by means of "cooking with sulphite." The process, since widely used, was discovered in the 1860s, but went into operation in America only in 1884, when a commercial sulphite mill was established at Providence, Rhode Island. The first sulphite mill in Maine was that of the Eastern Manufacturing Company, at South Brewer, which began operating in 1889. The Orono Pulp and Paper Company and the Cushnoc Fiber Company started similar operations in 1889; the Lisbon Falls Fiber Company, in 1890; the Howland Falls Pulp Company, in 1891; and



further plants at Millinocket, Rumford, Lincoln, Madison, Winslow and other places at later periods. At first the sulphite process met with some obstacles, chief among which was the tendency of the iron and steel vessels in which the wood was "cooked" to corrode because of the action of acids used. A system of lining the tanks with acid-proof brick, specially compounded for the purpose, at length overcame that difficulty, however, and by the turn of the century the sulphite process was operating in high gear.

The fourth, or sulphate, process is similar to the soda method except that the chemical used for the "cooking" is different. In the soda method, the wood is mechanically chipped, then cooked in "digesters" with a caustic soda liquor. In the sulphite process it is mechanically chipped, then cooked in a liquor of bisulphite of lime and sulphurous acid. In the sulphate process the cooking liquor is sodium sulphate. The sulphate process is applicable to both hard and soft woods, although, except for yellow pine, it is applied mainly to hard woods. The variety of woods used is more restricted in the case of the sulphate process than in any other, spruce and fir being chiefly used, with some hemlock. White fir, tamarack and yellow pine are used to some small extent.

Pulpwood production in 1949 in Maine, according to figures very carefully prepared by the Forest Commissioner's office, totaled 1,275,982.8 rough cords. Of this quantity, the breakdown by woods was as follows:

Spruce and fir.....	882,531.7
Hemlock .....	107,277.7
Pine .....	60,828.3
Hardwoods .....	145,447.9
Poplar .....	79,897.2

Aroostook, Somerset and Washington counties led in spruce and fir output, with 196,796.2, 191,368.5 and 105,814.4 rough cords respectively; Penobscot County in hemlock production, with 37,653.2 rough cords and no close competitor among the counties; Oxford, Somerset and Penobscot counties in hardwood production, with 41,320, 30,001 and 20,352 rough cords respectively; Androscoggin County in pine production, with 24,250 rough cords; and Aroostook and Washington counties in poplar production, with 24,326 and 20,004 rough cords. Totaling all pulpwood production by counties, Somerset County led with 237,794.3 rough cords, while Aroostook County was a close runner-up with 230,502.7 rough cords. Further figures on pulpwood production appear in Chapter 7, on "Forestry."

#### TEXTILES

Historically, the most important industry in Maine is cotton goods. Before 1750, and for a century thereafter, cotton manufacturing exceeded every other business in Maine in capital invested and in product value. Only in recent decades has cotton goods production declined to a position of less importance, being replaced by lumbering and by pulp and paper manufacturing. The trend of cotton manufac-



turing toward greater concentration in the South has been another factor in this industry's decline.

Like other industries, the growth of cotton goods production awaited the invention and practical development of machinery. But manufacturing in Maine started early, because this state offered several advantages—first, an abundant supply of labor, and second, good water and easily developed water power to spin the machines. Also, although raw cotton had to be brought in from distant sources and markets found outside the state, the many harbors of Maine provided economical transportation.

The first cotton mill in Maine was established at Brunswick in 1809. Another was founded a year later in Wilton; a third in 1811 at Gardiner. In 1810, 811,912 yards of cotton goods were produced in Maine. The state was credited with 780 spindles. In 1820, the year of statehood, Maine had nine cotton and woolen mills. Most of them were woolen mills. Total capital of the nine factories in that year was valued at \$11,000, and the mortality rate among the early textile factories was high. The business was speculative, and the mills themselves regarded their efforts as experimental.

On March 4, 1809, the Brunswick Cotton Manufacturing Company was incorporated. This firm devoted itself to spinning cotton yarn, which was sold to other mills for cloth production. The venture failed, and the investors lost all that they had sunk into it. The company was nevertheless, reorganized in 1812 as the Maine Cotton and Woolen Factory Company, which by 1820 was operating 1,248 cotton spindles and 240 woolen spindles and employing more than 100 people in an annual production of 100,000 yards of cloth. In 1825 the entire plant was destroyed by fire. The mill was rebuilt, but for years a series of changes in ownership and organization led time after time to failure, or at least financial loss. Still, each new organization was stronger than its predecessor—a fact which built faith in the hearts of the investors. Finally, after fifty or more years of uncertainty, the undertaking became successful as the Cabot Mill.

Similarly, Saco investors established a mill in that community in 1826 to spin cotton and make cloth. In 1830 this mill had 1,200 spindles and 300 looms and employed about 400 persons. It also was destroyed by fire in that year. On the same site the York Manufacturing Company was later established, and it became one of the largest mills in Maine.

By 1840, the state had six cotton factories, employing 1,414 hands, with 29,736 spindles in operation and with \$1,398,000 invested capital. Maine's cotton industry was then still only one-quarter the size of New Hampshire's, one-fifth of Rhode Island's and one-twelfth of Massachusetts'. In the 1840s cotton mills came to be recognized as permanent in Maine. New mills were established. At Biddeford, the Laconia Company was organized in 1845. Five years later the great Pepperell Company appeared in the same city. In Lewiston the industry began in 1846 with the organizing of a single factory.

After 1850, the growth of cotton manufacturing in Maine became evident in a marked increase in the operations of existing factories rather than in the establishment of new ones. By 1859 there were

nineteen factories; by 1879, there were twenty-four. There were 6,764 on the payrolls in 1859, but by 1889 there were approximately 14,000. Invested capital in 1859 amounted to \$6,018,325, a figure which increased steadily, however, perhaps on an average of \$5,000,000 per decade, through the rest of the nineteenth century.

The twentieth century brought a rapid development of cotton manufacturing in the southern states, where cheaper labor and the proximity of raw material were attractive. Maine still possesses her former natural advantages, however—an excellent quality of labor, intelligent management, excellent water and waterpower, and good transportation, as well as the momentum of a long-established industry with a satisfied market. The South's labor is actually no longer so cheap as it was, in as much as southern workers have tended more and more toward parity with the North in this respect. Living costs are lower in the South, however, and the differential between wages paid in the two regions has not been entirely removed. In more recent times the production of labor-saving machinery is again changing the picture, as textile mills in the last decade have been making the major technological advances of recent decades. And the new synthetic textile industries offer possibilities for North and South alike.

Originally cotton and woolen production were the work of the same companies. The earliest white settlers wove wool from Maine sheep. In fact, weaving was a typical household art in the days before factories existed. Imported woolens and linens were available, but mostly they were beyond the reach of farming and fishing families who practiced the pioneer philosophy of producing almost everything they had and doing without what they could not produce. In many an old Maine farm attic today the craftsman's tools remain—shears for clipping the sheep, cards on which the raw wool was "combed" into shape ready for the wheel, the spinning-wheels on which the yarns were twisted, the looms for weaving the cloth and the iron kettles for dyeing with colors compounded from tree bark, nuts, fruits and roots. Wool cloth production was thus a family affair until after the Revolution, and on some farms as late as the Civil War.

The first woolen mill in Maine was erected at Lisbon. Of this mill the *Gazetteer of Maine* wrote: "John Mayall, in 1808, erected a wooden building for a woolen mill on a power just above the bridge at Lisbon village, on the Sabattus, occupying it until 1822, when it was purchased (and used) by Horace Corbett as a satinet mill until 1850, when he quit the business. In 1860 it was refitted by J. F. Hirst, who manufactured repellents there until 1863, when he removed to Sabattusville and erected a brick mill." It may be added that the old Lisbon mill continued in use until 1910 as a cotton factory.

Establishments for carding wool, laborious process when done by hand at home, were introduced into Maine many years before machine weaving. These carding mills "flourished in all parts of the State," but passed out of existence when technical developments in modern woolen mills made them unnecessary—and as Maine farmers raised fewer and fewer sheep. In that early period Maine also had



a number of small fulling mills, run independently or in association with the carding mills. At these establishments "the homespun cloth was dressed and then made into the Sunday suit; and as late as 1870 it was not an uncommon sight to see women clad in dressed homespun woolens."

The actual commercial production of woolen cloth in Maine on a major scale began in 1820, when Amos and Jeremiah Abbott established a mill at Dexter, where woolen manufacturing has continued ever since that time. Another woolen mill was established at Lewis-



*Kezar Falls Woolen Mill, Kezar Falls*

ton in 1834, and two years later one was built at Dover. In 1839, Maine had twenty-four woolen factories, employing 532 men. Thereafter woolen mills grew and increased in number. By 1859 there were twenty-six establishments, employing 1,027 hands. Their invested capital totaled \$932,400, and they produced about \$1,717,007 worth of woolen goods annually. After the Civil War, Maine's woolen goods mills entered upon a period of mild but steady prosperity, which has continued, except for interruptions caused by national financial conditions, to the present time. In 1869 there were fifty-six woolen factories in Maine, with 2,925 employees, a capital investment of \$4,092,685, and annual production valued at \$6,150,620. In 1879 the number of establishments was ninety-three, with 3,095 employees. Capital investment totaled \$3,876,028, and annual production was valued at \$6,686,073. By 1889 the number of factories had fallen to seventy-five but capital investment had risen to \$8,338,864. At the turn of the century there were seventy-six factories, with 6,280 operatives, \$12,642,058 invested capital and \$11,633,235 worth of production.

In the twentieth century both cotton and woolen mills showed a tendency toward consolidation and concentration of power. In 1949,

there were seventy-eight textile mills, including cotton goods, woolens and other producers, in Maine. They produced cloth valued at \$209,189,592, paying total wages amounting to \$62,386,409. The total number of employees in that year was 26,161, including 15,598 men and 10,563 women.

Woolen mills have tended on the whole to be much more widely scattered than the cotton goods plants, which have been mostly concentrated in a relatively small number of centers west of the Kennebec River, where they can derive the benefits of the best power facilities. The woolen mills are often situated on the smaller streams. Present trends to consolidate smaller plants throughout the textile industry and to enlarge the surviving factories, utilizing the most advanced technological developments for efficient production, point to a time when distribution and size may be about the same for both cotton and woolen establishments.

An outstanding achievement in textile manufacturing is represented in the development of the Bates Manufacturing Company organized in 1945 as a consolidation of several mills. In the late 1920s all of these—five of them—were threatened either with extinction or with removal to the South, where industrial conditions would be more suited to their needs.

One of this great company's divisions, the Androscoggin Mills, of Lewiston, decided in 1928 to liquidate. It employed 1,000 people, and was, together with the Bates and Hill mills, the backbone of Lewiston's industrial life. There was already a strong tendency on the part of New England textile plants to move to the South, and enough Massachusetts and other New England mills had already established themselves in the Carolinas and Georgia to make the trend particularly dangerous to Maine companies which wished to continue in business.

Fortunately for these mills, another great industry which was on its way "up"—namely, hydroelectric power—could not afford to have Lewiston practically disappear as an industrial center. There was no question that cotton textile manufacturing was the most important industry in the territory served by the rapidly growing Central Maine Power Company, as well as by the Cumberland County Power and Light Company, which was operated as a separate organization until its merger with Central Maine in 1942.

Not only Lewiston and Auburn, but also Biddeford and Saco, and even Augusta, were affected by the general conditions besetting the textile industry. Competition from the new industrial South was becoming keener, and other New England mills were helping that competition along. Of what value would the development of a great hydroelectric power system be if that system's leading customers—the textile companies—were to leave New England or close their doors entirely?

One of the major geniuses in the development of the Central Maine Power Company was Walter S. Wyman (see Chapter V, "Hydroelectric Power"). Strong-willed and broad of vision, he determined that a major portion of Maine's economy was not going to dismantle its plant and quit if he could reverse the trend. His com-



pany already had harnessed several important Maine water systems to produce a great power system and was making further headway along the same lines. When Maine capital had failed or been reluctant, his group had brought in funds from outside the State to carry forward the process. It remained only for them to undertake a similar effort with regard to the textile mills.

The results were of value to the whole State. Additional funds enabled the mills to weather economic storms. Jobs, opportunities, community benefits and cultural progress were made possible for thousands of workers in these textile factories and for many additional thousands in business organizations and communities dependent upon the well-being of these plants for their own success.

Associated with Mr. Wyman at different stages of this heroic effort were some of Maine's outstanding leaders. Gradually many of these men became linked in the undertakings which eventually led to the formation of the Bates Manufacturing Company.

Meanwhile, in 1929, as a result of the plan which Mr. Wyman worked out, an organization called New England Industries, Inc., was formed. To bring this company into existence, Mr. Wyman held conferences with the president of the Middle West Utilities Company, an Insull organization which had already helped the development of Maine power through formation of the New England Public Service Company ("Nepsco") as a subsidiary of Middle West. New England Industries, Inc., was to do the same service for the industrial group that "Nepsco" had performed for the electric power group. New England Industries provided funds to take over the stocks of certain Maine industrial companies, which were by that method to be segregated from the utility stocks similarly taken over by "Nepsco."

Both Central Maine Power and Nepsco had already purchased some of these industrial stocks to provide temporary funds for these manufacturing industries; and now New England Industries, Inc., purchased these stocks and also made other purchases direct from the companies themselves. The five shaky textile establishments thus were saved for Maine.

Each of the five mills had its own history. The oldest of them was the Edwards Mill, of Augusta, which made quarter-linings for a substantial portion of the Nation's shoe manufacturing industry. Other items produced here include napped interlinings for women's and children's coats and ski suits, duvetyn for men's work shirts, casket and jewelry box linings, and "Aralac" spun rayon for coat linings. During World War II this plant turned out 22,000,000 yards of herringbone twill for Army use and more than 10,000,000 yards of cloth for rifle patches. Sandbag sheeting, ten cloth and linings for Army and Navy shoes were among other wartime products produced at the Edwards Mill, which was operating 1,500 looms soon after the consolidation which, in 1945, formed the Bates Manufacturing Company.

The York Mill, at Saco, is more than a century old. Its specialty, historically, has been the manufacture of gray goods. Other items include broadcloth, lawns and poplins for women's and children's dress goods, underwear, men's shirts and sportswear. Some of the



newest raincoats introduced by New York designers, are of York poplin. During World War II the company made wind-resistant cloth for army windbreakers, as well as summer uniform cloth for the navy and airplane wing fabric. This company entered the 1945 merger with 1,858 looms, and was working three shifts daily to meet post-war domestic demand.

The remaining three mills—Bates, Hill and Androscoggin—are all centered in Lewiston. The Bates Mill was organized in 1850 by Benjamin E. Bates, a Boston financier, who became one of the founders of the City of Lewiston, called "The Industrial Heart of Maine." He not only founded the mill, but gave \$100,000 toward establishment of the seminary which later became Bates College (see Chapter II). The Bates Mill, long famed for the output of bedspreads for home, hospitals and hotels, came into the Bates Manufacturing Company consolidation with 2,300 employees engaged in the mill's traditional bedspread manufacturing and the production of percale sheets and pillow-cases, tablecloths and draperies, rayon twills for women's dress goods, linings for suits and coats and army duck. The mill has more than 1,000,000 square feet of floor space.

The Hill Mill came into the Bates system with 1,278 looms. It is situated next door to the Bates Mill, and is engaged mainly in the production of fine combed broadcloths, poplins and carded twills for women's dress goods and underwear, men's shirts, shorts and pajamas, rainwear and women's girdles. During World War II it produced summer uniform cloth for the Navy, water-repellent Oxford sleeping bag cloth and army duck. This mill takes cotton directly from the bale, processes it and sends it out to be finished.

The third Lewiston plant, the Androscoggin Mills, works solely with rayons, turning out acetate twills, satins and serges for women's dress goods, blouses and underwear, as well as lining for suits and coats, shower curtains, bedspreads, draperies and blanket linings. During World War II it made parachute cloth and linings for Army overcoats and uniforms. The plant is ideally situated at the end of the canal, where it is shaded by giant trees and surrounded by green lawns. Connected with the Androscoggin unit is the Bates Research Laboratory, enlarged and expanded until its facilities are among the finest in the textile industry, making the "Bates Laboratory Tested" label a welcome sight to any one appreciating fine textiles.

Each of these five mills is now a "division" of the Bates Manufacturing Company, which is thus made up of five units—the Edwards, York, Bates, Hill and Androscoggin divisions. Each division was kept in existence separately through the organization of New England Industries, Inc., under Walter S. Wyman's initiative. Then, when Federal legislation outlawed the holding of industrial stocks by power companies, New England Industries, Inc., was dissolved, and its stocks were sold to the newly-formed Bates Manufacturing Company. The result was the complete consolidation of these five separate interests as the five divisions of Bates on December 15, 1945.

To accomplish the chain of achievements leading up to the formation of the Bates Manufacturing Company, the initiative and talent of many persons were needed. Many of them were men with



whom Mr. Wyman had been in one way or another associated. Some of the Maine personalities were people who had worked with him, or whose own industrial enterprises had been either advanced or saved from disaster by his efforts and those of his brain-child, New England Industries. It was such individuals who joined hands to purchase the outstanding stocks of the five textile mills described above. Robert Braun, of Portland, became chairman of the board of directors; and Herman D. Ruhm, Jr., president. The group had a strong board of directors, including William S. Newell, president of the Bath Iron Works, shipbuilders, of Bath; John E. Hyde, vice-president of the S. D. Warren Company, of Westbrook, paper manufacturers; Raymond Rubicam, one of the founders of the New York advertising firm of Young and Rubicam; Thomas Gorham, late treasurer of Bates; Albert T. Armitage, president of Coffin and Burr, Inc., investment bankers, of Boston and New York; and Herman W. Wenzell, vice-president of the First of Boston Corporation, Boston and New York investment banking house.

Bates Fabrics, Inc., is the marketing and advertising subsidiary of the Bates Manufacturing Company. Herman D. Ruhm, Jr., is its president. It has headquarters at 80 Worth Street, New York, and utilizes the services of top designers and sales specialists.

#### BOOTS, SHOES AND LEATHER

The tanning of leather was originally a small-scale business practiced as a part of farm life. The skins of farm animals slaughtered in the barnyard were dressed and tanned for home use, while any surplus leather or hides found a ready sale if the means were at hand to get them to market. The making of footwear for farm family use, except for the sewing of moccasins, an art which boys and girls copied from the Indians, was a matter of custom work. Some farmers made their own boots, but generally the farm family saved several choice hides and gave them to itinerant or locally established shoemakers who visited every farm once a year, or periodically, and made shoes for all the family. The shoemaker was warmly welcomed, both for his services and because he brought news and gossip of the town to families who seldom stirred beyond their own acres.

Probably tanning was the first of the leather trades to achieve a commercial status in Maine. Most of the 200 tanneries as listed in the 1809 census figures were small local establishments. Many were doubtless just pits and sheds on a neighborhood farm, to which farmers brought their hides for tanning—a job which the “tanner” performed along with the cultivation of his own acres. By 1839, however, tanning was a business in itself, operated profitably on a fairly large scale. Just before the Civil War Maine had 152 tanneries, employing 765 men, with \$877,475 invested capital and an annual production estimated at \$2,283,095. The Civil War, with its demand for leather for the Northern Armies, boomed the industry in Maine, and by 1869 the state had 200 tanneries, employing 1,020 men, with invested capital of \$1,864,949 and an annual production valued at \$4,911,871. This point seems to have been the apex of tanning in Maine. The business increased for a time, then gradually faded.



The reason for the rapid rise of tanning in Maine was the adequate supply of hemlocks in the forests. Hemlock bark was then the principal material used in tanning. Maine farms supplied large numbers of hides as long as the business was limited in scope; but as it grew, hides had to be brought to Maine from the cattle ranches of the mid-West, the Southwest and the Great Plains. Sailing ships from Maine ports, as well as from Boston, ventured around the Horn to California before the "gold rush" to bring back hides from the aristocratic ranches. Transportation proved expensive. When tanning



*Bass Shoe Factory, Wilton*

was a wholly self-contained industry here, Maine stood fourth among all the states in the tanning business immediately following the Civil War. Then, with the invention of new methods of tanning, the state's hemlocks became less essential. As the trees were killed off, the price of bark rose, too, until at last Maine was forced out of large-scale tanning.

The making of boots and shoes was at first a family industry. Later a professional shoemaker went from farm to farm, making shoes as he stopped. Maine's prominence in tanning made leather supplies ample, and enterprising individuals began to see boot and shoe manufacturing as an outlet for capital investment. Once the industry had started, its development was steady. The process was gradual after the founding of a few early factories. The first factory on record was that of A. P. White, at New Gloucester, established in 1844. This factory employed seventeen persons. Four years later a factory of about the same size was started at North Auburn by John F. Cobb, and in 1856 both factories were moved to Auburn. It



is on record that establishment of the Cushman factory at West Minot in 1854 "increased the number of factory shoe workers in the state to sixty." By 1862, Cushman had also moved his shop to Auburn, which became the shoe center of the state. Other shoe factories also settled there in later years, evidently finding it expedient to be closely associated with establishments engaged in the same line of activity. Afterward there was some spreading of the industry, but the individual establishments remained small—in a manner befitting the traditional independence of Maine people. Between 1860 and 1890 the striking feature of the industry was the large number of establishments operating. Indeed, the so-called "tramp shoe manufacturer" flourished. After the Civil War many Maine people believed that the boot and shoe industry, since it was so adaptable to circumstances, offered immense opportunities for profits. Towns would benefit, as well as individuals. It was a "natural" for the unscrupulous promoter, who induced the leading citizens of a selected town to raise a fund for a shoe factory, which the promoter might then use rent-free for several years. Sometimes, as an encouragement to new enterprise, the town itself let the promoter operate without being taxed for a number of years. As a result, without any capital investment and without paying taxes or rent, the shoemaker usually prospered. When the special benefits approached their end, the promoters left town with their profits. Often they selected another town some distance away and repeated the process.

Aside from such maneuvering, however, the boot and shoe business in Maine continued prosperous after the tanneries disappeared. In 1889, fifty-three factories were reported active in the industry, with 6,597 employees, \$4,804,946 invested capital and an annual production estimated at \$10,335,342. Ten years later, there were forty-eight factories, with 6,432 employees, a capital of \$5,148,278 and production valued at \$12,295,847. Maine then stood fourth in the United States in boot and shoe production. In 1909 there were fifty-five establishments, with 7,195 employees, \$7,284,376 of capital and an annual production valued at \$15,508,771. In 1914 there were fifty factories, with 9,371 employees, \$8,042,710 invested capital, and an annual production valued at \$22,836,073.

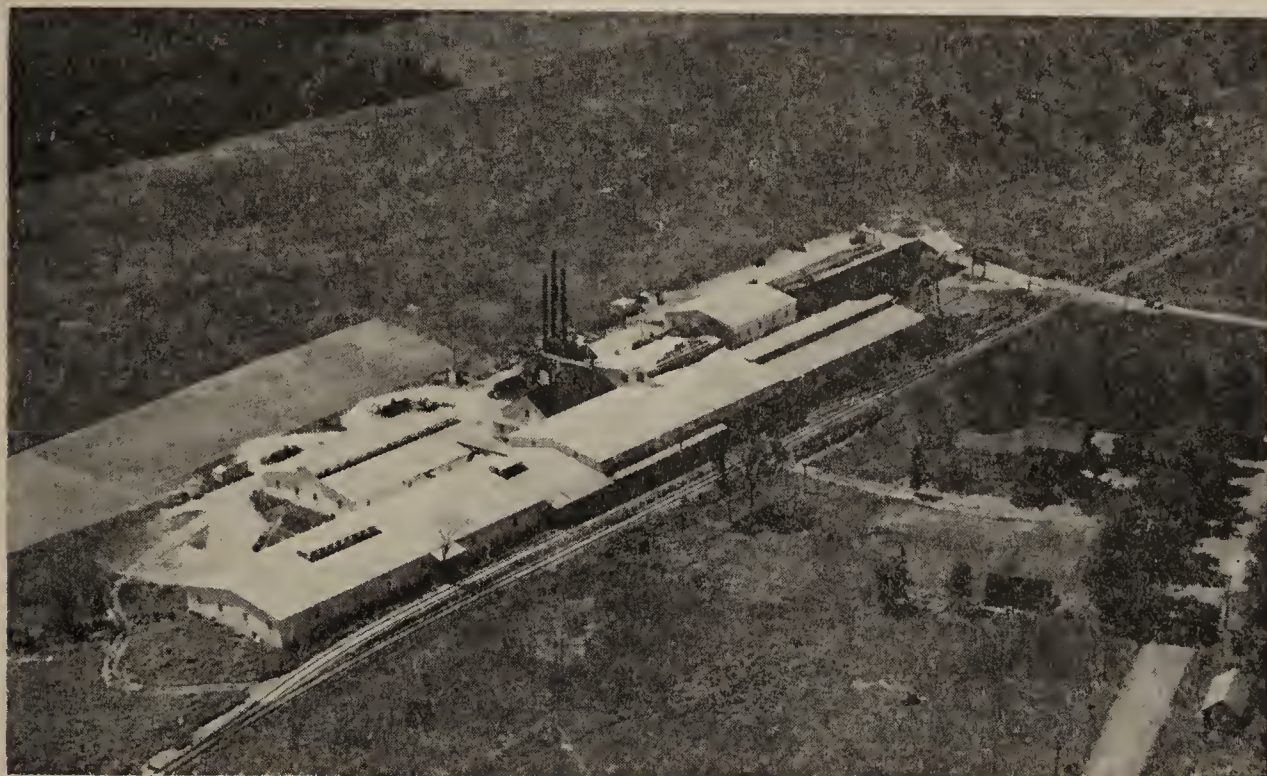
By 1949 ninety-eight factories were engaged in the manufacture of leather and leather products, making items with a total value of \$113,769,717. They paid wages totaling \$33,163,322 to 18,307 employees, 9,563 of them women and 8,744 of them men. Generally speaking, factories in other states have increased in number in recent years, affecting the New England industry in a notable degree. St. Louis, for example, has forged ahead rapidly. Still, Maine "know-how" and facilities keep this state among the leading boot and shoe producing states of the nation.

#### CANNING, PRESERVING—AND FISHING

Maine's canning industry has been closely associated with her fisheries, though not exclusively so. "Commercial Fisheries" are the subject of Chapter VIII in this work, and the facts recounted therein should be considered with relation to the story of canning. Suffice



it to tell here of the early fame of Maine's "great cods" in coastal waters, which were probably familiar to fishermen of a dozen English, French and Iberian ports, many of whom could have drawn maps of New England waters from memory from having regularly sailed to Maine in the spring, caught and salted their cod in the summer, and sailed back home in the fall. During the colonial period, the men of Plymouth and of Massachusetts, including the Province of Maine, fished almost as much as they farmed. Salted fish were not only a



*The Baxter Canning and Dehydration Plant at Hartland, Largest in New England*

familiar article of diet on the tables of the colonists, but they became a staple of commerce as soon as New England vessels took to the sea.

Far more than fish is canned today, however, in an industry which is highly important to Maine's economy. The development of this great industry is a matter of special interest, involving technological innovations characteristic of American ingenuity and the faith which is the traditional American spirit. It was about 1840 that Isaac Winslow began experimenting with the canning of corn in the vicinity of Portland. The reason why Winslow, who was a seaman, turned to corn instead of fish, was that in the long months at sea he found that his body greatly missed vegetables. Without them, scurvy sometimes broke out aboard ship, blackening men's gums and causing their teeth to drop out. Only later did it become a matter of common knowledge that lack of the juices of fresh vegetables caused scurvy; but Isaac Winslow's body unconsciously discovered for him this scientific fact.

In the course of his travels Winslow went to France, where his brother had gone to live, and where numerous original ideas with regard to food developed. He dreamed over his inspiration in the



long night watches aboard his ship—of sealing up cans of corn, capturing all its sweetness, its very essence, and including it in the ship's stores, so aiding the fight against scurvy. Once ashore, he planted corn for his experiments and persuaded his brother-in-law, Caleb Jones, to help him. He tried cooking the whole ear, then pushed the kernels off the cob with a special fork he devised for the purpose, then knifed the kernels off the cob. None of his efforts worked to suit him. The cooking was troublesome, too. He tried



*Burnham & Morrill Plant, Portland*

cooking the kernels, then sealing them in the can, and also sealing them first and then cooking them. He treated them to varying degrees of heat, marked his different lots, and watched results. Always the corn spoiled. In 1843 he tried direct and dry steam. Still, the corn spoiled. In 1844 he cooked his corn in a house boiler. After nine years he applied for a patent, which was refused.

He never gave up the struggle; and after his death his son, Nathan Winslow, was actually able to start the commercial canning of corn in 1852. He admitted his nephew, John Winslow Jones, into the business, which grew and prospered. As early as 1850 the French were packing sardines in oil; but the idea of the Winslows was more ambitious and was never allowed to lag. By 1862 a patent on the Winslow process was granted; and by that time John Winslow Jones was engaged in the business on his own account. For years he was Maine's largest packer. He not only packed corn; he bought corn which others packed, labeling all the cans, "Winslow's Patent Hermetically Sealed Green Corn."

Other experiments paralleled those of the Winslows. From colonial times fish had been dried for shipment, and even extensively exported. But about 1841, Treat, Noble and Company packed lobsters and salmon at Eastport. W. K. Lewis and Brothers established an early factory on Custom House Wharf, Portland, for the packing of meats and fish. Still another enterprise was that of Rumery and Burnham, packers of meats, fish, clams, poultry and lobsters; but they dissolved in 1867. The Portland Packing Company also packed lobsters.

George Burnham, of the discontinued firm of Rumery and Burnham, continued the packing of foods, admitting John E. Burnham and Charles Morrill as associates. Both these young men had learned the business with Rumery and Burnham; and out of the work of this trio the packing firm of Burnham and Morrill came into being in Portland in the early 1870s. As early as 1865 George Burnham had undertaken to use small herring, caught off the coast, in place of the French sardines.

The development of fisheries and canning still went hand in hand. Fishing itself became a kind of agriculture in more recent times—a development which the Fish and Wildlife Service aided in a significant way. Small lobsters, for example, could be dropped to the sea bottom to grow, as seeds were planted on shore. Canning methods improved, too, until the filling machines of 1950 were filling and sealing 150 or more cans per minute with countless items of food—meats, meat stews, baked beans, brown bread, fish products, vegetables and all manner of specialties. At the middle of the twentieth century Burnham and Morrill celebrated their eightieth anniversary. At last full recognition came to the organization for its persistence in the industry despite all obstacles and difficulties. "B and M" products are widely known. The work of the two pioneers, George Burnham (1831-1909) and Charles S. Morrill (1836-1901), was the special subject of an address by the present head of the company, also named Charles S. Morrill, at a Maine luncheon of The Newcomen Society of England, held at Portland on December 1, 1950. That luncheon was presided over by William Stark Newell, of Bath, chairman of the board of directors of the Bath Iron Works Corporation and representative of another old Maine industry. Both Mr. Morrill and Mr. Newell had been elected to The Newcomen Society, established in England in memory of Thomas Newcomen (1663-1729) to preserve the history of material civilization—industry, invention, engineering, transportation, public utilities, communications, mining, agriculture, finance, banking, education, the law and related historical fields.

Modern sardine plants are an unusual blending of mechanization and labor. The fishermen put out mostly at night and drag their nets according to tide conditions, usually encircling a school of small fry and pulling them in a silver flood into their boats. The boats report at the cannery wharves irregularly, so that usually no regular crews are maintained. Both men and women attend to the pack, mostly in the actual packing of the little fish in flat cans. Whenever there is work to be done, no matter what the hour, the factory whistle blows a signal to which workers respond, either on foot or in their



cars. Within a short time they are working as the cutting machines deliver the fish to them for packing. The filled cans follow a production-line procedure, being given their fill of oil, then being sealed and cooked. Then the cans are labeled and made ready for shipment.

The canning of mackerel is one of the relatively recent developments of Maine's fish canning trade. At certain seasons of the year, notably late summer, mackerel frequent the Maine coast in great schools and are netted in large numbers. The packing is similar to sardine packing, save that greater care must be exercised to keep the characteristically strong oil of the mackerel from spoiling the flavor of the fish. Only great speed accomplishes this end, since it is exposure to the air which produces the unappetizing flavor. Machines slice off the heads and tails of these fish as they are removed from salt-water pools, and dexterous fingers fill the cans, seal them and cook them under pressure at lightning pace.

Some attention is being given to the canning of other sea foods, such as lobster, but the lobster business of Maine has largely developed in the direction of shipping the live, wiggling creatures to a large market by air freight. Maine lobsters have a marvelous flavor; the cold water gives them a distinctive zest which is unequalled. Swank hotels and eating-places in many parts of the nation serve them to delighted gourmets, and in some instances have created special salt-water lobster baths to keep these luxury shellfish in full zest of life until the very minute they are immersed in boiling water for cooking. Trucks loaded with shellfish roll out of Maine every night to supply nearby city markets. Canned lobster meat is also a favorite, but the live lobster market is expanding.

Clam packing is another native Maine industry. Clams preserve their flavor well in tin cans, and clam packing is therefore reasonably successful. State of Maine clam chowder is another item that has been particularly well adapted to canning and several delicious varieties are distributed throughout the world. Maine people take pride in their chowder, of a quality which they find unobtainable in even the best restaurants south of Boston.

Shrimp fisheries and shrimp packing constitute another Maine industry. Giant pink shrimp are found deep in the waters of the Gulf of Maine. Greater commercial development may be expected in the canning of these cold-water shrimp, which have a markedly superior flavor to that of the shrimp packed so extensively along the coast of the tepid Gulf of Mexico.

The making of the "tin" can by automatic machinery was an improvement which dramatically reduced the cost of canning, as did special machines which rolled metal plate to exact thicknesses and applied the tin coating with meticulous nicety. Specialized cookers, automatic can fillers, steel soldering machines, segment solderers and power machinery for cutting corn from the cob represent but a few of the devices which have made canned foods better and cheaper and thereby expanded the market. Maine men have been leaders in inventing and developing the new processes and machines, and many a spirited legal battle has been waged over the right to use specific machines and processes.

Since sweet corn needs warm weather for proper maturity, it has come to be grown mostly in western Maine, where the canning factories are concentrated. This facilitates the packing of corn as soon as possible after it is picked. Maine advice on cooking corn is to have the water boiling on the stove before going to the garden and to husk the ears while running back to the kitchen. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Maine investors had put nearly two millions of dollars into establishing about seventy-five corn packing plants. The annual value of the pack then was about \$2,500,000. Maine corn is acknowledged to be superior; so, although Maine ranks only fourth in the number of cans packed annually, it ranks second in the value of its pack. It brings premium prices on the market.

The packing of blueberries is localized in Washington County and a few isolated areas along the coast. In other areas the blueberry crop is not large enough to justify the investment of funds in packing plants which at best can operate but a few weeks each year. While the annual value of the blueberry pack is not of tremendous monetary value, it gives Maine prestige, in as much as this state leads the nation in the amount and quality of its berries. Modern rapid transportation takes fresh Maine blueberries to the markets of the large eastern cities. The season is short for fresh berries, and many people like blueberry pie the year around, so that canning remains a certain industry for the small area in which it is commercially practicable.

In 1949, 358 establishments were producing one or another kind of food and kindred products. They employed 20,370 persons, 10,432 women and 9,938 men, who received \$18,734,475 for their labors in producing goods valued at \$105,050,191.

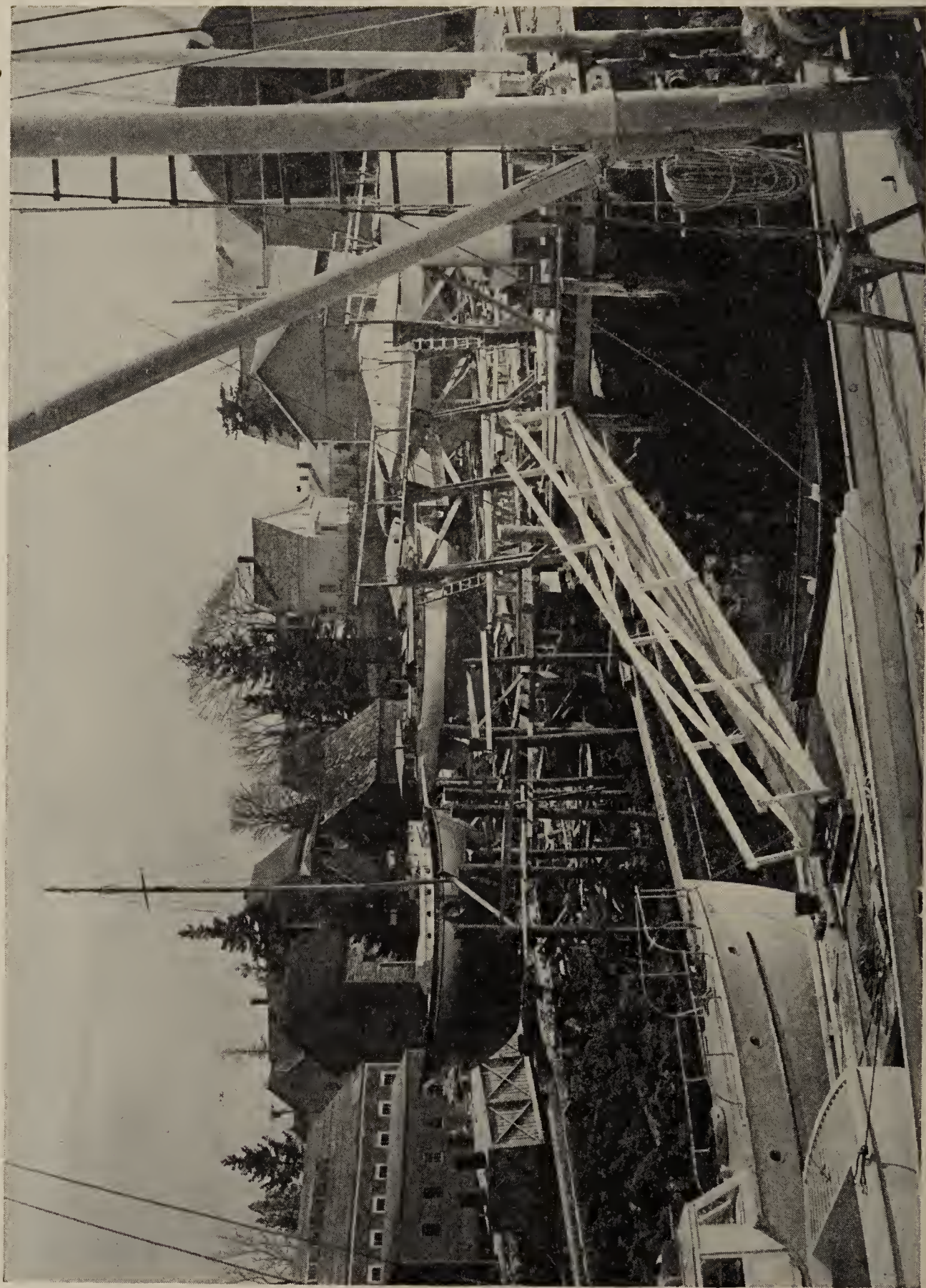
### SHIPBUILDING

In 1607, thirteen years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, the handful of colonists at the Popham settlement near the mouth of the Kennebec built a thirty-ton pinnacle of lumber sawed from trees standing near to the ways. This was the first ship built by European settlers within what is now the United States of America.

This beginning ushered in a period of shipbuilding in which Maine prospered and grew famous. Maine built ships which sailed the seven seas, and the proud history of the American merchant marine has been, until recently, closely interwoven with this state.

In the days of wooden sailing ships, Maine held a prominent position, and usually led the country in production. Her shipyards flourished, producing great quantities of ships of sterling quality. Her vast supply of superior ship timbers and their accessibility—white oak, white pine, beech, birch, rockmaple and hachmatack—placed her in a peculiarly favorable situation with respect to shipbuilding, and her highly skilled and loyal labor was an additional boon. The typical Maine man along shore was by turns a farmer, a carpenter, a fisherman, a lumberman and always a shipbuilder. As a worker he was unexcelled. He could turn from one industry to another with dexterity and great adaptability. The kind of work he did at a given time was





Goudy & Stevens Shipyard, East Boothbay



determined only by the season and the opportunities for employment. Periods of unemployment were brief for him. These Maine men, moreover, were of a common stock and heritage and of a common economic level. They were warmly attached to their home towns, their home people and their home employments.

The shipbuilder was usually a native of the town in which he worked. He had at his call a devoted group of skilled assistants who could come to his yard when he needed them and work with will and intelligence. His economic advantage was great.

It was naturally not until well into the eighteenth century that shipbuilding became an important industry. Until that time British ships served the purpose, transporting both people and manufactured goods. The development of fisheries aided shipbuilding, however, and as the export trade grew, the colonists saw no reason why British bottoms should monopolize shipping. New Englanders then began to build their own ships—small wooden vessels which antedated the great American clippers of a century later—the fastest sailing-ships ever driven over the ocean and the most beautiful functional creation of the hand of man. Those early Maine wooden ships, for all their blunt bows and high sterns, were sea-worthy. In tiny cockle-shells in which an American today would hesitate to cross a millpond, Maine sailors crossed the Atlantic again and again. Ships of this type were built at Portland by 1728, and by 1745 sloops and small schooners for the coastal trade were slipping down the ways at Bath. Following the Revolution, when American shipping began to thrive because of the ending of British restrictions, many a small Maine town turned its attention to shipbuilding; and after the War of 1812 shipbuilding became very active. In 1820, the year in which Maine became a state, 14,248 tons of shipping were launched. Five years later the tonnage was 34,558—a sizable figure, considering that in those times ships averaged hardly more than fifty tons each. Moses Greenleaf, in his "Survey of Maine" (1829), estimated that the Maine shipyards produced ships valued at \$1,037,000 in that year.

It was but natural that Maine, given these circumstances, should produce celebrated families and dynasties of shipbuilders. These families did much for Maine in the lush days of the clipper ships and the China trade. Their strength of character, business sagacity and the family pride greatly aided the rapid and successful growth of the American merchant marine. Usually they started operations with one, two or three small vessels. Engaging in foreign trade, they sent their sons to sea and employed the best young men they could find on a profit-sharing basis. Youngsters in their twenties, efficient and resourceful, fired with a flaming spirit of independence, gained their start in life in this way. Some ships were lost at sea. Some voyages were ill-fated. That is the way of trade. But mostly success rewarded the efforts of these Maine men, and often a single voyage netted a profit greater than the cost of the ship. So, as their resources increased, these Maine "merchant" families increased their fleets with larger and better ships. It was the custom to keep a ship only for the first few years of its life, then sell it to a German or Italian buyer, taking the monies received to build a new and better ship. So, constantly



re-investing their profits in new ships, these Maine families—fathers, sons and grandsons—generation after generation, made themselves masters of a maritime empire that could not be matched. They spread their sails on every sea. Their captains entered ports under blazing tropic suns and pushed ice out of their paths in the far Baltic. They won high and enduring laurels which will be read with envy and admiration as long as men recall the history of salt water adventure and triumph.

By 1839 Maine produced 181 vessels—fifty ships, fifty-six brigs and seventy-five schooners. Waldoboro, in that year, constructed nearly one-third of Maine's ships.

Between 1840 and 1857, shipbuilding flowered. In 1850 probably 200,000 people were concerned with shipbuilding between Kennebunkport and Machias—a stretch of coast in which about fifty towns were actively building ships.

The panic of 1857 changed this picture. It struck shipbuilding particularly hard. Many individuals in the business became completely bankrupt, and towns in which shipbuilding had flourished were suddenly lifeless. The effects of this panic continued to blight Maine shipbuilding until the Civil War, which further seriously injured it. After the Civil War shipbuilding in Maine fluctuated to a considerable degree, then exhibited a steady decline. It continues only in a few cities, such as Bath, where the Bath Iron Works is a leading industry. This company's super-destroyers played an important role in World War II, and in war and in peace the company has done all in its power to hold high the reputation of Maine industry. But the population of the six leading shipbuilding counties—Hancock, Knox, Lincoln, Sagadahoc, Waldo and Washington—is smaller now than in 1870. Rotting ways are but a mute memorial to the glory that wooden ships provided for the American merchant marine.

Still, when the needs of two world wars arose, Maine did its part very well. At the Bath Iron Works and in yards at South Portland and in several smaller places along the shore, Maine men rallied again to the occasion. Old men showed youngsters how to do the job. The Liberty and Victory ships were iron monsters, built to blueprint specifications. Special types of smaller boats served various uses. Some of these were of wood. Many an old-timer came to work with an adz slung over his shoulder to perform the needed work on them. Veterans of an ancient art deftly hewed beams and knees and stems to shape, then finished off the job with caulking iron and the other bygone tools. With a few coats of paint, the little ships went on their way—some to Europe and some to the coral atolls of the South Seas. (See Part I, Chapter IX.)

But after each war shipbuilding languished again. Unless wooden ships are required, Maine will most likely never regain her lost leadership in this industry, because any one anywhere can rivet together a few steel beams and cover them with iron plates—which is about all there is to modern shipbuilding, according to the old-time masters sitting on wharves along the shore watching the rotting hulks of a few left-over remains, disintegrating beneath the cry of the seagulls. (Local shipyards are listed in Part III.)

Probably one reason for the decline of shipbuilding is that formerly marine investment, though risky, brought large returns when it was successful. From shipping and allied activities, huge fortunes were built in New England and farther south. Then these fortunes found other even more lucrative outlets. The West needed railroads. Cities had bonds for sale. A changing economy caused eastern fortunes to turn their backs on the ocean and look inland for opportunity. Also, rusty, dirty, but persistent British tramp streamers began to roam the seven seas. They operated more cheaply, and American ships, with higher standards of wages, could not successfully compete with them in the foreign trade. Many foreign countries also gave their merchant marines handsome subsidies, while the United States Congress was looking inland, where most votes were to be found, to plant its subsidies. American ships were even penalized by high taxes, excessive port charges and inadequate and inefficient consular services in other lands. The United States truly neglected her merchant marine until Wars I and II compelled the feverish building of ships to combat the submarine menace. As soon as many of these ships were actually in use, the crisis was over and they were tied up by the hundreds in "moth-ball" fleets to rust in idleness while foreign ships carried American goods abroad.

Schooners for a time freighted coal from Newport News to New England cities, but steamers soon invaded the field, and the ocean-going steam tug made it possible for barges to be towed more cheaply than wooden ships could be sailed. Thus Maine sailors and shipbuilders witnessed the pitiful sight of their proud and well-built schooners dismasted and converted into barges to be jerked from port to port at the end of a rope, or else tied up in some back water along shore and left to rot away deserted. Some were even burned to recover scrap iron. The few schooners still in service are but a pitiful remnant of the glory that once was Maine's. At Camden, for example, Captain Frank Swift purchased several old schooners a few years ago, spruced them up with paint, and organized week-long cruises for summer vacationers.

#### BRICKMAKING

The making of bricks is ages old. In Maine it probably began with the coming of permanent white settlers who needed fireproof materials for chimneys. Of course, bricks are made from almost any clay, particularly if quality is not important. But the better the clay, the better the bricks and tiles, and most of Maine is endowed with an excellent quality of clay. Products made from most Maine clays have a deep red color which is characteristic of the area, making Maine clay products the peer of those produced anywhere.

Early brickmaking was crude and usually for home consumption. Part-time yards once supplied most of the demand, but by 1750 bricks were being made in Maine for shipment outside of the State.

"The early custom was frequently to ship brick and lumber together," one commentator has written, "the brick being used as ballast for the cargo of lumber. Later, when Maine began shipping



hay to Massachusetts and barrels to the fishing ports, brick was found to be a most profitable accompaniment to the lighter articles of freight. Boston became its chief market and promoter of brickyards, somewhere in the years between 1760 and 1770."

The clay in the vicinity of Boston, though abundant, was of poor quality and lay so much below the surface that with the crude tools and hoisting machinery then available, it was not profitable to make use of it. Maine could make high-grade bricks at about \$2 a thousand at that time and it cost less than \$1.50 a thousand to ship them to Boston, and as a result, colonial Boston was built with Maine bricks. Some of these brick buildings are still standing today, as substantial as the day the bricks were fired 200 years ago.

The most important brickyards in Maine during Revolutionary War times were located on the Sheepscot and the Damariscotta rivers, at Portland, at Bowdoinham and Hallowell on the Kennebec, and at Bangor and Brewer on the Penobscot. It is reported that in 1800 there were thirty-five brickyards in Maine, with an annual output of 4,500,000 bricks, of which about 4,000,000 were shipped to Boston.

By 1835 practical machinery for the mass production became available, and the brick industry in Maine grew rapidly in consequence. The rapid growth of population at the same time increased the market for bricks which were produced in Maine between 1850 and 1855 at the rate of about 50,000,000 annually. Some 500 men were employed in the brickmaking season, about five months of the year. Additional labor was required to cut and haul the 25,000 or more cords of wood used to fire the kilns. Boston, New Bedford, Providence and Provincetown were the chief markets. Some bricks were also sold in Newfoundland on a basis of long-term credit—a business method which was not profitable to Maine brickmakers.

The 1850s marked the high tide of brickmaking in Maine. The state had enjoyed prosperity in this industry because clay and wood were locally abundant and because of cheap transportation to market by sailing-ships which could usually dock at the yards. Railroads were widely extended at about this time, again to the detriment of a Maine industry. The Civil War also checked building and, in turn, the making of bricks. The post-war boom in building temporarily improved brickmaking, and in 1870 approximately 80,000,000 bricks were made in Maine, 30,000,000 being used locally and the remainder shipped away. Afterward the industry steadily declined. Tile manufacturing furnished a brief assistance to the brickyards but year by year plants disappeared.

Brickmaking today, though less expansive than at an earlier day, is well adjusted to the average needs of building, and is seemingly operating on a sound and stable basis.

#### LIME

The manufacture of lime is one of the oldest industries in Maine. The early settlers undoubtedly burned a little lime for their own use, but commercial production began about 1733. In that year "Samuel Waldo, of Boston, having by purchase or inheritance from his father,

obtained a title in the lands of the St. George's and the Medomak rivers: having made experiments upon the limestone found near the edge of the river in what is now called the prison quarry, and finding it good, he caused a new lime kiln to be erected, and lime burnt in considerable quantities for the Boston market." The stone which Waldo used is widely scattered over much of Maine, but it is largely concentrated in easily available quantities in Knox and Waldo counties.

By 1829 the making of lime had become an important business in that portion of Maine. Greenleaf in his "Survey of Maine" of that year, reported that the "principle exports from the ports comprising the district of Waldoboro are lumber and lime—we have no account or estimate of the quantity." By 1835, however, the annual production of lime in the State amounted to nearly 750,000 casks, "Thomaston, then including Rockland, furnishing 400,000 casks; Lincolnville, 100,000; Camden, 10,000; Hope, 5,000; and the rest from Warren." At this time practically all the lime was carried to the various markets by sea in craft owned and operated by residents of the towns in which the kilns were operated. "There were constantly employed in carrying lime and bringing wood, at least one hundred sail of vessels."

In the following years the business grew steadily. In 1849 there were fifty-one establishments, employing 396 hands. At about this time improvements in methods of production began to appear. More efficient methods of burning the rock and of extracting the lime were devised. The power drill finally superseded the former laborious and expensive method of breaking the rock open with hand drills—one man swinging a sledge and another man holding the drill—a precarious business. Originally the rock was hauled out of the quarries, which went down deeper each year, by teams of oxen pulling sledges up an inclined plane. Railroads were built to decrease the friction, and finally electrically operated hoists were employed. Local sources of cord wood for burning were depleted after a time, and the expense of bringing in great quantities of wood from considerable distances led to the substitution of coal.

The lime industry has suffered many vicissitudes because it is so intimately dependent upon the prosperity of the building trades, any changes in which affect the market. Competition in lime production has always been keen among different lime-producing regions of the nation, and the difference of only a few cents in the production cost of a barrel has profoundly affected the prosperity of a region. Maine has always enjoyed a preference among builders, however, because of the acknowledged superiority of its product.

In 1869 there were forty-one lime plants in the state. About \$1,000,000 was invested in them, and their annual output was valued at \$1,741,553. Ten years later the number of establishments had fallen to twenty-eight, and the value of their product was \$599,695. In 1890 most of the lime plants in the Rockland-Rockport district were consolidated to produce economies in manufacturing, shipping and merchandising and so to strengthen Maine's lime business.

For the decade ending at 1900 the annual value of Maine lime production averaged \$1,067,138. In 1910 Maine had twelve establish-



ments with 526 employees and a product valued at \$1,215,363. Since that year, the industry has noticeably declined. Competition in the lime business has become increasingly keen. The employment of structural steel in building has greatly reduced the use of mortar. The invention and wide use of wallboards, mostly of paper, have cut down the amount of plaster used in interior finishing. In addition, various substitutes for lime have been developed. Although there is still a market, demand has been sharply curtailed, and more lime is available than can be sold. Moreover, Maine's quarries have become very deep, and the cost of bringing up the rock to the kilns has increased, putting Maine in an unfavorable competitive position.

### Ice

To modern youth, accustomed to mechanical refrigeration, the idea that ice could have been "Big Business" may seem fantastic; but it was just that in Maine. At one time the harvesting of ice and its storage and transportation gave employment to thousands of men and profit to a number of proprietors. Maine winters are cold enough to make thick coats of ice on the lakes and ponds and rivers—and Maine water is, mostly, so pure that it makes excellent ice.

No one seems to know just when ice was first "produced." Certainly it became a commercial enterprise early in the nineteenth century. Vessels which happened to be in Maine ports in the winter were in some cases, if bound to southern ports, such as the West Indies, given a partial cargo of ice—which brought good prices in the feverish tropics. Sometimes the ships, if they made a slow voyage, lost most of their ice in transit, but usually they came into port with enough to make the business profitable. Often the ice would also serve as a refrigerant for State of Maine apples, which were as treasured in the Indies as were their bananas and oranges in the North. Even meat was refrigerated in this manner in the course of shipment.

It is on record that ice was shipped from Maine as an article of merchandise prior to 1826 on board the brig "Orion," of Gardiner, which came up the Kennebec late in the fall, was frozen in at Dearborn's wharf, Pittston, opposite Gardiner village, then was loaded with floating ice in the spring, and sent off to Baltimore with the opening of navigation. On arrival, the record tells, the cargo of ice was sold for \$700.

In 1826 Rufus K. Page erected a building of 1,500 tons capacity on the Kennebec, in the town of Richmond. In the following summer the ice stored in it was shipped to a number of points on the South Atlantic coast and to the West Indies. The attempt proved unprofitable, and the business was abandoned. In 1831 a Boston company stored ice at two places on the Kennebec. The crop in Boston failed during the warm winter of 1848, and 10,000 tons were stored in that season along the Kennebec for use in Boston.

In 1860 a large and systematically operated ice business began in Maine. James L. Cheesman, a Hudson River ice dealer, became interested in Maine's ice at that time, and he very quickly assumed

an outstanding position in the business in this State. Inside of five years he was cutting and selling 40,000 tons of ice each year. He was progressive, introducing mechanical improvements as soon as they were demonstrated to be practicable. One of his innovations was the use of steam engines to operate endless chains, plows and other tools. Much of his ice was sold to the federal government during the Civil War, and he profited from the venture.

In the 1870s the ice business on the Kennebec and Penobscot rivers was taken over in large part by several powerful companies, among them the Consolidated Ice Company, controlling the wholesale and retail ice business in New York City; the Knickerbocker Ice Company, of Philadelphia; Charles Russell and Company, of Boston; the Great Falls and Independent Ice companies, of Washington; and the Cochran and Oler Company, of Baltimore. Several of these companies maintained large fleets of ships, which were used to transport ice from the Kennebec and the Penobscot to New York, Baltimore and Philadelphia. In addition, several Maine companies and individuals did a large business. By 1880 the ice business had grown to mammoth proportions, the Maine harvest that year being 1,426,800 tons. In the next twenty years the annual cut fell below 1,000,000 tons in but two cases. In 1890 it was 3,000,000 tons.

In 1899, the American Ice Company was organized, bringing together in one great enterprise practically all the wholesale and retail ice business in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington. A year later this company, naturally called the "Ice Trust," raised the charge for ice from its long-established price of 30 cents per 100 pounds to 50 cents per hundred. Strong popular resentment developed, and the resulting loss of business forced the company to liquidate. Its stock, largely fictitious, collapsed, and it had to reorganize.

Meanwhile, the American Ice Company had materially increased its production facilities along the Hudson River, and by 1902 it was able to supply its markets with Hudson River ice at lower prices than had been charged for ice from Maine. In 1901 the syndicate did not cut a single cake of ice in Maine, and in 1902 it cut very little.

This change in source of supply greatly reduced Maine's ice industry, and later the advent of mechanical refrigeration practically ended it except for small local operations. Artificial ice was first manufactured in the United States in 1866, but it was not developed until about 1900. Until a few decades ago artificial ice plants did a thriving business, but their popularity diminished with introduction of the small home electric refrigerator, which also put many commercial ice manufacturing plants out of business.

Other specific industries in Maine and their locations are given in Part III of this work. In 1949, the State Department of Labor and Industry listed 1,157 manufacturing establishments, with 119,785 persons employed. Principal industry categories, in addition to pulp and paper, wood products, textiles, leather and leather goods, canning and food products were apparel and related products, lumber, furniture and fixtures, printing and publishing, chemicals



and allied products, rubber products, stone, clay and glass products, primary metal industries, fabricated metal products, machinery, transportation equipment, instruments and related products, toys and sporting goods and a group of minor miscellaneous industries.

In all, more than 1,000 separate types of products are manufactured in Maine. Six counties—York, Cumberland, Oxford, Androscoggin, Kennebec and Penobscot—list more than 5,000 industrial workers, the other ten counties having less.

The 1947 U. S. Census of Manufacturers reported a total of 1,635 manufacturing establishments of all types in Maine; average number of employees for the year, 100,181; total of salaries and wages, \$233,994,000; average number of production workers, 90,378; total wages of production workers, \$199,204,000; value added by manufacture (value of shipments, less cost of materials and supplies) \$432,123,000.

While the U. S. Census Bureau and State Department of Labor and Industry totals obviously differ as to completeness of tabulation coverage, it is significant that tables from both sources agree as to the steady increase in the number of workers and total payrolls during the past three decades. This increase also is true as to number of manufacturing establishments during the same period. From 1909 to 1933, however, there was a steady decline in the number of manufacturing establishments listed by the Census Bureau, from 3,546 to 995, due to consolidations and depression mortalities. From this point to the 1947 Census, the increase was steady, with the greatest gains coming between 1939 and 1947. Comparative figures from this period are: 1939, number of establishments, 1,118; average number of workers, 82,184; total of salaries and wages, \$83,479,000; for 1947, number of establishments, 1,635; average number of workers, 100,181; total of salaries and wages, \$233,994,000.

Total estimated value of Maine manufactured products has shown a corresponding rise from about \$400,000,000 in 1939 to an estimated \$1,000,000,000 in 1951.

During the past decade, increased emphasis on efforts to bring new industries into Maine also has been a major function of all promotional agencies, especially local Chambers of Commerce and the Maine Development Commission. Official State figures show that some 250 new industries of various size have located in Maine between 1946 and 1951. One of the major handicaps to the program of attracting new industries has been the lack of suitable, modern factory buildings in the various cities and towns which possess all other requisite assets, such as labor supply, transportation and power facilities, etc.

To overcome this difficulty, Maine has pioneered in community financing of such new structures for reliable firms. During the past several years such projects either were completed or in process in such places as Portland, Bangor, Kennebunk, Waldoboro, Belfast and Gardiner. One company itself built a new \$250,000 rayon weaving plant at Machias, first major textile plant to be established east of the Penobscot River. War surplus installations also have been converted to industrial use by the Greater Portland Public Development

Commission at the South Portland shipyard site; and by L. Grossman Sons at Quoddy Village, Eastport. Industries, Inc., also has developed former waste land in Portland for new use or relocation of several industries. Under the community financing plan, funds for the factory building are raised by local subscription and the new structure is leased to the manufacturing concern on a rental which pays for the amortization of the debt, with an option to buy after a stated period of years. An earlier successful project of this type was the Van Beilen-Heilbrun Company, apparel concern, in Rockland. The Development Credit Corporation of Maine, mentioned at the end of Chapter XI, also is a promising factor in the location of new industries in Maine.

All these concerted efforts to attract new industries to Maine are expected to result in a steady increase in manufacturing activity in the years ahead to absorb the expected rate of population increase. Along with the other major lines of its balanced economy, Maine thus looks forward to steady advancement in all phases of its economic welfare.



## CHAPTER V

### *Hydroelectric Power*

THE use of power generated by falling water is a very ancient practice in the world's economy. The earliest Maine settlers often found the presence of a waterfall decisive in choosing a site for a village or a settlement. Grist and saw mills were set up at the foot of many a falls, where power made possible some of the first activities of the Maine lumbering people. Shingle and cooperage mills, brickyards, quarries, tanneries and other industries followed in the wake of the first saw and grist mills.

What was probably the first sawmill in Maine, perhaps on the American continent, was erected in 1634 at the foot of Asbenbendick Falls on the Piscataqua (then known as the Newichawannock) River, at South Berwick. Captain John Mason, of London, who wished to colonize his plantation in the Province of Maine, introduced the mill. He sent over provisions, people and the sawmill aboard the ship "Pide Cowe," which arrived at the mouth of the Piscataqua on July 8, 1634. On July 22, that same month and year, carpenters began setting up the sawmill on Mason's Plantation. Soon sawmills multiplied rapidly around the Piscataqua, largely as a result of the big colonial trade with the West Indies. As the vast forest area to the north was opened up, sawmills practically lined the banks of the principal rivers.

The earliest dams in Maine were thrust across streams to provide a head of water. Sluices led from these dams to the sawmills, and the tumbling water spun overshot water-wheels. Soon, in addition to sawmills, these water-wheels were used to furnish power for grinding corn, wheat and other cereals; and when the textile industry came into the state, it was water power that turned the spinning machines and the looms.

But that limited use of power was but a faint introduction to the vast system of power distribution that has since developed in this state and elsewhere—a development in which Maine has played an important pioneer role. Even the damming up of waters to provide huge reservoirs often was not undertaken with the idea of utilizing the power of the waters so much as for the purpose of turning the water itself to industrial account. With the development of textile and paper mills, large quantities of water were a necessary element which the companies needed to carry on their work. Only gradually did the movement toward vast hydroelectric developments materialize. If the dams were there, why not utilize the vast resources of power inherent in those waters?

Maine's roaring rivers, vast lakes and natural storage basins constituted a tremendous water power potential. Many developments of science are so much taken for granted by the average citizen who knows little of their history, and less of the thought and struggle that went into their creation and furtherance, as to lose sight of their

relative newness. One of the newest of all these developments is the modern hydroelectric power industry.

Before the turn of the century there were isolated electric power units. Thomas Edison had not patented his incandescent lamp until 1879, and alternating current had found its way to America from Europe only in 1885, to be taken up in the following decade in utilizing Niagara's power. Operators of those first small power plants assumed as a matter of course that they could furnish power only to communities that were fortunately situated on a waterfall. If the waterfall was large enough throughout the year, full year-around service could be provided; otherwise the service was curtailed, of necessity, or interrupted with the failure of the water. The plants themselves, usually unprofitable, were often combined with an electric street railway system. In 1898, the Lewiston and Auburn Electric Company, organized in 1884, reported a gross revenue of only \$31,000 and an operating loss of \$1,510. Forty companies reporting to the Public Utilities Commission as late as 1916, the first year when such reports were made, earned a gross income of \$3,500,000 and netted \$1,200,000. More than half of the net income derived from street car operations.

The first water-wheels had been crude. Even in 1900 the seasonal fluctuation of water meant periods when the mills could not operate. Factories began to install steam engines to supply constant and dependable power, even though coal and wood were more expensive than water; for at least coal and wood were obtainable. Then, at length, the water-driven turbine was developed. The modern dynamo was invented for generating electricity. It only remained to ascertain the means of capitalizing the enterprises of which men were beginning to dream—namely, water storage basins with generating stations and power distributing circuits to provide hydroelectric power. It was just before the turn of the century in Maine that water began to be used for the production of electricity by the company which was the predecessor of the present Central Maine Power Company. The development of this vast enterprise may serve to characterize a pattern of general implication and significance in industry; for the Central Maine Power Company is at once an outstanding example and the leader in the field.

As in most instances of creative enterprise, the initiative at the beginning came from a personality—namely, Walter Scott Wyman. The year was 1899. Born in 1874 in West Waterville (which became Oakland in 1883), he studied electrical engineering at Tufts College, then was briefly general manager of the Waterville and Fairfield Railway and Electric Company until he envisioned what the potentialities of electric power could be. Looking back to his native community, he formed the idea that the Oakland Electric Company could be the medium for his activity.

Oakland was a community of about 1,600 inhabitants. Industries were small, and they had their own water power when necessary. The electric company was a public-spirited enterprise on the part of a few men who wished to do something for the community and scarcely hoped for much profit from their venture. The plant equip-



ment consisted of a 30-horsepower generator belted to a water-wheel under the mill of an industrial company, and poles and wire were sufficient to serve the organization's approximately 100 customers and light the village streets until 10 o'clock in the evening.

Mr. Wyman's dream was to create a system of hydroelectric power that would extend beyond this single community and overcome the limitations resulting from uneven distribution of natural resources. His idea was to defy these geographical limits by generating electrical energy wherever a suitable waterfall would turn the wheels and transmit this energy to whatever region needed it. If he could achieve this goal, no community would be hopelessly dependent solely upon its own resources. He would be instrumental in introducing a new world of wider economic brotherhood.

To achieve his end—even to approach it—he needed, first of all, the capital with which to buy the Oakland Electric Company. He went to his friend, Harvey D. Eaton, of Waterville, a lawyer ten years older than Mr. Wyman himself, and explained the situation. Oakland was at the head of the Messalonskee River, into which the Belgrade Lakes drained. This group of lakes had 200 square miles of drainage area and a storage capacity totaling 4,000,000,000 cubic feet. The Messalonskee River had a 210-foot fall in a stretch of only eleven miles through which it wound its way into the Kennebec, below Waterville. Eleven or twelve dams had already been built at different spots; but all these, Mr. Wyman explained, could be consolidated into a smaller number. The possibilities were tremendous, but he lacked the \$4,500 needed to buy the Oakland Electric Company. The purchase price would include no power, but the plant was situated where power could be harnessed.

Mr. Eaton's advice was that the purchase should be made—provided Mr. Wyman was willing to give up his employment with the Waterville and Fairfield Railway and Electric Company. As proof of their sincerity, Mr. Wyman left that company, and Mr. Eaton mortgaged his own real estate to help raise the purchase price. On November 7, 1899, they bought the electric plant as partners, and on December 26, that year, they incorporated the Oakland Electric Company. Its activities were to be confined to Oakland and Belgrade. Mr. Eaton was president, and Mr. Wyman was general manager.

Less than two years later, in 1901, the enterprise made its initial move to expand. The contract for the lighting of Waterville's streets was about to expire, and the Oakland Electric Company solicited the business. Not being allowed to extend their activities into Waterville, they had to form a new partnership—which took shape under the name of the Messalonskee Electric Company. They were also able to construct their first hydroelectric power station at the head of the Messalonskee at the time when they started serving Waterville. The Messalonskee Electric Company was granted a corporate charter by the Legislature in 1905. It had authorized capital stock of \$250,000, and its territory embraced the City of Waterville and four nearby towns. The assets of the former Oakland Electric Company were sold to the Messalonskee, and a period of expansion for the new organization began.

In 1907 the partners built a 1,500-kilowatt hydroelectric plant, known as the Fort Halifax Station, on the Sebasticook River, a tributary of the Kennebec, in order to furnish power for a Lewiston-Waterville electric railway. The builders of the railway, of their own initiative, co-operated in financing the new power plant. In 1910 Mr. Eaton and Mr. Wyman gained control of the stock of the Kennebec Light and Heat Company, which served Augusta, Hallowell, Gardiner and adjacent territory, and in the same year they built a 7,500-kilowatt steam plant in Farmingdale. It was also in that year that the name of Central Maine Power Company was adopted—a change which the Maine State Legislature sanctioned in 1911, while at the same time enlarging the organization's corporate power and scope.

Weston Station, rated at 12,000-kilowatt capacity, was constructed in Skowhegan. Three particular hydroelectric developments were especially close to Mr. Wyman—in fact, stood at the center of his plans. These were centered at Lewiston, at Bingham and in the Dead River area. But now the stage of “big time business” had been reached, for the three alluring projects would cost more than \$20,000,000. Raising the amount would be more difficult than raising the original \$4,500 had been, but Mr. Wyman was undiscouraged.

The Middle West Utilities Company, an Insull organization, was serving a wide area of northern New England; and its holding company system could provide the needed capital. Mr. Wyman visited the president of Middle West Utilities in 1925, and an agreement was worked out whereby common stockholders of the Central Maine Power were to receive an offer for their shares. The plan was almost unanimously accepted by the stockholders. The New England Public Service Company was organized as a holding company subsidiary of Middle West Utilities, which underwrote Central Maine's preferred stocks and subscribed directly for its common stock. It not only furnished a market for the preferred, but paid directly into the New England Public Service Company (“Nepsco”) treasury \$12,880,970 as payment for common stock and to provide operational funds. This amount financed the purchase by Nepsco of the common stocks of Central Maine and four other electric utilities, as well as needed plant expansion.

Most important of all was the expansion possibility, to promote which Mr. Wyman had undertaken the whole venture. In 1926 the Gulf Island plant was built at Lewiston, where the Androscoggin Electric Company had been purchased in 1920. In 1924 an option had been taken on undeveloped water privileges above Lewiston and Auburn, and in 1925 they had been purchased. Completion of the plant now made it possible to serve these two cities, where the demand for dependable electric power was growing. The Gulf Island plant had a 20,000-kilowatt capacity.

The dam site where Wyman Lake now stands had been purchased in 1909 in anticipation of future possibilities. Development of a plant such as was needed here required, in itself, a \$14,000,000 investment. In 1930 the plant at Bingham was completed, with an initial capacity of 48,000 kilowatts, and designed to be stepped up



to 72,000 kilowatts. Later the capacity was actually increased to that maximum figure. Wyman Lake, with its big hydroelectric plant, was recognized as an outstanding project up to that time. The level of the Kennebec River was raised 135 feet, and the dam itself was built up to a height of 155 feet and a length of 2,250 feet. It furnished a total storage capacity of 8,000,000,000 cubic feet of water, with storage facilities for the Kennebec's headwaters, including Moosehead and Brassua lakes, Indian Pond and other smaller bodies of water.



*Wyman Dam, Bingham*

The third link in the system originally envisioned by Mr. Wyman—the Dead River storage development—was somewhat delayed. Complications arising out of state-owned lots practically smashed that plan in 1923, whereupon Mr. Wyman persuaded his associates to substitute a plan to dam the Moose River, west of Moosehead Lake, where no such difficulties stood in the way. The result was the Brassua Dam, which furnished storage for 9,000,000,000 cubic feet—three-fourths of what the Dead River would have provided.

Dogged in his determination to keep after the original project, however, Mr. Wyman made the Dead River storage plan his next project, although he did not receive the charter until shortly before his death and the storage was only developed after he had vanished from the earthly scene. He also was making every possible effort to arrange for selling the surplus from the still uncompleted Bingham development outside the State of Maine. His efforts for out-of-state sales of energy from that source finally failed in September,



1929, when the Maine State Legislature directly voted down the idea. Resourceful as always, Mr. Wyman proposed that a paper mill be erected on tidewater as a customer for the Bingham power. Three months after the Legislature had rejected his plan for out-of-state sales, the Maine Seaboard Paper Mill was organized at Bucksport. It was financed by New England Industries, Inc., previously organized and further described below, in the amount of more than \$10,000,000, and was actually ready to take power from Bingham before the Bingham plant was completed. Ingenious to a high degree, Mr. Wyman arranged for the new paper company to get its initial power from a temporary 20,000-kilowatt floating plant which he caused to be erected in the hull of an unfinished ship purchased for the purpose and anchored at Bucksport. That makeshift power plant filled in the brief period until the Wyman Lake project could be finished.

The Maine Seaboard Paper Mill was but one of the industrial projects either fathered or advanced through Mr. Wyman's efforts. New England Industries, Inc., was specially created for the purpose of promoting or encouraging industries through difficult periods. Early in the 1920s New England industry was tending to drift to the South in quest of lower-priced labor and other economies. The movement influenced a number of textile mills elsewhere in New England, and Maine mills were on the verge of following the trend by about 1925.

In 1928 the Androscoggin Mills, in Lewiston, employing 1,000 people, decided to liquidate, and indications were that the Bates and Hill companies were also about to close or leave Lewiston. The effect upon the Central Maine Power Company and upon the economy of the community as a whole would be disastrous. Mr. Wyman sought unsuccessfully to interest Maine capital in preventing liquidation of the Androscoggin Mills; then, having so failed, he introduced both the Central Maine Power Company and Nepsco into the situation. Both companies, mainly Nepsco, purchased the stocks of the mills threatened with liquidation. Conferences between Mr. Wyman and the president of Middle West Utilities led to organization of New England Industries, Inc., in 1929, to provide funds to take over all the industrial stocks of these companies and segregate them from the electric companies. It purchased the shares held by both Central Maine and Nepsco, and made further direct purchases on its own account. New England Industries, Inc., was financed one-third by Nepsco and two-thirds by Middle West, each of which took common stock, until Middle West became unable to keep its part of the arrangement; then the financing through the depression years came entirely from Nepsco, which took notes for its advances. The result was the saving of five textile mills which otherwise would have been lost to Maine—the three mentioned above and two others, the Edwards Mills, of Augusta, and the York Mills, in Saco,—all of which operated continuously through the depression and afterward became profitable enterprises. Through the same instrumentality—New England Industries, Inc.—the Maine Seaboard Paper Company was also brought into existence at Bucksport.



The collapse of the Insull empire led to discontinuance of Middle West Utilities' participation in Maine activities soon after completion of Wyman Station and the new paper mill in 1930. Middle West owned most of the common stock and voting control in Nepsco, which in turn controlled five electric utilities. So it was that Middle West, then hopelessly involved financially, controlled both the utilities and the industries. Eager to see Nepsco's common stocks kept out of the hands of people having a purely speculative interest in them, Mr. Wyman took direct action to save the utilities and industries concerned and the employment of their 10,000 or 11,000 workers and 50,000 others dependent upon them. Middle West Utilities had pledged Nepsco's common stock to obtain loans from New York banks, then had defaulted on the loans. Mr. Wyman organized friendly interests to buy this stock from the banks at prices greatly depreciated because of the Insull collapse and current business conditions. Almost overnight, Nepsco, Central Maine Power and the other utilities were again in safe hands. The controlling interest which Middle West had acquired in New England Industries, Inc., and through it in the industrial operating subsidiaries, still outstanding, was purchased from the receivers of another subsidiary of Middle West in 1939 for a price which made Nepsco's final net investment much lower than the sum of the amounts originally furnished by the two companies.

The Central Maine Power Company's record was outstanding—construction-wise, financially and in respect to its contribution to Maine's whole economy. It completed its construction at Gulf Island, Bingham and Brassua Lake with \$7,500,000 left in its treasury as capital surplus, whereupon future financing became normal procedure. It had saved five textile mills, started a paper company, and, in addition, had helped the Keyes Fibre Company through difficulties which threatened its existence in Maine, and had saved the shipyard of the old Bath Iron Works from total loss to the shipbuilding industry during the period between liquidation of the old company and organization of its successor company by William Stark Newell. In 1945 the industrial companies were all sold at a profit of \$6,500,000 over Nepsco's net investment.

Mr. Wyman's dream had been realized in a significant way. He had done far more than build a utility system along the lines of his original vision. He had taken a leading role in Maine industry, had kept employment at higher levels than it could otherwise have been, and had served many communities remarkably well. In the years before Central Maine had 100 employees, he kept close touch with all the company's workers and carefully guarded their interests when they or their families were ill or in difficulties.

On the financing side, he concerned himself with the merits and weaknesses of the holding company system. He particularly deplored the "upstream loans" that were frequently made by operating subsidiaries to the holding companies—a practice which exposed the operating companies to the risk of loss if the parent company found itself in trouble. He steadfastly refused to make such loans, with the result that when the Middle West Utilities empire crashed none of his companies had any of its worthless paper, as did so many subsidiaries of holding companies.



It was characteristic of Mr. Wyman's foresight that, after the Munich tragedy in 1938, he addressed a memorandum to Nepsco's executive committee, recommending immediate placement of orders for equipment for a 20,000-kilowatt steam plant on tidewater at Wiscasset. The plant was authorized in 1940, and the result was Mason Station, in Wiscasset, which began piping electric power to its customers three weeks after Pearl Harbor in 1941. Even during



*Skelton Station, Saco River*

his final illness Mr. Wyman was paying the closest attention to developments at Wiscasset, which was then planning to double its capacity. He died November 15, 1942, in Augusta.

Since that time the Central Maine Power Company has made further forward strides. Among other accomplishments, it dedicated, on June 8, 1949, a new water storage dam and hydroelectric plant at Union Falls, on the Saco River. This new 1,120-foot dam, one of a series of seven backing up this same river, provided a capacity of 975,000,000 cubic feet of water, while the plant was able to deliver energy to industries, homes and farms of southern Maine. The dam is situated eight miles north of Biddeford and twenty-three miles from Portland, and the power station was at the time it was completed the third largest of the thirty-five plants in the Central Maine system. It is known as Skelton Station, named after William B. Skelton, a Central Maine director and former president, now chairman of the board, and has an installed capacity of 16,800 kilowatts.



About 52 per cent of Central Maine's operations were on the Kennebec River in 1949; 17 per cent on the Androscoggin; and 22 per cent on the Saco. The Messalonskee and the Presumpscot rivers provide 3.6 per cent and 1.8 per cent respectively of the company's total hydroelectric power capacity.

The Central Maine Power Company is but one example of power development in this state, although it is the leading example. Similar problems were faced in other communities served by other companies, two of the leading ones being the Bangor Hydro Electric Company, centered in Bangor, and the Maine Public Service Company, centered in Presque Isle. The Central Maine Power Company's capital stock at the close of 1949 was listed as \$56,929,625.27; that of the Bangor Hydro Electric Company, \$9,246,436; and that of the Maine Public Service Company, \$2,400,000.

A few figures concerning Maine's power companies at the close of 1949 will serve to give a complete list of the organizations and at the same time some comparative picture of the magnitude of their operations:

Name of Company	Capital Stock	Reserves	Surplus
Bangor Hydro-Electric Co.....	\$9,246,436.00	\$2,912,481.87	.....
Carrabassett Light & Power Co.....	10,000.00	11,244.73	\$13,231.38
Casco Bay Light & Water Co.....	223,000.00	94,566.24	112,083.67
Central Maine Power Co.....	56,929,675.27	20,518,290.21	4,050,749.16
Cornish & Kezar Falls Light & Power Co.....	50,000.00	108,202.17	164,803.41
Farmers Electric Co.....	18,100.00	20,382.97	4,618.01
Fort Fairfield Light & Power Co.....	42,000.00	112,457.66	110,864.26
Hampden-Newburg Light & Power Co.	44,035.00	16,636.13	3,659.08
Houlton Water Co.—Electric Dept....	50,000.00	595,300.21	750,701.91
Kennebunk Electric Light Dept.....	.....	42,252.54	325,436.03
Kittery Electric Light Co.....	210,000.00	137,550.80	97,395.18
Limestone Electric Co.....	45,000.00	41,585.18	27,584.01
Lubec Electric Dept.....	.....	99,142.35	255,548.11
Madison Electric Dept.....	.....	69,539.07	259,065.69
Maine Consolidated Power Co.....	118,000.00	300,351.64	251,219.05
Maine Public Service Co.....	2,400,000.00	843,407.11	565,266.56
Mars Hill Electric Co.....	50,000.00	15,671.04	40,035.12
Monson Light & Power Co.....	10,000.00	9,833.83	7,167.96
Monticello Electric Co.....	2,950.00	12,822.82	7,094.03
Oquossoc Light & Power Co.....	75,000.00	114,001.30	63,670.12
Phillips Electric Light & Power Co....	16,700.00	16,490.96	12,531.91
Rumford Light Co.....	550,000.00	92,397.90	318,576.14
Squirrel Island Village Corp.....	.....	8,857.92	19,992.31
St. Croix Electric Co.....	95,000.00	84,509.24	37,701.46
Stonington & Deer Isle Power Co.....	23,300.00	88,379.07	.....
Stratton Light Co.....	15,000.00	38,767.49	4,553.28
Van Buren Light & Power District....	.....	65,952.29	114,536.96
Vinalhaven Light & Power Co.....	41,950.00	28,559.21	.....
Washburn Electric Co.....	26,600.00	32,142.94	87,636.82
Woodland Light & Power Co.....	102,600.00	100,488.36	108,428.65

It is an interesting fact, historically, that almost as soon as the manufacture of electricity from water power became commercially important, the state began to have its troubles with control and management of water resources. In 1909, the Legislature created the State Water Storage Commission consisting of the Governor, the State land agent and three other citizens. Among its duties were collection of information relative to water power in Maine, the flow of rivers and the location of lakes and ponds; formulation of plans for creating and improving storage basins and reservoirs; and investigation of related matters. The Commission was charged with reporting its recommendations to the Legislature.

This Commission comprised Governor Bert M. Fernald; Edgar E. Ring, land agent; and Edward P. Ricker, J. M. McNulty, and E. C. Jordan. The Commission's report, dated January 15, 1911, pointed out that the total appropriation of \$5,000 a year was insufficient. Several advocates of a larger appropriation reminded the lawmakers of a legislative act of 1899, which provided for a joint topographic survey of the state by representatives of the state and the United States Geological Survey but which failed of its full accomplishment because the Legislature appropriated only \$2,500 a year for the two years 1899 and 1900 for the purpose.

As early as 1913 and 1914 Mr. Wyman was among those advocating state regulation of public utilities, when other leaders in the industry were trying to defeat the State Utilities act by referendum. The act was adopted, and as a result the Public Utilities Commission was created to protect the public against possible evils attendant on the accumulation of such vast natural resources in the hands of a very few persons. The Commission is an organization with great power and authority, charged with administering the highly technical body of public utility law, including not only hydroelectric power, but other utilities such as gas companies, steam railroads, buses, motor carrier trucks, motorboats and steamboats, water companies and telephone companies.

In 1919 the Legislature established the Maine Water Power Commission, consisting of ten men, to employ technical engineers and report in 1921 on the progress of its investigations. It was to study water power resources, the flow of rivers and their drainage areas, the rights remaining to the State in storage reservoirs and basins, and whether or not these rights were being curtailed or adversely affected by any persons or companies. This Commission also was instructed to decide whether undeveloped water powers should be developed privately or by the state. For this task, the Commission was given an appropriation of \$15,000 for 1919 and a similar amount for 1920. An additional \$5,000 for each of the two years was appropriated for a survey in association with the United States Geological Survey—for the purpose of providing adequate maps and charts of areas concerned.

Members of the Commission were Edward P. Ricker, Arthur Chapin, Bion Bradbury, Jr., Alfred K. Ames, Artemus Weatherbee, Charles H. Hanson, Charles F. Flagg, Edward Evans, J. Frank Partridge, and William J. Chawshaw. Mr. Weatherbee failed to qualify, and Mr. Bradbury died shortly afterward. The other eight men



served, with Mr. Ricker as the chairman. In 1919, the Commission spent \$6,245.74, and in 1920 it spent \$23,979.08, returning to the state from its \$30,000 appropriation the sum of \$20.92. The \$10,000 appropriated for co-operative work with the United States Geological Survey was also practically all spent.

Its voluminous report made many pertinent observations, some excerpts from which are of special interest.

"The Commission has been unable to ascertain," it wrote, "that the state has at present any rights in the storage reservoirs and basins and in the developed and undeveloped waters within the state, except that limited right of control of the waters of great ponds within the state stated in the Answers of the Justices of the Supreme Court . . . and except such rights as may be vested in the State on account of the control of certain public lots and lands held in trust.

"In view of the above . . . it has seemed impracticable, if not legally impossible, for the Commission to work out a satisfactory plan for state control of storage reservoirs unless by some proper amendment to the Constitution of the state such work could be legally recognized as a public purpose in the accomplishment of which the state could exercise the right of eminent domain or some special method of the particular interests to be benefited."

"The duties devolving upon this Commission . . . are largely of a technical character presenting intricate legal questions and engineering problems. The interests involved are of great magnitude and scope and if the Commission is to justify its existence it must be made a more compact working body, acting under competent and continuous legal direction. . . . A Commission constituted and directed as suggested we feel confident would justify its creation and the expense of its maintenance. The subject is too large and too intricate to be dealt with by a more or less perfunctory commission whose labors are neither wholly in the nature of a competent, public-spirited gratuity nor of an adequate service adequately paid for.

"The interests of the state are greater than those of any person or corporation within it. Why then should it be expected that these greater interests of the State can be properly and effectively administered by methods which private interests would consider wholly inadequate for the successful management of their lesser interests?"

"The one outstanding fact in regard to the country's increasing power needs is the necessity for conserving its exhaustible resources such as coal and oil and using its inexhaustible resource—water. With the present methods of developing isolated water plants the full power of the river cannot get into the system because at times there is more power than the system can absorb. With suitable interconnection, there will always be an available reservoir of this surplus power and an enormous source of waste eliminated."



The report cited New York's Conservation Commission as follows:

"One of the greatest needs of the reconstruction period [this was 1921], as it was in the war period, is for power—actual kinetic energy, and not potential undeveloped power sites."



*Aziscoos Dam, Northern Oxford County*

The report further declared:

"And the first essential in the development of water power is regulation of the stream flow in order that enormous quantities of water now wasted may be held for use during periods of drought. Power companies already established on our rivers have insufficient water during dry periods to supply their demands without resorting to steam. The equalization of flow by storage reservoirs will immediately effect more efficient operation of existing plants and in addition will encourage further building of hydroelectric plants and transmission lines."

As to the question of public versus private control, the Commission begged off, citing the reply of the Engineering Council of the United States to its query on the subject. In that Council's



view, it was impossible to render judgment under the circumstances as to the merits of state or private control.

The Commission reported as follows on the argument that the use of the rivers as a source of electric power would interfere with log drives:

“The use of water for log-driving is, generally speaking, no longer a higher use than the use of water for the development of power. In this respect, values have been reversed since electricity made water power available at points so remote from its source. The provision of chutes or sluices at dams will reconcile some opposing needs of the two interests, but when vested rights interfere with use of water for power purposes, the case can always be suitably dealt with through the exercise of the paramount right of eminent domain, under which the logging interests would be properly compensated.”

Prejudices ran high during such controversies. Political use was made, on occasion, of the power question. The social, technical, economic, legal, constitutional and other problems involved were so complicated as to breed confusion, and the interests of “greed versus public service” were widely discussed. Perhaps fuller experience alone will solve some of those heated arguments in the long run. Candidates from time to time have campaigned on selected water power issues, perhaps urging referenda on important problems, while the opposition has maintained that no popular vote could possibly settle matters involving so many technical and financial implications. Again, candidates have contended that a considerable increase in the amount of cheap hydroelectric power would attract new industries to Maine and favorably influence the economic structure by increasing employment and tax payments. In the course of these and other arguments, the people generally have been confused and well-nigh confounded.

In 1923, when the opinion was spreading that all homes in Maine could be heated by hydroelectric power, the State Chamber of Commerce and Agricultural League declared:

“This of course is a fallacy which was disseminated for political purposes. There is no known method by which electricity can be generated so cheaply and abundantly that it can be used for general heating. Even if it were cheaper than at present, its demand for power would be the governing factor in its use. At the present time, coal at fourteen dollars a ton is cheaper than electricity at one-third cent a kilowatt hour, and Maine cannot supply electricity for such purposes at one cent per kilowatt. In other words, heating by electricity would multiply present costs by four or five. We can neglect entirely the fact that it would be hardly reasonable to install the enormous amount of equipment for generating this power for use only seven months in the year, the large overhead charges continuing during the months it

was lying idle. Incidentally, about two million horsepower would be required for heating the 180,000 homes in Maine whereas we have only 700,000 horsepower undeveloped. This power is not in large blocks with high heads and unfluctuating flow of the Niagara developments or of the St. Lawrence and its development. . . ."

The League went on to attack the assertions that Maine's water power resources were unlimited. They pointed out that the United States Geological Survey had credited Maine with a maximum potential of 1,300,000 horsepower, whereas the State of Washington had nearly a 9,000,000-horsepower potential and California nearly 8,000,000. Maine, according to the Geological Survey, then stood only eleventh among the states in horsepower potential from hydroelectric sources. Since that time modern engineering science has worked miracles with federal money in the West and the Tennessee Valley. A survey of the resources of New England, including water power, was authorized in October, 1950, with a view to discovering the advisability of federal grants in this area.

The bitterest controversy relating to public utilities has arisen over costs of power to consumers. The Public Utilities Commission in Maine has concerned itself consistently with rate problems, too. For instance, the Eighth Biennial Report for the two-year period ended June 30, 1938, contained the following:

"The duties of the personnel of the Public Utilities Commission have been changed somewhat during the past two years. The work on rates and regulations for electric and telephone companies has been assigned, with the engineering work, to the Electrical Engineer. An effort has been made to keep in close touch with the problems and activities of the companies in regard to construction, sales, services, and operations. A normal number of complaints and inquiries has been received as to bills, meter accuracy, service adequacy, service extension, rates regulations, and many other problems. These have all been answered and where conditions warranted, investigation and adjustments have been made.

"Besides these routine problems, particular efforts have been made to simplify domestic electric rates, and to secure rate structures throughout all companies in the State which would permit customers to use more energy with the various appliances which are so convenient in the homes. The changes in these rates have been accomplished through conference with the companies, and without formal proceedings. Except for the appraisal of property, it was necessary to make studies similar to those required in the preparation of a rate case, and a complete analysis of customers' accounts was made in practically all cases. With data prepared, the rates were discussed with the company officials, and a new schedule agreed upon which would produce the desired results. While these efforts were intended to secure a more simple and practical



schedule of domestic rates, an adjustment of commercial and small power rates also followed, so that these classes of service were placed on a comparable basis. Since the results of the rate changes have not heretofore been available in tabular form, we have prepared a table by companies showing the reductions which have accrued to customers over the past three years from July 1, 1935, to July 1, 1938. Of the 199,140 customers in the State, 190,670, or 95.7 per cent, have received benefits.

Company	Reduction	Customer
Bangor Hydro-Electric Co.....	\$186,300	28,030
Berwick & Salmon Falls Electric Co.....	5,800	1,900
Bryant Pond Electric Light Co.....	400	130
Caribou Water, Light & Power Co.....	18,000	1,930
Carrabassett Light & Power Co.....	200	200
Central Maine Power Co.....	378,000	82,200
Clark, C. B.—North New Portland.....	200	50
Consumers Electric Co.....	400	110
Crawford Electric Co.....	400	140
Cumberland Ct. Power & Light Co.....	136,000	50,730
Farmers Electric Co.....	300	70
Farmington Falls Electric Co.....	800	490
Fort Fairfield Light & Power Co.....	4,200	1,030
Hampden-Newburg Light & Power Co.....	300	320
Houlton Water Co.—Electric Dept.....	10,500	2,270
Kennebunk Electric Light Dept.....	6,800	1,100
Kittery Electric Light Co.....	7,300	1,790
Limestone Electric Co.....	1,600	460
Lubec Electric Dept.....	5,300	710
Maine Consolidated Power Co.....	6,100	2,630
Maine Public Service Co.....	73,000	7,700
Mars Hill Electric Co.....	1,900	580
Monson Light & Power Co.....	400	260
Monticello Electric Co.....	600	230
Oquossoc Light & Power Co.....	3,500	610
Phillips Electric Light & Power Co.....	1,100	230
St. Croix Electric Co.....	4,200	1,560
Stonington & Deer Isle Power Co.....	2,700	530
Van Buren Light & Power Dist.....	3,000	780
Vinalhaven Light & Power Co.....	2,000	900
Washburn Electric Co.....	1,500	450
White Mountain Power Co.....	300	110
Woodland Light & Water Co.....	1,500	440
	<hr/> \$864,600	<hr/> 190,670

The growth of public utilities in Maine has been of such character and speed as to require regulation, as Walter Wyman himself recognized at an early date. This growth is evident in the figures for Central Maine alone. This company was serving about 100 customers for electricity in 1899. The figures for subsequent years were:

Year	Number of Customers
1909.....	4,550
1919.....	21,224
1929.....	66,933
1939.....	89,446
1949.....	202,307

It seems evident that in the years to come a satisfactorily American solution for the many and intricate problems connected with wise control of public utilities, particularly hydroelectric power generation and sale, will be worked out. The possibilities were never brighter than now for an over-all engineering program that will at once dispose of the problems of the power companies and of the industries and people they serve, as well as problems of water supply and conservation of natural resources and even of related international entanglements.

In January, 1951, the Maine Congressional delegation in Washington was considering a direct appeal to President Truman for an appropriation of \$3,900,000 for a survey of the long-discussed Passamaquoddy tidal power project between Maine and New Brunswick. At one time foreign competition from Canada was feared in sales of power; but now national border-lines are being broken down as the power plant builders on both sides of the boundary join hands to solve their common problems and, incidentally, some of the most baffling vexations of mankind in a changing world.



## CHAPTER VI

### *Agriculture*

**M**AINE is predominantly an agricultural state. Until recently it was even more so. Establishment of certain industries had led to an urban life in some areas, but one that is hardly in strict Maine tradition. Even some of the leading industries of the state—for example, pulp and paper making—spring directly or indirectly from Maine's wealth of natural resources. And in the production of strictly farm goods—potatoes, blueberries, poultry and the like—the ratio of workers to total population is much higher than in the nation as a whole, in which the proportion was about one to five in 1960. Of Maine's total land and water area, more than 12 per cent was directly devoted to agriculture in that year.

The original settlers, though not farmers, were hardly "city people." They were eager to exploit Maine's natural resources—lumber and fish. The first settlements were along the shore, where harbors could accommodate their fishing boats for the transportation of dried and salted cod to market. Those interested in lumbering followed the larger rivers upstream and built mills at convenient spots. As they took away the lumber from one area, they pushed farther upstream in the following year, using the spate of the rivers to wash their winter's cut of logs down to the mills each spring. Sailing-ships could tie up at the side of the sawmills, just below the waterfalls, and transport the sawed lumber thence to market in a most economical way.

Despite troubles with the Indians, the number of settlers grew. The need of each area to be self-supporting led to the development of agriculture, which naturally began where the lumberman's axe had cleared the land. The land was fertile enough to yield to persistent cultivation, although the work was hard and the task of the pioneers was difficult.

Since that time the story of Maine's agriculture has been a story of corn and cattle and sheep and potatoes and fruit—and of organization. What was once a self-sufficient economy has gradually had to relate itself to economic pressures from without, now yielding ground, now adapting itself to new methods, but retaining always that spirit of independence which is characteristic of Maine. Crops that were once produced for consumption on the home farm or in nearby areas are now canned for sale in national and world markets. The cattle drover has had to turn to other activities to make way for the western meat industry. The hay market has given way to the gasoline station. Still, Maine retains agricultural activities that are peculiarly her own, which she carries on in ways likewise individualistic.

Modern farming, individualistic as it is in Maine, had its beginnings in associated effort in 1787. In that year several personalities with an interest in agriculture banded together to form the Kennebec Agricultural Society, incorporated by the Massachusetts Legislature. Leaders in the effort were the Vaughan brothers, Charles and Ben-



jamin, Englishmen by birth and well-to-do, who especially concerned themselves with horticultural development. Their mother was Sarah Hallowell, of Boston, daughter of one of the proprietors of the Kennebec Purchase, after whom the City of Hallowell was named. Their father was Samuel Vaughan, a London merchant. In 1791 and 1792 Charles Vaughan began importing cattle, seeds, trees and tools from England. His brother, Dr. Benjamin Vaughan, a physician, educated at Cambridge and Edinburgh universities, did not come to America until 1797. He had been a member of Parliament and was a personal friend of Benjamin Franklin, John Jay and the Prime Minister of England; and, as a matter of fact, when a treaty was concluded after the Revolution, he was sent as the Royal messenger to Paris to bear recognition of American independence.

The participation of such men in Maine's early agricultural affairs was of inestimable value. Members of the Kennebec Agricultural Society met, read papers and held discussions, although they had not yet reached the stage of holding exhibitions. Many of their papers were published in the "Massachusetts Agricultural Repository," and bear evidence of the members' talents and distinction. This publication is to be found in the Bowdoin College Library at Brunswick.

Farming received a pronounced impetus from the effects of the Embargo and the War of 1812, which drove men out of shipbuilding and seafaring into agricultural pursuits. Surplus production found outlets in Massachusetts, principally Boston, and cattlemen drove roaring herds overland to market—more than 4,000 cattle and 3,000 sheep in 1820. In that year nearly 50,000 oxen, 17,800 horses, 95,000 cattle and 66,500 swine were owned in Maine.

By 1818, through the instrumentality of the Vaughan brothers and Major Elijah Wood, the Maine Agricultural Society was established, and by 1820, the year of statehood, an exhibition was arranged for the following year. Thus Maine's first agricultural show was held in 1821 at Hallowell, and premiums were awarded. The Winthrop Agricultural Society then came into being under Major Wood's leadership, continuing until its members decided in 1832 to merge their group into the county society. As Major Wood expressed his personal experience in the matter, he "took lodgings in Augusta with the determination of approaching the legislature that was then assembled, and to worry them into some effectual action for the promotion of agriculture in Maine."

Through his efforts a law was framed and passed by the Legislature of 1832, authorizing the formation of agricultural societies. One provision of that law was that "every society, availing itself of the benefit of this chapter, shall, at their discretion, annually and publicly, offer premiums for introducing or improving any breed of useful cattle or animals, or any tools or implements of husbandry or manufacture; introducing, raising or preserving any valuable trees, shrubs or plants; or in any way, encouraging or advancing any of the branches or departments of agriculture, horticulture, or manufacture; and no such society, by their by-laws, shall confine such premiums to their own members, but shall bestow them on any person



residing within the limits of such society, who shall produce their best specimens."

Adoption of the law of 1832 did much to arouse public opinion in other counties than Kennebec, and during that same legislative session three county societies were formed—Cumberland, Washington and East Somerset. The Kennebec society held a highly successful exhibition in 1832. And in 1833 Dr. Ezekiel Holmes, of Winthrop, launched the "Kennebec Farmer" and became its editor. Soon it became the "Maine Farmer," which he edited for three decades. With Professor Hamblen he had discovered the famous tourmaline mines at Paris, and he had brought the first Shorthorn cattle into Maine and introduced "Winthrop Jerseys," his own breed. His work as editor and as professor of natural science at Waterville College, which later became Colby, gave him a wide influence. Through his inspiration and other developments, twenty-six agricultural societies were incorporated in Maine between 1832 and 1856.

Many efforts were made to encourage agriculture, but always Maine held strongly the idea that people should do everything possible to help themselves. Bounties designed to encourage production of wheat and a few staples were enacted. Other official assistance came in the form of \$500 exemptions in the valuation of farms for tax purposes, as well as on unpaid mortgages and other debts. Again, new land was put on the market in 200-acre plots at 50 cents an acre, with the provision that the new farmers could work off the \$100 debt in whole or in part by working on town roads through a specified period of years.

In 1852 the Legislature established a Board of Agriculture, and a law enacted in 1856 decreed that the Board should be made up of one person from each county or division of a county. By 1859 a twenty-six-man board had brought into being a printed report on pleuropneumonia in livestock by a committee appointed by the Governor. By a law of 1862, a Cattle Commission, also named by the Governor, ordered its reports printed. The state thus began supervision of the animal industry. The early 1860s demonstrated the value of organization, and the Federal Department of Agriculture was established by the Thirty-seventh Congress of the United States through passage of "an act donating lands to the several states and territories which may provide colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanical arts."

In Maine, Dr. Holmes and others were fervently recommending a "college of agriculture." That college came into being in 1868, only after Dr. Holmes's death. With establishment of the Agricultural College at Orono, the Legislature required that the winter sessions of the Board of Agriculture be held near that community so that students could attend the sessions. An act of 1870 empowered the Governor to name five members to the Board of Agriculture, on which agricultural societies might be represented. In 1873 the State Pomological Society was given membership; in 1875, the Maine Poultry Association; and in 1878, the Maine Dairymen's Association and the State Jersey Cattle Association. In 1880 the Legislature reduced membership in the board of Agriculture to one member from each

county and two members from the State College, and provided funds for farmers' institutes. Summer meetings of the Board were discontinued, and full energies went into the arrangement of "institutes" for every county.

After 1856 the Board of Agriculture records were kept by G. L. Goodale. He acted as secretary until 1872, after which other secretaries were successively chosen. The Board's activities increasingly devolved upon these secretaries, the last of whom, B. Walker McKeen, under the old Board, served from 1892 to 1901. In the Legislature of 1901 Senator Weeks, of Somerset, introduced an order that the legislative committee on agriculture investigate fully the "management of the office of the Board of Agriculture as conducted by the secretary; and present to this legislature a complete and itemized account of the result of said investigation." On March 8, 1901, the report was completed, and the committee recommended that the Board, as then constituted, was not operating to the best interests of agriculture in Maine and "should be supplanted by an agricultural department whose executive officer shall be elected by the Legislature with a fixed salary, a fixed allowance for expenses, and a fixed appropriation for its work." The Legislature approved the bill recommended by the committee, creating a State Department of Agriculture "for the improvement of agriculture and the advancement of the interests of husbandry" and authorizing biennial election of a Commissioner of Agriculture at an annual salary of \$1,500, with expenses not to exceed \$500. The bill was approved March 19, 1901. Augustus W. Gilman, of Foxcroft, was the first commissioner.

Thus, exactly at the turn of the century, the hand of the state government with respect to agriculture became very firm. Still, individualism was retained in Maine's own peculiarly democratic way; and today any farmer who has the inclination to do so may journey to the State House in Augusta or to any of the numerous county agents or offices and come away from his visit with only gain to himself. In this sense, all farming in Maine remains a cooperative effort.

Mr. Gilman continued as Commissioner of Agriculture through 1910. Succeeding Commissioners were:

John P. Buckley, 1911 and 1912  
 John A. Roberts, 1913 and 1914  
 William T. Guptill, 1915 and 1916  
 John A. Roberts, 1917-February, 1920  
 E. E. Philbrook, February, 1920-1921  
 Frank P. Washburn, 1921-1941  
 Carl R. Smith, January, 1941-July 31, 1945  
 Albert K. Gardner, August 1, 1945-

The further development of the State Department of Agriculture will become more easily understandable in a consideration of the specific crops which constitute Maine's agriculture. The relationship of individual and associative effort is evident in the development of the specific branches of farming. It might be best to consider these branches as nearly as possible under the headings of separate crops,



indicating the historic development of each specialized type of undertaking, the problems involved, and the group and governmental steps taken to deal with these problems.

#### THE EARLY DAYS: CORN, CATTLE, HAY

The first crop of importance was corn—the grain of the Indians,—poor in comparison with modern hybrid grades, but still a staff of life for the Maine settlers, as it had been for the aborigines. Corn was an ideal subsistence crop. It required little cultivation. It grew well in the somewhat acid soil of the newly-cleared forest lands. It was at the time free from disease and insects. It ripened well in the short but ardent summers. It stored perfectly, remaining sound for many months. And it was rich and nourishing, if monotonous, food for man and beast. In the late summer, the milky ears were delicious when boiled or roasted. In the fall and winter, the dried kernels were variously used. Hulled with lye, they were boiled whole in a sort of whole grain cereal. Ground into meal, corn could be made into cakes with salt and water alone, or it could be enriched with milk, maple sugar and eggs. It could be made into fried cakes as well as baked in loaves. And it was adaptable to several types of pudding. The commonest was a sort of corn meal mush, an iron kettle of which cooked from a crane hanging in the farm home kitchen fireplace, was a staple article of diet, like oatmeal in the Highlands of Scotland. Mixed with rye flour, it made a “brown bread” when steamed in a metal can. Boiled or baked with molasses or maple syrup, and covered with cream, it became the famous Indian pudding—a rich dessert which is still deservedly popular wherever the real article can be obtained.

Indian corn—not the sweet corn we know today—was very important on the farms owned by Captain John Mason along the Piscataqua River and at Berwick, where his employes operated several water-powered mills. There the corn which grew on the farms was ground into meal. These mills, probably the first in New England, were mentioned in Mason’s will, executed in 1635. Their product was used to supply humans with food and also to help feed Mason’s 300 head of cattle.

Corn and cattle went together then, as they do today in the corn states of the Middle West. There is nothing better to fatten cattle and pigs for market than generous amounts of corn. The tough and stringy fibers of grass fed cattle become marbled with fat and softened and filled with succulent juices. In early Maine there was an abundance of wild game to be had for the shooting—deer, elk, moose and bear in the forest, and ducks, geese and fowl along the rivers and upon the lakes. There was fish. Cattle were not needed as a source of meat. Most of the cattle were scrubby creatures which gave sparingly of milk, generally used for butter and cheese because advertising had not yet promoted the widespread consumption of fluid milk. As wild game was killed off, however, the market for native beef, pork and mutton increased, and in time the production of meat became an important agricultural staple. More corn was needed for cattle and pigs, so corn became the chief crop of Maine farms. Growth

continued until, before the Civil war, corn production began to drop. Railroads could now bring in prairie-grown meat from the West, as well as prairie-corn, cheaply. So, as Maine lost its market for beef, the farmers discovered that they could buy corn for feed for their livestock at prices below their own production costs. With that development, corn ceased to be a major Maine farm crop, and at the same time, the value of beef and pork production dropped proportionately.

The next important crop to develop in Maine was hay. Even very early, while lumbering and fishing were rapidly growing in the first half of the nineteenth century, the subsistence, or home, type of farm continued to develop. Maine had two chief markets for its hay—a local market, chiefly among lumbermen who had large numbers of horses; and an outside market. Since the forested lands produced almost no grass—particularly none of any value for horse feeding,—the lumbermen had to bring in hay in huge quantities. This demand continued until about 1900, when machines began to replace horses and the old hay market fell off. The second market was in Boston and Eastern cities readily accessible by water, where horses were still vitally important for transportation. Every town or city had its hay dealer instead of the corner gasoline and oil station of today. With the passing of the horse in urban centers, the second great market for Maine hay declined. As a result, the hay business today, though important, is but a shadow of what it once was.

#### BEEF CATTLE

The raising of beef cattle was a major agricultural industry until about 1870, when western competition adversely affected both cattle and sheep raising in Maine. Then the business dropped as the corn states of the Middle West produced beef more cheaply. Between 1890 and 1900 the number of beef cattle in Maine decreased by 100,000 head. Only in recent years has the beef cattle industry regained economic importance in Maine.

Much Maine beef is slaughtered locally. Several small packing houses also operate in the large cities. There is a good market for beef in Maine, and much Maine beef is also sold on the hoof to dealers who ship the live beasts to markets in Boston and nearby cities.

The Maine "rancher" enjoys several advantages which help make his operations profitable. The markets are all near, so that shipping costs are nominal. Also, the Maine climate is favorable. The pasture season is short compared to the South's, but Maine feed grown in the short season is high in food values, so that cattle can be developed to market weight within a short time, sometimes in as little as eighteen months. The Maine winters, while not warm, are not so severe as to require special housing for beef cattle. Open sheds are adequate, provided that hay, roughage, silage and canning factory waste are available. The rainfall is enough to make droughts unlikely and food costs in general are comparatively low.

Beef cattle farming fits neatly into general farm diversification. Beef cattle, like sheep, are self-sustaining on good pasture during the



summer months when all the farm labor must be devoted to other crops. Beef raising harmonizes with potato farming, as it affords an economic use for other crops with which potatoes are rotated. Beef raising may also be happily combined with apple and poultry farming because of the comparatively seasonal nature of both. Aroostook and Washington counties, with their extensive potato farming, and the more southerly portions, where apples are a major crop, are thus well adapted to beef cattle raising.

With State encouragement, small herds are being developed in different parts of the State. Herefords are most numerous. Short-horn and Angus are next in importance. These breeds are common elsewhere in America, but Maine climate and terrain work together to produce a better quality of meat than is usual with these breeds. State assistance also has helped keep Maine herds comparatively free from common cattle diseases. Maine is one of the few states with practically no bovine tuberculosis nor cattle parasites such as are abundant in other states.

#### DAIRY CATTLE

Combined with beef cattle production after 1820 was the raising of dairy cattle. In fact, beginning in that year, dairying became the major farm industry in southern Maine. The collapse of the beef market, beginning about 1850, and reaching an advanced stage in 1870, caused a switch to dairy herds. The rapid expansion of cities and industrial centers in both Massachusetts and Maine brought the farmers a ready market for dairy products. At first fluid milk was not marketable; but cheese and butter, relatively solid and long-lasting, were easily shipped over considerable distances. Every farm began producing home butter and cheese, and dairy centers established creameries in which butter was machine-made. In addition, Maine soon built about sixty cheese factories. But the interest in butter and cheese was never a major one; and about 1900 the industry began to decline. Competition from Minnesota and Wisconsin was organized on a large scale, and cheese and butter from 1,500 miles away found a market even in Maine. Farmers here were soon buying mid-western cheese and butter, while the market for their own cows' thousands upon thousands of gallons of daily fluid milk production dwindled.

It became more profitable for the Maine farmer to sell his milk directly to nearby cities than to manufacture dairy products. Trains and trucks could carry fluid milk into the Boston milk-shed within a few hours after the milking. The development of refrigeration and careful organization of retail milk distribution brought Maine milk to many southern New England cities in a time totaling less than twenty-four hours from farm to table. Maine also built a large milk market in its own cities, and in summer months out-of-state visitors began consuming large quantities of milk and ice-cream.

Dairying has thus become one of Maine's principal industries. The state has come to produce nearly 700,000,000 pounds of milk annually, representing a cash income of \$20,000,000. Maine also stands high among the states with its average yearly output of 5,130 pounds of milk per cow. The major concentration of dairying is in



southern Penobscot, Piscataqua, Somerset, Franklin, Waldo, Kennebec, Androscoggin and Oxford counties. In these areas great herds feature pure-bred cattle or contain breeding stock boasting world's records for volume production and butterfat content. The Maine Development Commission's artificial breeding stations, where out-



*Four-H Club Boys Wrestle With Lively Hereford Calves at Fryeburg Fair*

standing sires are obtainable for service, have helped improve dairy cattle quality. One of these stations is at Newport, another at Turner. Several thousand artificially bred dairy cattle are being produced each year at a cost which is insignificant considering that the sires concerned may be worth as much as \$20,000 each. No farmer could afford to maintain such a sire individually. The state plans to extend this artificial breeding throughout the dairy areas. First tests of the program showed that the artificially bred heifers produced an average of 20 pounds more butterfat than their dams—412 pounds of fat compared with 392 pounds.

Maine has also led in cattle disease control. It has the lowest rate of bovine tuberculosis infection of all the states in the Union. In 1941



the State Legislature appropriated \$450,000 to be used in eradicating Bang's disease, and in subsequent years substantially aided similar programs. In cooperation with the United States Department of Agriculture, practically all the dairy cattle in the state have been tested, and Maine will very likely be among the first states to eradicate the disease completely. Maine thus becomes an ideal area in which to raise pure-bred cattle for sale in other markets.

Good transportation facilities and ready markets make it possible for most of Maine's milk to be shipped as "fluid milk" directly from the farms. Trucks visit each farm daily and rush the fresh milk, quick-cooled immediately after milking to keep the bacteria count low, to the collection centers from which it is shipped by train or in tank trucks to the cities. Some farmers run small retail routes. Others supply local dealers, who satisfy the Maine market's considerable needs. But most of Maine's great milk volume goes to Boston, and is thus under the federal marketing control. Producers are in this way guaranteed an equitable price, and marketing proceeds in an orderly and efficient manner.

Butter and cheese making have been largely discontinued in Maine. Dairy states, such as Wisconsin and Minnesota, far from markets, have little choice but to make their milk into these products, and Maine is among the butter and cheese customers of those states in the Middle West, because it makes a better profit from selling fluid milk.

#### SHEEP RAISING

Sheep were abundant in colonial days. Every farm had its flock of bleating animals and sheared its own wool, spun its thread and wove its woolens. Those sheep also provided meat and kept the pastures in condition.

In the early nineteenth century sheep raising increased. The War of 1812 briefly stressed the trend. When wool became scarce, the "Merino fever" developed as a temporary fad. Maine farmers paid astonishing prices for breeding stock, but the fad lasted only briefly. Within a few years the market collapsed. Maine farmers returned to Devon sheep, their traditional favorite, as soon as the wool shortage ended. The raising of sheep for mutton increased from 1820 to 1870, when western competition interfered, as in the case of beef cattle.

Although sheep raising is today a minor agricultural activity, it is coming back into prominence, especially since the internal parasites which made sheep farming hazardous have been eliminated by "phenothiazine." Maine's 50,000 sheep today are scattered throughout the state—except, of course, in the wild lands. Probably the number will continue to increase, because Maine's sheep pasturage is good, and the fifty or more woolen mills in the state offer a convenient market for the clip. Besides, Boston users are discovering that Maine lamb is better flavored and fresher than the frozen lamb brought from longer distances. Hence Maine lamb commands a premium price.



Farmers are also finding that sheep raising dovetails with other agricultural activities. Sheep pay income twice a year—wool in the spring and lamb in the fall. Most favorable of all among the advantages of Maine as a sheep-raising state is the low production cost. Maine's winters are cold, but sheep require only inexpensive sheds and little labor, and they actually pay an extra dividend through improving pasture lands or even making a pasture out of abandoned areas given over to brush and weeds.



*David Luce of Farmington Holds One of His Prize Sheep, a Registered Oxford Downs, at the Skowhegan Fair*

Roughage, an important article in sheep diet, is produced cheaply in Maine. Sheep do best on high and dry terrain, for which the rolling hills and sloping pastures of Maine are made to order. The typical Maine pasture not only supports nourishing grasses, but abounds with other plants ideal for sheep food. Often semi-wild land is especially suitable for sheep—which keeps costs at low level.

The State has done much, too, to promote sheep raising, financing two foundation flocks of registered sheep for demonstration purposes. These flocks, one at East Corinth and the other at Van Buren, are owned and supervised by the "future farmer boys" of the two communities. With characteristic efficiency, the State is educating farmers and showing what can be done with sheep in Maine.



## POULTRY

Poultry is another major agricultural enterprise in Maine. The annual value of poultry products is about \$20,000,000. Like other Maine agricultural activities, poultry raising has advanced only because Maine's men and women have devoted intelligence and hard work to it. In the beginning, poultry raising proceeded along haphazard lines. Most farms had small flocks which provided meat and eggs now and then. The surplus, if any, was frequently "swapped" at the village store for other products.

When the growth of the large cities in the Northeast opened up an outside market for meat and eggs, Maine farmers were quick to respond. The help of state and federal agencies was particularly valuable in this connection, and the farm flock was reorganized on a production-line basis. As early as 1885 O. F. Frost, of Monmouth, developed the famed White Rock breed. Soon afterward Professor Gowell, at the University of Maine, was the first to use the trap nest in breeding experiments. Dr. Raymond Pearl, also at the university, was the first to publish material on the inheritance of egg productivity. Maine farmers, quick to sense the economic value of these and other discoveries, applied many theories profitably.

Maine was also the first state to produce baby chicks for sale. The Pittsfield Poultry Company developed wooden boxes which were adequately ventilated for shipping them. "Day-old chicks by mail" became a nation-wide business. Maine was first in the field, and her farmers have maintained leadership in it. High quality has helped them.

An important adaptation of the Gowell and Pearl theories has been the emphasis which Maine poultrymen have placed on the rooster in the breeding program. As a result, Maine hatching eggs have had unusual merit. Poultrymen specializing in broiler production in all parts of the United States come to Maine for their chicks.

Maine's more than 2,000,000 birds produce more than 400,000,000 eggs, most of which are shipped out of the state and sold in widely scattered markets as table eggs—testimony to their high quality. Poultry is a state-wide activity, but the larger producers are in central and southern Maine. For several reasons poultrymen expect the business to increase. The health of the birds, the absence of poultry diseases, the clear cool climate and the winter-long freezing of the ground all tend to keep infections at a minimum. The distance of poultry establishments from one another is a further factor in preventing epidemics among the flocks. Perhaps most important of all is that almost no poultry or poultry products come into the state from outside, and no diseases are brought from other states. Still, every conceivable precaution is taken. The University of Maine, in its anti-pullorum campaign, tests 500,000 or more birds annually.

## POTATOES

Early in the nineteenth century the "Aroostook War" brought Aroostook County to the attention of southern Maine and the nation. Canadians on the brink of trying to seize the area were stopped by



the dispatching of militiamen to that northern front (see comments on the Military Road in Chapter 10). After the emergency was ended, the region was settled by some of the soldiers and their families and friends. These settlers found the soil excellent for potatoes.

Since potatoes, being heavy, are especially adapted to shipment by rail, Aroostook potatoes were at first made into starch. The county became dotted with starch mills which consumed most of the crop.



(Courtesy Maine Potato Growers, Inc., Presque Isle)

*Border of the Potato Empire*

Completion of the Bangor and Aroostook Railroad in 1894, however, led the Aroostook farmers to seek nation-wide markets. Maine potatoes became favorably known everywhere, and the state gained top position in the United States in potato production. With but one-sixth of the nation's total potato acreage, Maine came to produce 15 per cent. of the country's tubers.

Climate and storage and handling facilities were major factors in establishing this leadership, which became particularly pronounced in relation to seed potatoes. Southern states early learned to come to Maine for seed stock for their own fields. Government agencies devoted to inspection, experimentation and disease and pest control have helped Aroostook growers increase production and improve the quality of their crops. As a result, the potato crop alone in modern Maine is valued at more than 50 per cent. of the state's entire agricultural production. Most people think only of Aroostook County as raising potatoes,





(Courtesy Maine Potato Growers, Inc., Presque Isle)

*Typical Aroostook County Potato Farm*



(Courtesy Maine Potato Growers, Inc., Presque Isle)

*Dusting Potatoes by Helicopter in Aroostook County*

but the potato belt actually extends southward and westward into Penobscot and Somerset counties, where the soil is ideal, storage conditions are excellent, transportation is available and the crop is of high quality. Indeed, potatoes are produced today in practically every part of Maine. Aroostook County is the "Potato Empire," and all life there is keyed to the potato. In 1943, a bumper year, 212,000 acres were planted, and the yield was 73,485,000 bushels. Except for manpower shortage, 5,000 more acres would have been planted; sheds, barns, cellars, private homes and even church basements became storage places for millions of bushels. To avoid loss through freezing of the surplus crop, the government hauled 2,000 carloads of potatoes out of Maine to storage space in other areas.

In blooming time Aroostook County seems an endless stretch of rolling green fields bright with white and rose-pink flowers extending off to the horizon in all directions. Each farm has storage facilities, and along the lines of the Bangor and Aroostook Railroad, the world's only "potato railway," great storage sheds rise, with greater capacity by far than the grain elevators which tower across the prairie states and the Great Plains. At harvest time, the "Potato Empire" bustles to gather the crop before it freezes. Mechanical diggers rumble all day long and well into the night, kicking out the tubers. Men, women and children carry on the work. Schools are closed, and workers come in from the Southern mountains to follow the long rows of naked potatoes drying in the sun, picking them up and filling burlap bags. Trucks rumble into the fields, load the bags and dash to railroad storage sheds, where other crews grade and store the potatoes for shipment. Along the Bangor and Aroostook and connecting lines of the Maine Central and the Boston and Maine, great potato trains of 100 cars each thunder away to the south. It is big business. When the checks come back and the season is good, these farms do a mammoth business.

Still, the potato industry never feels wholly secure. The 1946-1947 crop, from 219,000 acres planted, amounted to 78,407,000 bushels; but in 1947-1948 the planting was cut back to 186,000 acres, and the yield was only 62,790,000 bushels. The "whispering campaign" against the potato in many "grow-thin" schools has also hindered sales in recent years, although, to counteract the decline in consumption of the potato for food, Maine farmers and politicians have sought to extend the industrial uses of potatoes, particularly in connection with industrial alcohol and starch programs.

In 1946-1947 the government supported the potato price at 90 per cent. of parity, with the differential arising 10 cents per hundred-weight per month until March 1, following this policy so that the farmers would not lose from low prices paid on foreign markets. In 1947-1948 a similar policy was followed. During the shipping season, the government bought potatoes for storage at several terminal markets in Portland and elsewhere, these spuds later being sent to alcohol plants or other diversion outlets. From Searsport and Portland these potatoes went to many nations.





(Courtesy Maine Potato Growers, Inc., Presque Isle)

*Digging Potatoes in Aroostook County*



(Courtesy Maine Potato Growers, Inc., Presque Isle)

*Checking the Yield on a Potato Farm, Aroostook County*



In 1947 Maine shipped more than 63,000 carloads of potatoes out of the state, surpassing all past records. Laborers from Tennessee, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Canada and all parts of Maine helped with the work. In the late fall and early winter, 10,123 carloads were shipped to Belgium, Canada, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland and Trieste. And 13,000,000 bushels were dumped in 1946-1947—a procedure afterward criticized as out of keeping with general policies and ideas of Maine economy, particularly after the collapse of the crop in the following year. On the other hand, criticisms have come from outside the state that Maine was over-producing potatoes, either through overestimating demand or underestimating the yield; and better marketing arrangements were needed, in the opinion of commentators. Government aid programs led sometimes to sale of better potatoes to the government and worse potatoes to consumers using them for food, to the detriment of the industry. The need for marketing agreements has been urged. Some have felt that better “public relations” work would help.

Soil and climate make potato production a “natural” for Maine agriculture. The presence of calcium and magnesium in the land itself is vastly helpful. The thick, fertile loam, product of thousands of years of growth and decay of the primeval forests, is invaluable. The cool nights and warm days, with adequate rainfall, further add to what are optimum growing conditions for potatoes. Enlightened growers have enlisted science to help them and have financed research work. They have made practical applications of their findings. Seed certification has helped improve quality and eliminate disease. In production of certified seed, Maine itself holds top rank. This state supplies potato seed to thirty-five potato producing states and three foreign countries. Research in insect pests and plant diseases is centered at the Aroostook Farm, at Presque Isle. At a station in Florida, seed samples are tested for quality. Use of DDT has increased the yield per acre, but has introduced a need for much more careful handling than heretofore. New varieties of potatoes are constantly being developed, too. Maine does not raise a single kind of potato, as formerly, but has expanded its output to include Green Mountain, Katahdin, Chippewa, Cobbler and Sebago potatoes. In each of these types improvements have been effected.

Better merchandising and sales promotion have been attempted. Maine growers pay a voluntary tax of one cent a barrel into a fund administered by the Maine Development Commission to advance trademarking, packaging, merchandising and advertising. All this promotion work is based upon strict grading, which is the fundamental requirement for use of the official “State of Maine” trademark. Only good potatoes can carry that mark to market. Experiments in packaging have also been made in cooperation with the Agricultural Experiment Station, mainly to determine whether the public prefers uniform or varied potato sizes within a package. In this way Maine farmers are learning which sizes are popular and mapping their sales and distribution policies accordingly.



## SWEET CORN

Sweet corn continues to be the most important product put inside tin. For the story of the development of corn canning, see Chapter 4, in this section. Suffice it to say here that Maine has played an outstanding role in the perfection of vegetable canning. The basis of her leadership in corn canning rests first upon the corn itself. Maine's short growing season and cool nights add to the sugar content of corn, and keep its starch and fiber content low. The result is a sweet, tender, fine-flavored kernel which, properly harvested and carefully processed, makes the excellent canned corn with which the name of the state is associated.

As in all other States, farm lands have constantly increased in value and it has been necessary to specialize in such crops as yield a relatively higher cash return per acre. Cultivation of sweet corn, poultry raising and market gardening have assumed sizeable proportions.

Sweet corn for canning is a supplemental crop, in that it not only produces the ears for sale, but also stalks as a valuable ensilage for feeding dairy cattle in the winter months. Also, since the cornfields require heavy fertilization, use is found for the quantities of manure produced by the dairy herd throughout the year.

Originally Maine's corn pack was called "Maine Style." Later the term "Cream Style" was adopted. By this method the corn is cut very shallowly from the cob. The cob is then scraped, and the cuttings and the scrapings are mixed together. With the introduction of Golden Bantam corn, Maine processors started a new method of packing, by which the kernels were cut deeply and packed in sugar and salt brine without scrapings. This "whole kernel" style constitutes about 20 per cent of the annual pack, but the demand for it is increasing.

The Maine Department of Agriculture, the University of Maine, the Extension Service, the Agricultural Experiment Station, the Development Commission and the farmers and canners have co-operated fruitfully for many years. The Maine Canners' Seed Committee, established in 1935, has co-operated for example, with other agencies, to develop hybrid sweet corn strains which would produce heavier yields of sweeter corn. Several varieties of hybrids are now used by the farmers who produce for the canneries. Quality has improved and production has increased 25 per cent where these hybrids have been tried.

The raw material inspection service for canners is another distinctive Maine effort. Highly skilled inspectors grade the corn as it is received, determine the value of each load, and issue inspection slips on the basis of which the canner pays the farmer. This system has had good results in keeping high the quality of Maine-canned corn.

The farmers also sell a great amount of sweet corn to local markets to supply Maine households and visitors. Large shipments are also rushed by rail and truck to markets outside the state. Speed is important in marketing sweet corn, and Maine is able to meet the requirements. Maine corn production is now considerable. Around 13,000 acres are planted and about 1,500,000 cases of sweet corn are packed each year.

## PEAS AND STRING BEANS

Both green peas and string beans are extensively canned in Maine. The peas especially are also quick-frozen in increasing quantities. Peas for commercial freezing and canning are mostly rotation-grown on potato farms. In many quarters they are replacing oats as a rotation crop, since they not only provide a better income, but also possess nitrogen-fixing bacteria on their roots which build up the fertility of the soil, rather than deplete it as most other cash crops do.

Pea canning in Maine is hardly a quarter of a century old. The first commercial pack was produced in 1923, since which the business has increased. More than 6,000 acres are now used for canning crops. The quick freeze method is progressing even more rapidly in very recent years, and probably at least half of the crop is frozen rather than canned. The crop itself, at farm level, is handled with economy and dispatch. At harvest time the vines are cut with regular mowing machines equipped with special cutter bars. The vines are quickly raked up and hauled to vining stations, of which there are many in the region, and there the peas are shelled by machine. After washing, they are rushed to a processing plant to be quick-frozen or canned. The vines are highly nutritious cattle feed. The speed which the Maine farmer has been able to bring to these operations alone preserves the delicate pea flavor. Peas that are growing in the morning are in cans or frozen packages before nightfall!

Maine's production rate is high. The United States Department of Agriculture reports an average yield of 1,890 pounds an acre in Maine as compared with 1,390 pounds in the nation as a whole.

More than 3,000 acres are devoted to raising green snap beans, mainly in the western half of Maine, not including wild lands. Snap beans were raised for canning before either peas or corn were so utilized, and so early became a standard cash crop for Maine farmers in those areas best suited to their growth. As in the case of peas and corn, Maine weather and soil are elements producing a superior bean. These factors are of even greater importance with beans than with most other canned foods. Canned beans can be tough, stringy and wooden if they are not of top quality. The exceptional tenderness and flavor of Maine beans again make the state a market leader. This State has also been able almost entirely to prevent the "rusting" of the crop. "Rust" is one of the worst diseases to which beans are susceptible, but Maine workers have developed a selective strain which is practically rust-proof.

For the small farmer, beans for canning are a satisfactory crop. They are raised with very little labor up to the point of picking. Planting is mechanical. Little cultivation is needed. A spraying or dusting minimizes insect troubles, which are slight anyway in Maine. And at harvest time the women and children do the picking by hand. The usual snap bean planting is not more than three acres in size, or much less, and neighborly help of a type that is now common get the beans to the factory quickly after washing, clipping and machine-packing.

The bean's roots possess nitrogen-fixing bacteria, like the pea, and so help enrich the soil.



Green shell beans are also becoming important for packing, and other vegetable growing interests are carrots and beets.

#### APPLES

Apples, although highly speculative, are another staple Maine crop. The old-time orchards, which produced flavorful but not very commercially good apples, have largely disappeared, and only old-timers remember the names of the apples once grown in Maine. Even such standard varieties as the Baldwin, Ben Davis and Greening have given way to the popular favorites like the McIntosh, Delicious and Northern Spy. Great quantities of these three varieties, which make up most of Maine's apple crop, are exported out of the state. The making of cider is also important locally. Hardly a farm is without a cider barrel or two in the cellar—a white oak barrel, charred inside and flavored by original use for aging whiskey—not, of course, in Maine.

The apple industry proceeded on a very unscientific basis until recently. Trees were given haphazard pruning, and disease and pest control were hardly undertaken at all. Climate and soil, coupled with the rapid growing season, were responsible for the quality of Maine's firm-fleshed, juicy and excellently flavored fruit. Many of the orchards, although of grafted stock, were old. Little attention was paid to modern production, packing and merchandising. Only within relatively recent years have trees of improved and new varieties been planted. Consumer demand for firm, fresh fruit has increased amazingly, and with good packing and distribution facilities available, Maine apples have taken their place among the nation's favorite dessert fruits. The Maine apple has no peer. Of the 900,000 to 1,000,000 bushels produced annually, most go into the fresh fruit market—which is proof of the excellent reputation Maine apples possess.

Maine's apple orchards are mostly concentrated in the southwestern half of the state, from Kittery to the Penobscot Valley. The soil in this area is excellent for apples and the proximity to the Atlantic gives enough frost protection to assure good setting in the spring and adequate time for harvest in the Fall. The lush growth of Maine grass reduces soil erosion to a negligible amount. Maine's proximity to the big markets of Boston, New York and Philadelphia also makes it possible to deliver apples on a telephoned or telegraphed order to these centers within a very few hours.

The popular apples in the northeastern city markets are McIntosh, Cortland, Northern Spy, Red Delicious and Golden Delicious, all of which do particularly well in Maine. Low land values here also assure continuance of this profitable business. Low production costs and a favorable climate which keeps the trees safe from many diseases and pests common to other states are further factors supporting the Maine apple grower. For example, Maine has no codling moth problem. Hence Maine orchardists usually spray their trees only five times a year instead of eight or ten times, as in some states, thus



saving time, labor and expense. Another saving here is in the smaller volume of sprays needed. Abundant summer rainfall makes washing unnecessary after the apple harvest. The saving in expense is not the only economy involved, for loss of apples through extra handling is eliminated. Maine forests and sawmills provide quantities of cheap boxes for packing and shipping, some of them made in the orchard areas, and some Maine orchardists even get out wood from their own



*Display of Maine Fruit Producers, Inc., at Kezar Falls*

woodlands in the winter and make their boxes in idle time, thus effecting still further savings. In some states costly refrigeration is necessary, but in Maine the weather is usually cool enough after harvest to render refrigeration unnecessary. Apple trees also bear quickly in Maine, often in five years instead of seven or ten. At the age of ten years or less, Maine trees are bearing heavily.

The Maine Pomological Society, the Maine Apple Cooperative and other groups are constantly in quest of better methods of production, storage and merchandising, as well as of better and hardier stocks. Winter killing has been substantially reduced by use of Virginia Crab and Hibernial hybrids to provide greater hardiness for established varieties. A special service to orchardists is represented by the Maine Apple Tree Pool. Fruit trees are purchased for growers on order, with all the price advantages offered by group buying. Careful inspection at the nurseries assures trees of superior quality. These services are performed by the Bureau of Horticulture.



## BLUEBERRIES

An average of about a quarter of a pound of blueberries per person is available each year in the United States. Most of that quarter of a pound comes from Maine, and most of Maine's berries come from Washington and Hancock counties, with some from shore areas almost as far south as the Massachusetts line. The Indians feasted on blueberries and usually managed to dry some of them for winter use. The white settlers, naturally, made the most of them, and housewives stored the dehydrated berries for out-of-season use. It is a peculiar characteristic of Maine that whenever timber is cut away or burned, the resulting barren area becomes promptly covered with blueberries. Many a "blueberry barren" has paid its owner more than the original stand of timber was worth. Since much of the blueberry country was once timbered and then burned over, the area now in blueberries is vastly larger than in colonial days.

About the turn of the century the blueberry owners, not content with simply marketing their berries, started to can them. The berries were cooked in huge iron kettles over an open fire, then packed hot and sealed with a top soldered on the tin can. Cinders from the fire and other foreign matter frequently found their way into the package, and there was a saying that anything "from cordwood to Christmas trees" might appear in a can of blueberries. Modern methods have overcome such obstacles. The berries are thoroughly washed and cleaned, then packed in the cans while still fresh. A hot syrup is added for sweetening, and the can is vacuum sealed and cooked to sterilize the fruit perfectly. The resulting product has made Maine-canned blueberries a standard item on grocery shelves. Blueberry jelly and blueberry juice are among the newer forms in which the berries reach the consumer market.

Now blueberries are also frozen to preserve their freshness and flavor unimpaired. In the beginning of the "deep-freeze" science the berries were softened by the slowness of the freezing, during which large ice crystals formed within each berry. Today they are flash-frozen, and when defrosted are practically as good as fresh berries with the east wind upon them. These modern flash-frozen berries are marketed under the State of Maine trademark, reserved for Maine products which meet the exacting standards of the State Department of Agriculture.

A promising new technique is the preserving of blueberries by what is, in a sense, the old Indian method of drying them. Instead of drying them in trays in the sunlight or in an oven, however, the modern Maine "dehydrator" manages, by scientific means, to retain both flavor and color very well. The "new" method is in an experimental stage, but promises to extend the market over unlimited areas. Every effort is being made to meet present-day marketing conditions: for berries which were picked and marketed fresh in pint and quart baskets at an earlier period, and afterward purchased mainly in the Boston market, are now sold on contract to New York City organizations which raise, pick, pack and ship the berries—all for a set price per 100 pounds. The day of hand-picking is at an end. The large

temporary camps at which the pickers were fed and housed are an institution of the past. Today's "pickers," far fewer in number despite the increase in the crop, use a rake similar to that used in picking cranberries. Other mechanical devices in process of development include an automatic picker which may revolutionize the industry.

Progress is also being made in cultivation. Berries which "just grew" are now raised with the aid of science. The maggot which threatened to wipe out the industry has been eliminated by systematic spraying with arsenate of lead. In addition; the cultivation of hybrids, until recently a novelty of a few horticulturists, has been introduced on a commercial level, replacing the wild berries. Cultivated berries achieve a greater volume of production from a given area, although they have not yet equalled the wild berries in flavor.

The modern Maine blueberry crop averages about \$3,000,000 in value, and the promise of this industry for the future is great.

#### SMALL FRUITS

Formerly, small fruits were considered as merely something "nice to have around the place," but not a "money crop." Modern transportation and the demands of summer residents have changed this attitude. These fruits, like Maine's apples and blueberries, are of exceptional quality and flavor.

The strawberry has become the leading small fruit. It has been widely hybridized, and many excellent varieties are available. In 1940 Maine produced 175,000,000 quarts of strawberries—a tally which makes no count of those grown and consumed on the home farm. Strawberry culture is relatively simple. The central and coastal areas of Maine are well adapted to their production for both the Maine and Boston markets. Maine has an additional advantage in that, being north of the big markets, its strawberries reach the consumer about the time the berries from southern farms are gone. Maine's firmer, sweeter and more highly-colored berries are then welcomed by housewives within shipping range. With the aid of modern refrigerated transport, they reach 50,000,000 families.

The raspberry is a hardy fruit which grows well in Maine. It ripens in midsummer, when it is almost the only fruit on the market, and the demand for it is extensive. Raspberry culture is increasing because it is relatively inexpensive to establish and, properly managed, produces good crops year after year. The raspberry harmonizes with other crops on a diversified list, and new varieties are expanding public interest in the crop. The red raspberry, in addition to being colorful and delectable, yields heavily and ships very well. Black-cap and purple raspberries are also highly prized.

Blackberries are a minor crop in Maine, although farmers have been told of its possibilities as a ready cash producer. The prevalence of wild blackberries along roadsides and in pastures, usually with a tang that cultivated berries never possess, perhaps deters Maine farmers from cultivating them. Their multitudinous horns and barbs make picking difficult. Also, the berries are soft and juicy, and do not stand up well under handling and shipping.



Maine's other small fruits include cherries, grapes and cranberries, but, aside from the blueberry, only the strawberry and the raspberry have achieved commercial importance.

#### MARKET GARDENING

Market gardening, a highly specialized form of agriculture, has increased in Maine within the past few years. It is probably the riskiest and most hazardous of all farming interests; yet its returns are so promising as to keep market gardeners everywhere competing in the big city markets. Until recently Maine has shunned this business, which is so at the mercy of market whims; yet today market gardening is becoming more prominent in Maine. Few Maine residents realize the extent to which this activity has grown. In one recent season, Maine market gardeners sold more than 200,000 crates of lettuce, mostly in the eastern metropolitan markets. In addition, large amounts of cabbage, cauliflower, green beans, peas, carrots, celery, summer and winter squash and sweet corn are shipped by truck and rail to the larger eastern markets.

Maine's market gardening advantages are numerous. The season in Maine is behind that of competing states. Production begins in California, Texas and Florida in mid-winter, then follows the sun northward; and by the time Maine's produce hits the market, production is at an end, or ending, in other states, which are then shipping the tail-end, and hence inferior, portion of their crops. Thus Maine finds a ready market for all its truck gardening products from late June until late September. The Maine climate also specially adapts the state to lettuce production all summer long, whereas some geographical areas for the most part produce it only in late winter or early spring. Maine market gardeners sow their first lettuce seed in April for a June crop, then space out successive sowings, so as to keep lettuce rolling from their acres like automobiles from a factory. There is almost a new crop daily.

Some Maine market gardeners are utilizing greenhouses to gain a head start on the season. Seeds are sown under glass so early that robust plants are ready for transplanting as soon as danger of a killing frost is past. Winds from the Atlantic temper the danger of frost, with the result that the progressive market gardeners have settled mostly near Portland and in Cumberland County, although market gardening is practiced throughout the state and even extends, close to the shore, all the way to the Canadian border.

#### THE LONG VIEW

Crop by crop, in the foregoing account, the nature of state aids and organized effort to promote agriculture has become evident. The trend has been gradual. Analysis of fertilizers began as early as 1885 under the auspices of the Maine Fertilizer Control and Agricultural Experiment Station, then newly organized. An act of 1903 regulated the sale and analysis of feeds. Another provided protection for trees and shrubs from marauding insects. The Legislature voted to employ a dairy expert in 1903 and 1904, as well as suitable assistants,

and appropriated \$3,000 for each of the two years for that purpose. S. C. Thompson became that dairy expert, and began his work in May, 1903, continuing until November, when he was sent to a dairy school in Madison, Wisconsin, for a special three-month course. He returned to take up his duties as state dairy instructor; and so began the Dairy Bureau, which later became a unit of the Division of Animal Industry of the Department of Agriculture and laid the basis for that entire unit.

In 1905 the Bureau of Entomology was established to carry on inspections following a brown-tail moth scare of the spring of 1904. This bureau formed the basis out of which grew the Division of Plant Industry of the Department of Agriculture. United States scouts found the gypsy moth in Maine in 1906, and further development along similar lines of inspection services followed. The 1909 Legislature charged the Commissioners of Agriculture with investigating dairy products and registering all milk dealers with the Department of Agriculture.

Augustus W. Gilman, the first Commissioner of Agriculture of Maine, continued serving from the time of the Department's creation in 1901 through 1910. The second commissioner, John P. Buckley, continued the many responsibilities that had been built up under his predecessor. A livestock sanitary commissioner, appointed by the Governor, was added to the Department in 1911, and the Department also took over the work of adjusting weights and measures under assignment of the Legislature in that year.

In 1913, under the commissionership of John A. Roberts, apple grading began. The Legislature in 1913 passed the apple packing and grading law, and appropriated \$3,000 for the study of the limits and cost of marketing farm products and purchasing supplies. The commissioner was also empowered to employ experts in marketing, and thus the Bureau of Markets had its inception. By 1914 eighty inspectors were engaged to trail down the powdery scab on potatoes in Aroostook County and the potato country. Also, during Mr. Roberts' commissionership, authority to enforce all inspection laws was transferred from the director of the Agricultural Experiment Station at Orono to the commissioner. Included in this authority was inspection under the food and drug law enacted in 1905 and stiffened in 1907 after passage of a federal food and drug act. Also included thenceforth within the powers of the Commissioner of Agriculture was authority to inspect feeds, insecticides and fungicides, previously the province of the director of the Experiment Station.

New duties and functions were thus added under every commissioner. When Mr. Roberts returned for his second term as commissioner, he was authorized in 1919 to group different bureaus of the Department, and, as a result, five divisions were formed—the Division of Administration, the Division of Plant Industry, the Division of Animal Industry, the Division of Markets and the Division of Inspection.

The co-operative marketing act of 1923 further added to the commissioner's duties, and in the same year the seed potato certification law and the farm loan act were amended. In 1925 an appropria-



tion of \$10,000 was made to study the blueberry fly, which was threatening one of Maine's leading crops. In 1926 full-time inspection was provided for fourteen blueberry canneries, and in that same year soft drink manufacturers were licensed under the Department of Agriculture. In 1927 the commissioner was required to certify and accredit the quality of shellfish shipped from Maine, and in 1929 sardine factories began to be licensed and the packing of sardines came under the supervision of the commissioner. Poultry dealers were licensed in 1930. The potato branding law of 1934 was assigned to the commissioner for enforcement. The Ninetieth Legislature provided for a \$450,000 agricultural bond issue to carry out a statewide program to fight Bang's disease in cattle through co-operation with the United States Bureau of Animal Industry, and, as a result, the State Department of Agriculture effected great improvements in dairy herds. A new Bang's disease laboratory was installed and equipped.

At the same time Maine poultrymen were given an opportunity to improve breeding of their birds through the work of the Maine egg laying test at Monmouth. In 1943 the commissioner assigned the Division of Inspection to enforce the new slaughter house inspection law, and 172 slaughter house licenses were issued. In that same year, at the recommendation of the United States Public Health Service, a "clam survey" was made, and fifty-eight areas were closed to clam digging as a consequence.

A. K. Gardner, of Rockland, who began his work with the Department of Agriculture as state horticulturist in 1911, became Commissioner of Agriculture on August 1, 1945. The Department, which began with two employees in 1902, has grown to a working force of 300 persons in 1950. Today's cash farm income is estimated at somewhere between \$150,000,000 and \$200,000,000 in value annually; and while there are fewer farms in point of total number, the existing farms are larger, the work is more scientifically conducted, and the outlook for the future is bright.

## CHAPTER VII

### *Forestry*

MAINE is called the "Pine Tree State" after the white pine, *Pinus strobus*, which formerly covered immense areas. Much of the first growth, trees more than 100 feet tall, has been consumed. Second and third growth pine still abounds, along with other valuable trees, including spruces and firs. Large areas of these other trees also have been cut over; but great promise still abides for the future, for after three centuries Maine has learned how to deal with its trees.

When New England was settled by the Europeans, it was a land dark with thick forests which covered nearly every acre of land. Before homes could be built, trees had to be cleared away. Fire consumed timber that present prices would evaluate at billions of dollars, and the land was cleared for farms. For the first time in centuries, sunlight touched northern New England soil. After that first clearing, trees began to be recognized as property—the wealth of New England. The first two centuries of New England under the white man's rule were veritably a "wooden age." Houses, tools, ships, furniture, utensils and an almost endless list of products were made of wood.

As time went on, New England timber was harvested and sold elsewhere—a business which built a few big fortunes and provided employment for many thousands of people. Nearly all the seaboard states, as well as the West Indies and Europe, consumed New England lumber.

In the process, New England forests were stripped of their mature timber and ruined for generations to come; for the cheapest lumbering was "clear cutting," which literally swept the ground bare. Slash was piled in heaps and left to rot wherever it fell. Fire hazards were thus increased, and thousands of acres were ruined by forest infernos. These slash piles also made the best nurseries for bugs and blights. In consequence, New England even today must buy about two-thirds of its wood from the Pacific Northwest and other sources, paying for both wood and transportation.

Maine's present forest conservation program is thus based on bitter experience. It is a many-pronged program. Like other states, Maine today practices forestry economically as a governmental unit, while private companies are taking up different aspects of forestry management. With the encouragement of conservation organizations, the states and the federal government, basic forestry is being extended directly to the farm woodlot. It is paying dividends, and Maine, like all forest-growing states, is endeavoring to promote the broadest kind of education concerning timber as a crop, like corn or potatoes. Covering more than 80 per cent of the state's land surface, forest trees may be considered Maine's largest crop. By planting, thinning, pruning, wise management, proper cutting, modern marketing and other means, Maine's people—from the farm woodlot proprietor to the



owner of millions of acres are learning to conserve forest products and put them on the production line. Demonstration has shown that a tract of forest, properly managed, can be brought to a high degree of efficiency, with the result that an annual crop of timber can be harvested regularly from the same piece of land. Under the old method of "clear cutting," an operator bought stumpage rights for a very low price, ravaged the ground bare, then moved to new land, leaving only a wake of ruin which Nature required from fifty to 100 years to restore.

Eighty-four per cent of Maine's 20,000,000 land acres are in forest land. The citizens, awakened to the perils of fire and careless exploitation, themselves have taken the lead, as individuals and groups, in promoting public and private forestry.

Lumbering in Maine is as old as the first white settlement. Even in the early seventeenth century, Europe was starved for food, and the first colonists lost no time in sending back produce in the ships which brought over the settlers, as well as cargoes of partly manufactured wood products. It was essential that those first wood products should be only partly manufactured, because these goods had much greater value in proportion to space occupied than did raw timber. Clapboards, and later pipe-staves (now called barrel-staves) were the first wooden products sent back to Europe. The manufacture of clapboards was the first export industry in America, for it was in 1621 that the Pilgrims sent home the ship *Fortune*, "dispatched speedily, laden with good clapboard as full as she could stowe." The Pilgrims' clapboard were simply riven with wedge and maul out of straight-grained white pine logs. They had no better machinery with which to work. By 1634 American clapboards were in great demand in England. As Edward Trelawney wrote home, "They sell here *Clapboard* for 28 pounds sterling . . . and great Inquisition made after them."

The enterprising settlers lost no time in turning out as many clapboards as possible. Being inventive, they were soon rigging up labor-saving devices and importing tools from Europe to increase production. In 1634 John Winter, at Saco, purchased a whip-saw and two thwart-saws, a file and a wrest. It may be explained that the whip-saw, set in a frame, was used to saw logs lengthwise from a log placed over a pit. Commonly two men worked a whip-saw. The man above the log pulled the saw up, while the man down in the pit, pulled it back down. The thwart-saw was a cross-cut saw to cut logs to length to be whip-sawed into clapboards. The file was to sharpen the saw teeth, and the wrest adjusted the teeth to size and shape after filing.

In 1634 Gorges and Mason sent over two saws-mills, one for Berwick and the other for York. While Maine was still a howling wilderness, Captain John Mason erected a sawmill at the foot of the Asbenbendick Falls, on the Piscataqua River (then known as the Newichawannock), at South Berwick. Sawmills became popular in America sooner than in England, and before long the Piscataqua River was lined with them, and their owners were doing a thriving business, which extended northward with the progress of the pioneers

and to the Kennebec and other leading rivers. Maine, with her two sawmills, thus became the mother of modern lumbering.

One mill on the Piscataqua had a set of saws in a frame, capable of sawing a number of boards or planks simultaneously. Because of the remarkable achievements of this head sash gang saw, the place where the mill was situated was named Great Works. Place names like Pipe Stove Landing, Shingle Point and Mast Cove are a few testimonials to an ancient New England industry of importance. King's Dock was used for shipping out masts and spars for the Royal Navy.

York deeds and wills of that early period contain many references to mills. Roger Plaisted very early had sawmills on the Great Works River, in Berwick. The names of Douty and Spencer were among those appearing again and again in Maine's lumbering history. William Phillips also had sawmills on the Saco, and there were mills at the same time on Mousam Falls, at Wells, and on Josias' River, also at Wells. All were equipped with "Dams, Flooms, Saws, Dogs, Croes, Ironwork, Mill Rope, etc." Some had "Peors" and others even "Gundalows." These early mills were perhaps crude and inefficient, mechanically speaking, yet essentially little different from the sawmills of today. The saws whined and hummed, and the dust fell in fragrant piles. At one time, during the heyday of the Penobscot River as a logging and sawmill center, the river at Bangor was so covered with drift and sawdust that ships had difficulty making their way to dock to load their lumber. After a protest to the federal government, slabs from 20 to 30 feet long were removed by the thousands of cords. Bangor was at one time the outstanding lumber export center in the entire world.

Lumbering as an industry in Maine began as an individual enterprise. A second stage was one of cooperative activity. A third was the capitalistic stage. On the technical side too, there were three stages. The first was the establishment of sawmills. The second was the development of river driving. Development of water storage was the third stage.

The individualistic period of operation continued from 1634, when John Mason built his mills, until after the Revolution. In that phase there was little division of labor in the modern sense, and there was no great investment of capital. The mills and the crews were small. A man felled trees one day, hauled logs to the mill by ox-team on the next, worked at the saw on the third day and returned with an axe to the woods on the fourth. The owner frequently worked side by side with his men. Many of the mills were so small that the owner and his sons, with the aid of perhaps a few neighbors who owned part of the mill, did all the work. The first mills were situated along the smaller coastal rivers, although later they spread eastward along the coast and eventually up the larger rivers and their tributaries. The only requirements were good nearby stands of timber and navigable water in sufficient degree to enable the lumber from the saw to be loaded on the little ships which carried it downstream and along shore to market. The lumbermen literally gnawed their way like beavers into the woods, and the number of their mills grew so



rapidly that by 1800 coastal areas were bemoaning a shortage of wood! Belfast and Waldoborough, far apart from each other, both complained in 1790 that their timber was exhausted and their cord wood nearly gone. The price of their cord wood had risen to the "dangerously high level" of three shillings a cord (it is now \$25 a cord at Boston) and it took a man with two oxen four days to get a cord to market.

Most of Maine's lumber had been used in building houses, ships, wharves and other structures but also the haughty representatives of the British King had taken the best trees for mast pines for his Navy. They marked the King's "R" upon them, and it was a serious offense for any man to cut these trees for his own use, even if they were on his own land. Once this practice started, many Maine men carved their own "R" on their trees to demonstrate that their land was their own and the King very far away. The Royal Navy also stripped the coastal area of the best oak trees for the sturdier portions of its ships. Portugal had also taken quantities of oak for pipe-staves for containers for its wines. The English in Bermuda and the West Indies had eagerly bought all the timber and barrel-staves that Yankee ships could bring them. Maine lumbermen sold their wares in far-flung areas over the seas, so continuing until, at about the close of the Revolution, the cry arose that Maine's lumber trade was "all played out." Individualistic operators had harvested most of the timber they could reach, cut and ship inexpensively. Inland an abundance of excellent timber remained. The problem was how to get it out!

About 1800 the lumber industry entered its second phase—the cooperative period,—which lasted about a century, until 1900. This second period reached a magnificent climax in the 1840s and 1850s. Few except the participants realized the triumph of engineering that the lumbermen had achieved.

Yankee brains and "drive" now solved another problem quickly and efficiently. Faced with abundant timber and no way to get it out, these resourceful New Englanders turned their attention to the possibilities of the utterly unnavigable rivers for the moving of millions of tons of logs. These rivers in summer were hardly more than chains of pools with shallow rapids between them, and in winter they were frozen blocks of ice which in spring became mad torrents of seething white water. The only power available was that of men, horses and oxen. No one could finance the business of penetrating the deep interior, cutting down the trees and moving the logs down to the saws at the head of navigation. Hence, many had to join together to amass capital and reorganize the industry—all without a single precedent to guide them. They succeeded, however, in gathering the capital, largely from local sources, and organized their work on a scale never before undertaken in American industry.

Labor was not over-abundant, but the woods work was largely winter labor and the logs were driven downstream in early spring, and as a result large numbers of farmers could be enlisted, who after the drive could return to their farms. In late autumn these same farmers returned to the woods again, and so a rotation of

employment was initiated. Later Canadians from Quebec began moving into Maine, first as seasonal workers in the woods, then as permanent citizens. The distinction between capital and labor was at first slight. All worked together in rare harmony. The sawmills grew in size and number. Lumber poured from the woods. New machines and techniques were developed. And, above all, a system was devised for transporting the logs from faraway forests to the mills. A new type of cooperative lumbering association came into being—the boom-associations and the river-driving associations.

Most notable of techniques evolved was that of river-driving. The procedure was simple—once it was thought out. In winter the logs, as they were cut and trimmed, were yarded on the ice of a frozen stream or on a bank at the edge of the stream. When the ice went out in spring, the logs floated with the water downstream. Along with the logs went log-drivers, men skilled in their work, who risked their lives almost every minute as they guided the logs through difficult passages in the river channels. Wearing spikes in their shoes, these drivers rode the logs like cats, using steel shod poles to push, steer and manage the great chunks of wood, any of which, if treated without respect, could crush them to death. The real trouble came when the logs became jammed in some spot and piled up in a mad jumble. Somewhere in the heap, a “king-pin” held the jam in place. One of the drivers’ tasks, was to find and remove that “king log.” Then the whole mass burst downstream again. The luckless driver who got in its way might be given a company funeral—if his body was recovered. Sometimes only dynamite would break a jam. Again the weight of water backed up by the jam did the breaking, and suddenly men and logs went racing in a mad scramble with the torrent.

It was a romantic business, this driving, for it was spiced with danger, particularly when the technique was new. It was also a serious business. As many logs as possible had to be delivered to the waiting booms downstream by the sawmill, where each company sorted out the logs that belonged to it, for lost logs cut down profits. Sorting was accomplished by a procedure of log-marking. When the number of operators grew, it became necessary for each to adopt a recognizable symbol that would identify his logs at the sorting boom. Unusually long logs were marked at the middle as well as on both ends—a precaution to guard against another company cutting off the ends and claiming them as its own. All unmarked logs were called “prize logs” and claimed by the log driving corporation. At one period all Penobscot drivers were required to register their marks with the Penobscot Log Driving Corporation and with the register of deeds in Bangor, but compliance was not universal. Some operators today paint their symbols on the logs. Other “engrave” their company’s marks on the logs by means of iron hammers with raised letters.

Even the business side of the drive was but a part of the story. Scheduling supplies and shelter in relation to the perils of the drive, with dry clothing, beds and an abundance of hot, nourishing food at the right points was in itself a complicated business. Cooking crews had to follow the drive downstream. But one by one, every obstacle



was overcome, and the log-drive was the means found to get the logs out of the depths of the woods to the hungry saws downstream.

The driving boat, or "batteau," was a characteristic Maine invention. It was a special type of boat, originated on the Penobscot, to carry the river drivers across large lakes and negotiate the many miles of rough rapids. It was light in weight so that it could be carried overland when necessary. It had to have a large displacement so that it could carry heavy burdens. It had to have a very shallow draft in order to negotiate the shallowest of rapids and glide over rocks and snags. It had to be staunch and seaworthy, so that the men could work from it when their very lives were at stake. Finally, it had to be quick as a cat, responding instantly to the stroke of an oar or the swish of a paddle. No adequate record exists of the origin of this remarkable boat, partially resembling a fisherman's dory, used on boisterous seas, and also bearing some likeness to the Indian's birch bark canoe, famed for its grace and delicacy. Connected with the development of the batteau are three names—Ira Wallace, of Old Town; Hosea B. Maynard, of Bangor; and the Vinal brothers, of Old Town. It is known that they helped shape the lines of the batteau and built the boats used by early river drivers.

Another notable Maine invention was the peavey, invented also on the Penobscot. It has come to be known and used throughout the world, wherever men handle logs. It was invented by Joseph Peavey, of Upper Stillwater, on the Penobscot, who in 1858, standing on the bridge in his home town, watched the river drivers working with the old "swing-bail cant-dog" and thereupon conceived an improvement on this all-important tool. In his son's blacksmith shop he worked out his idea and he placed his now famous tool in the hands of one of the drivers he had been watching—William Heald, of Orono. Peavey's idea combined the old pick-handspike and the loose-jaw cant-dog in a single tool. Each of the old tools weighed about fifteen pounds, whereas Peavey's new tool weighed less than ten pounds and yet possessed all the advantages of both former tools. He devised a stiff-jointed jaw which dropped freely enough to engage any log into which the spike was driven, but could not swing sidewise with the current. John Ross, a noted lumberman of the time, declared that with peaveys six men could do as much work as twenty with the former equipment. Men might henceforth push logs about, as with a spike-tipped pole, and at the same time, if desired, grab a log at any angle and either turn it over or carry it away with the greatest of ease.

In the early days the products of Maine's forests were not diversified. Hemlock bark was used in tanning. Cord wood was cut for home heating and for firing the lime kilns at Rockport. But "real lumbering," as the wide-open, red-hot city of Bangor conceived the term, was another matter. Ship timbers, for frames, usually of oak, were a real lumbering operation. Knees were made of juniper or tamarack (hacmatack), while masts and spars were of pine and spruce. The Maine woodsmen generally recognized two kinds of lumber—long lumber, which included boards, planks and timbers, and short lumber, which included clapboards, shingles, laths, fence pickets and posts, and the like. Most of these, except shingles, were made of

white pine until it grew scarce. Fir was not cut in the early days, for it was considered a weed tree. Hemlock was not used for timber for the same reason, while spruce was little used except for spars and some large timbers in which its inferior strength and tensile qualities, as compared with white pine, were of little consequence.

Pine, especially the very large pumpkin pine, or bull pine, was the favored wood. It was a pure white, strong, smooth and straight-grained wood that "cut like cheese." The lumbermen wasted it abominably, in cutting, sawing, driving and sorting. Forest fires destroyed as much of it as was marketed. Possibly only 10 per cent of Maine's white pines were actually marketed; the rest were wasted. In consequence, the first noble white pines, 100 years or more in growing, are but a memory. Sometimes in old Maine houses or barns are pine planks two feet or more wide. They are the last residue of the old pines which gave Maine tremendous wealth as long as they lasted. Some of those ancient white pines were six feet in diameter at the base. One tree cut on Telos Lake in 1842 was estimated at seven feet in diameter. In the 1840s, William and Henry Soper, on Hay Brook, cut a pine which scaled 6,600 board feet, and at about the same time Hathorn and Whitney cut a tree on the Mattawamkeag which scaled 6,670 board feet. Today a man is lucky to get 100 board feet of No. 2 pine from a third-growth tree. Prices received from dealers for wood from trees such as these ran between \$7.50 and \$10 a thousand, depending upon the nearness to market. At that time Maine was sawing about 200,000,000 feet of long lumber and more than 500,000,000 "pieces" of short lumber. This output gave Bangor the name of being the "greatest lumber market in the entire world." No. 1 white pine, if any can be found today, brings from \$150 to \$200 a thousand.

The great wealth of the Maine woods was funneled down the Penobscot into Bangor in the days before the Civil War, and made that region sparkle like the "boom towns" of the West. When steam railroads were hardly more than toys, lumbermen had a railroad operating between Bangor and Old Town, the second road in the United States, the first having run down the side of a hill in Quincy, Massachusetts, to slide granite blocks from the quarry to tidewater. Steamboats were still rare. As early as 1845 one was towing logs down the length of Moosehead Lake, and another was operated on the Penobscot from Old Town up river as far as Medway. It was a busy decade between 1840 and 1850. Men were digging canals around the falls of the Penobscot, at Stillwater and Piscataqua. They were erecting great dams of logs and stones across the Penobscot itself. They were shortening driving distances by cutting "dug-outs" across the "ox-bows" in the rivers' courses. They built great sorting booms, and formed companies to drive the logs of all the operators in one great spring drive instead of leaving each operator to drive his logs individually. Money was easy, and many an ambitious project was afloat. Some of them, like the Seboomook Sluiceway, were never carried out; but many, such as the Telos Cut, the Chamberlain Lake Locks and the Chase Dam of the Allagash, were successfully completed.



Yet deep in the wilderness there were no "promoters" and few trained engineers. The men who owned the forest and the men who worked in the woods planned their own projects, and in an astonishing degree executed them by "brute force and good luck." Many a good dam was built with no level or transit other than a rifle-barrel, and most jobs were completed with the ordinary woodman's equipment—axe, auger, pick and shovel. The ingenuity, enthusiasm, common sense and forthright determination of these Maine woodsmen deserve the highest praise. Their job of trimming the mammoth forests must rank as one of the great engineering feats of all times.

The co-operative associations were probably a result of bitter experience, and were doubtless organized as a last resort in sheer self-defense against anarchy. On the Penobscot, perhaps the earliest association was the Ebeme Company, incorporated by the Legislature in 1841, with authority to improve the East Branch of the Pleasant River above Brownville for the purposes of log-driving, building dams, sluices and canals and levying tolls upon logs driven down the river.

Five years later, and along similar lines, the Penobscot Log Driving Company was formed as a stock company to take over the West Branch of the Penobscot. It built great dams at Chesuncook and North Twin Lakes, and cleaned out the river. This company, however, took a further step. It not only charged for logs driven down the Branch, but took over supervision of the logs. Each year, at public auction, it "sold the drive" to the highest bidder, who at a stated price agreed to receive, drive and deliver in the boom the logs of all operators along the West Branch.

This company was one of the most famous of its kind in the world. From 1845 to 1903 it held control of the West Branch, and discharged its difficult and hazardous business with such skill that only twice did it fail to get its logs all delivered into the boom. The first failure was in 1861, when the opening of the Civil War made it impossible to employ enough men. The other time was in 1880, when the Chesuncook Dam "blowed" and left the log drive stranded without a sufficient head of water to get the sticks of wood down the rocky and twisting gorge below the dam. One year the entire drive was carried down a mere nine-foot head of water—a masterly achievement, indeed. In 1903 the Penobscot Company sold to the Great Northern Paper Company its rights and improvements "so far as such a company possesses rights and powers to store water for manufacturing and driving purposes."

Other related organizations were the Penobscot Lumbering Association and the Penobscot Boom Corporation. The Penobscot Lumbering Association was formed following disputes between boom owners and lumbermen who used the booms. In 1832 boom owners asked a toll, or boomage, of 38 cents per thousand board feet upon lumber boomed, rafted and secured. Later boom owners asked 53 cents, while the lumbermen asked 50 cents. By 1869 the toll had dropped to 9 cents, and in 1883 it was 7½ cents, and by 1932 it was 4 cents. Enormous quantities of timber were handled at the booms. In 1835, at one head boom on the Penobscot, 82,172,387 feet of timber

were received and rafted. Through a ten-year period from 1832 to 1841, 43,748,053 feet of timber were handled through this same boom.

The Penobscot Log Driving Company delivered the logs of all lumbermen to the head boom for sorting, rafting and sale. For sale, they were turned over to the owners of the specific lumber, or else sold by the Penobscot Lumbering Association. Contracts for rafting were awarded to the lowest bidder. Logs were sorted at the head boom and made into rafts consisting, on an average, of thirty logs each. These rafts were secured to buoys until the mill men came to inspect the logs. When a sale took place, a new mark was put on them. Expert raftsmen then sculled the rafts down the river to the mills at Old Town, Milford, Stillwater, Orono, Veazie, Bangor and Brewer. Many rafts were a half-mile long. After delivery to the mill, the scullers took their long oars back up the river for the next raft.

The Seboomook Sluiceway was a magnificent scheme of the early lumbering days. In the 1840s William Boyd, William Moulton and Nathan Cummings appeared before the Maine Legislature and incorporated the Seboomook Company to build a canal, six feet wide at the bottom, from the Upper Penobscot River to the Northwest Bay of Moosehead Lake. There was a gradient of 11.36 feet between the two points, which the petitioners said would provide sufficient current for driving logs from the Upper Penobscot forests into Moosehead Lake, whence they could be floated down the Kennebec. But James Crosby and about twenty other Penobscot lumbermen claimed that the scheme was a ruse to drain the waters of the Penobscot into the Kennebec and so to ruin log-driving on their river. It so happens that the West Branch of the Penobscot flows just north of Moosehead Lake. At one point, where it comes near Moosehead Lake, there was a gradient of more than thirty feet, the Penobscot men contended, and if it was lawful for the Kennebec men to draw water from the West Branch of the Penobscot into the northwest corner of Moosehead Lake, it would also be lawful for the Penobscot men to draw water out of Moosehead Lake at the northeast corner. With the gradient in their favor, the Penobscot men won the argument, and the Kennebec men dropped the Seboomook Sluiceway project. Instead, an "ox-railway" was built in 1842 at North East Carry to take logs from the Penobscot into the Moosehead area. The first "trains" were drawn by oxen, which were subsequently replaced by a steam log-carrier. A road has since been built in the old roadbed of that railroad.

The Telos Cut, between Telos Lake, on the Allagash chain, and Webster Lake, on the East Branch of the Penobscot, was another interesting project. This canal carried lumber from eight townships on the Upper Allagash directly into the Penobscot instead of leaving it to be taken down the much longer St. John River route. About 1850 the Chamberlain Lake Locks and the Chase Dam at the foot of Churchill Lake, also on the Allagash, brought a vast new area of virgin timber to the saws of the Penobscot mills.

These last additions to Penobscot operations caused an international incident which is even today a tender subject between Canadians and Maine men. As in the case of the Seboomook Sluiceway,



the dams at Churchill and Chamberlain diverted water from the Allagash, which fed into the St. John, and poured it instead into the Penobscot. The Seboomook dispute was settled amicably enough, but the Maine-Canadian argument has never ended. Occasionally the dam on Churchill Lake has been dynamited—by whom, no one officially knows. But old-time lumbermen still argue the point on winter nights as though it were as fresh as yesterday. Probably both sides were the more ready to carry on the dispute in view of the boundary dis-



*William Hathaway's Long Lumber Mill in the Heart of Columbia Falls, Typical of Many All over the State*

agreement which raged between Maine and Canada for many years and culminated in the fortunately abortive "Aroostook War," discussed elsewhere in this work.

The third period of lumbering in Maine began about 1890, and is still in process. In this period the divorce between capital and labor is complete, and the concentrations of capital, mostly from outside Maine, are immense. Wood is still being cut annually in large quantities, but only a little of it is lumbering in the sense of the "grand old days" in which more wood was wasted than ever was brought to the booms. Perhaps only one-quarter of the annual timber cut in modern Maine is long lumber—namely, boards, planks and timbers. Most of it goes to pulp and paper mills. The dreams of capitalists since the turn of the century lean to the production of power rather than lumber. The vast enterprises carried out in the first half of the twentieth century had hydroelectric power as their central focus and goal. But with power now established, a state in which trees grow naturally like weeds in a cornfield, must turn its



attention to lumber again, especially with the encouragement of modern forestry and a vast and hungry market for forest products at Maine's front, side and back doors.

Meanwhile, water storage for the production of hydroelectric power remains associated with lumbering in the minds of industrial leaders. The water storage system of the Great Northern Paper Company, on the West Branch of the Penobscot, is a case in point. The first project here was to increase the flowage of the Lower Lakes and use the vast water power at Grand Falls. About 14,000,000,000 cubic feet of water are stored in that one basin. In 1912 the Great Northern made the flowage of Seboomook into a lake eighteen miles long and from one to five miles wide, with a storage capacity of 4,000,000,000 gallons more. In 1917 the company went to work on its 16,000,000,000 cubic feet of storage at Chesuncook Lake. By erecting an immense concrete dam below the old Ripogenus Lake, the water level of Chesuncook was so raised that it united with two other lakes, Ripogenus and Caribou. This new basin holds 21,500,000,000 cubic feet. All in all, the West Branch now holds in storage about 40,000,000,000 cubic feet of water when filled to capacity. This work has been done by the Great Northern Paper Company.

Maine's interest in forests today becomes evident to visitors who want to go into them for hunting or fishing, and who soon face a stern command that they hire a guide to make certain that there will be no forest fires and also to protect city men from losing themselves and requiring the services of a searching party to extricate them before they perish of cold, hunger and starvation. The State Forestry Department, along with the Department of Inland Fisheries and Game and other State agencies, watch over Maine's forests with a paternal concern.

The Maine Forestry District includes all the woodlands of importance in the eight northern counties. Most of these are unorganized townships. They cover nearly 10,000,000 acres. Protection against forest fires is under the supervision of the Forest Commissioner, whose headquarters are in Augusta. The District is well organized and equipped, and its operations are efficient and economical. The cost of its activities is met by the state through a special tax assessment of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  mills on the dollar on all property in the District. Any adjoining town or plantation may, if not included in the District, gain the benefits of the Forestry Service by voting to join at any election. The Maine Forestry District is subdivided into northern, central, western and eastern divisions. In 1950 the Northern Division had six chief wardens, eighteen patrolmen, ten watchmen, six telephone operators, a pilot and thirty-three deputy wardens; the Central Division, six chief wardens, fourteen patrolmen, twenty-three watchmen, five telephone operators and eighty-seven deputy wardens; the Western Division, seven chief wardens, twenty-one patrolmen, twenty-five watchmen, seven telephone operators and 128 deputy wardens; and the Eastern Division, six chief wardens, twelve patrolmen, sixteen watchmen, two telephone operators and 119 deputy wardens.

The 5,000,000 acres outside the Maine Forestry District are the responsibility of the elected officers of each town or plantation. The



selectmen are ex-officio fire wardens with authority to appoint deputy wardens and "impress" all able-bodied men under normal circumstances to fight fires. For these organized township areas, there were in 1950 seven district wardens, twenty-four seasonal wardens, twenty-five watchmen, 446 town wardens and 1,338 deputy town wardens. The selectmen are empowered in these areas to issue permits for outdoor fires, subject to the Forest Commissioner's approval, and to suspend portable sawmill operations in times of drought or even revoke licenses if mill operators violate the slash laws.

All slash has to be kept away from roadsides where a casual lighted cigarette butt might kindle it to flame, and the strictest laws govern clearance of such slash after cutting. Only with written permits may any one kindle a fire to clear land or burn logs, wood or grass of any kind or description, except when the ground is covered with snow. Blanks bearing the commissioner's signature are furnished to wardens, and are good only when countersigned by them, with any special instructions they may deem necessary for safety under current conditions of wind, moisture, time of day or length of burning period. The wardens may under no circumstances delegate their powers to another, and the Forest Commissioner of the state may at any time he thinks it necessary prohibit all burning and void permits already issued.

The lumber, pulp and power companies are anxious to prevent forest fires: for without the forest cover, their vast acreages would be worth little to them. In addition to training foresters and distributing general information the State University carries on an educational program aimed at practical conservation. Every available vehicle of publicity is employed—newspapers, radio stations, churches, lectures, bulletins, circulars and others. Maine's papers and radio stations are generous in their cooperation to keep the state green.

Drought is a special breeder of forest fires in Maine. Careless and greedy portable sawmill operators also sometimes cut recklessly and wastefully. Generally speaking, Maine has suffered comparatively little forest devastation in modern times, at least in comparison with other forest states, even despite the big fires of 1947. In that year Maine experienced the worst forest fire disaster in its history, although not the largest. Property losses ran into millions of dollars. Sixteen persons lost their lives. The homeless numbered 2,500. Thousands of acres of forests were burned. Nine communities were practically wiped out. Other areas suffered damage, too, as a result. Forests, fields and pastures were burned to the extent of 205,678 acres, 179,342 of which were forested. In other words, a little more than 1 per cent of Maine's total forest land was burned. Loss of timber resources was estimated at \$7,171,000.

Weather throughout that season had been extreme. A warm early March sent off the snow quickly, drying the ground and producing many small fires in the spring—an ominous sign to forest watchers. April, May and June were abnormally wet. July turned dry again, and August, September and October continued dry. No appreciable rainfall occurred for 108 days.

In such a situation, public warnings through press and radio and from the State Forestry Department were inadequate. The



Governor closed the woods to smoking and the building of fires on October 17 by proclamation. Hunting was added to the activities prohibited. Soil moisture had dried. Wells, lakes, streams, ponds and vegetation reflected the condition. Leaves dried and withered early, particularly on the hard wood trees. Maine was powder-dry.

Everyone knew the danger. Fire stations had reported "Class 4 days" for fifteen or twenty consecutive days, as well as a few "Class 5 days." Ignition danger is classed from 1 to 5, depending upon fuel moisture content of different types of forest growth. A "Class 1 day" is wet, and each higher numeral indicates progressive dryness, with "Class 5," the highest, ranked as "explosive." By October 20 scattered small fires were burning deep in the ground. On October 21 strong winds blew all day, and fires broke out of patrol lines. An all-day gale followed on the 23rd. Soil spilled off the fire-fighters' shovels as dry as sand, and hard wood leaves fell to the ground and jumped across trenched fire lines.

The largest forest fire, in York County, was really three separate fires—one on Shapleigh Plains, near Poverty Pond, which started October 17 and reached 1,000 acres of scrub oak and pitch pine in the next few days; a second which began just over the Maine state line in New Hampshire on October 21 and spread into Maine; and a third which began at North Kennebunkport on October 14. With the gale of October 23, the New Hampshire fire raced eight miles to join the Shapleigh blaze, which in turn moved southward nineteen miles from its point of origin. Meanwhile, the North Kennebunkport fire moved like a solid wall with the wind to the Atlantic Ocean and wiped out valuable summer beach properties. The southward-speeding New Hampshire fire joined up at a second place with the Shapleigh fire, then started spreading toward the North Kennebunkport conflagration, being stopped only by the barrier of the new Maine Turnpike from Kittery to York (see Chapter 10).

The onrushing fires made a continuous roar. Heroism showed itself on every hand. Lookout watchers stayed in their towers until fire and fumes drove them down smoky trails to safety. People about to lose their homes brought water through the daytime hours and through nights blacked out by destroyed power lines and lighted only by the threatening flames. Many escaped from their homes just before they were enveloped. Individuals, municipalities and protective agencies of every kind volunteered their services and equipment without charge. Water trucks moved, bumper to bumper, to the areas of need. Many fire departments sent cancelled fire bills to stricken towns. York County's destroyed area totaled 131,000 acres, of which 113,000 were forested.

While York County was, in large areas, a blazing inferno, other fires were raging throughout Maine—the Centerville-Jonesboro fire, in Washington County, which started October 21 and destroyed 19,970 acres, 17,410 of them forested; the Fryeburg-Brownfield fire, in southern Oxford County, which started also on October 21 and destroyed 20,120 acres, 17,180 of them forested; and the Mount Desert Island fire, which began October 17 and was called "the Dunkerque of Bar Harbor."



In the Oxford County fire, the communities of Brownfield and East Brownfield were utterly destroyed, and roads were jammed with people, livestock, cars and wagon teams fleeing the holocaust. "Yellow days" hung over the area for a week afterward. The rugged terrain of Mount Desert Island made fire-fighting difficult in that area. At one time the causeway from the island was cut off. Coast Guard, navy and small private boats evacuated the fleeing residents, many of whom were landed at Gouldsboro and on the shore of Frenchman's Bay. When the causeway could be reopened, motor trucks and vehicles continued the evacuation.

At the request of the Governor and the Maine Congressional delegation in Washington, President Harry Truman declared a state of emergency in Maine. Red tape was thus cut, making available war assets equipment and tools of the Office of Civilian Defense. Headquarters were set up at the State Forestry Department in Augusta, and here were co-ordinated the forces of the Red Cross, the National Guard, the State Police, the Department of Inland Fisheries and Game, the State Highway Commission, the army, the navy, the Coast Guard, the Federal Works Administration, the American Legion, the Civil Air Patrol, the Boy Scouts, the United States Forest Service, municipalities, colleges, public utilities, industries and many organizations and individuals. The state remained calm. Martial law was not necessary, although 150 separate fires raged in the state in the same week.

The catastrophe revealed the necessity of an over-all fire prevention plan enlisting all sources of help in such an emergency, in which advance knowledge of the danger was in no way adequate to help. One result of the Maine fires was the calling of a meeting in Boston on June 4, 1948, of the Committees on Interstate Co-operation of the Northeastern States, more specifically the New England states and New York. Action toward legalizing interstate assistance in emergencies was the aim of the meeting, and the "Northeastern Interstate Forest Fire Protection Compact," drawn up as a result, described its purpose as "to promote effective prevention and control of forest fires in the northeastern region of the United States and adjacent areas in Canada by the development of integrated forest fire plans, by the maintenance of adequate forest fire fighting services by the member states by providing for mutual aid in fighting forest fires among the states of the region and for procedures that will facilitate such aid, and by the establishment of a central agency to coordinate the services of member states and perform such common services as member states may deem desirable."

Still another anti-fire enterprise was the "Keep Maine Green" movement, introduced in early 1948 by the American Forest Products Industries, Inc., as part of a national plan. Public education in forestry, with a view to forest perpetuation, largely by prevention of fires, was the main objective, as described at the organizational meeting in Bangor on March 24, 1948.

Maine now has a fire-protection system that is a model for other states. In addition to the warden system of the Forest Service, the forest lookout towers on top of many hills and mountains give double assurance of safety. Seventy-four Maine Forestry District lookout



towers were listed in 1950, as well as twenty-five lookout towers established and supervised by organized towns, and still others co-operatively operated in association with New Hampshire and Quebec. Each is linked with a district headquarters by radio and telephone.

When smoke is sighted, the lookout man communicates with his district warden. The fire is located and fire-fighters spring into action. Each district headquarters has shovels, axes, grub hoes, pails and motor-driven pumps, as well as tank trucks. The men have knapsack



*Maine Pine Log Before Processing, the Pine Tree Products Company at Belfast*

sprayers, and if they get a fire in time they can usually beat it down within a few hours. Very dry and windy weather, however, requires all the art of the forester to wall the blaze in with fire roads and to back-fire it and halt it in its tracks.

Timberland companies have joined in this work in self-interest. They maintain telephone lines, fire pumps and other equipment, and have built many miles of roads across their properties to enable fire-fighters to reach any portion quickly when the need arises.

Standing timber is now being harvested properly, and conservation procedures are comparatively satisfactory. Multitudes of seedling trees are planted annually to insure future productivity. To assure a cheap and abundant supply of these seedlings, tremendous nurseries have been established by big companies owning forested lands.

One of the gravest problems of forestry is the fighting of pests and diseases such as white pine blister rust and the spruce bud worm.



Maine's highly-trained specialists lead the attack on these bugs and blights, and to the limit that funds permit the state supplies citizens and companies with aid and advice in the protection and the care of their wooded properties. This is good business for all concerned, for a thrifty forest covering benefits everybody.

Making use of large amounts of hard woods is a problem of considerable importance. For years, except for the oaks used in ship-building in the early days, the hard woods—maples, ashes and oaks and beeches—were ignored. The hungriest market was for soft woods, particularly pine.

Until recent years (see Chapter 4) the considerable cutting of spruce, fir and poplar found no great market as long lumber. Hemlock was likewise largely ignored until recently. Carpenters today frame a house and sheathe it with spruce and fir—woods which their grandfathers would have scorned as worthless for such purposes.

Still, hard wood has remained the major problem. Much of it goes into cord wood for heating farm homes and rural buildings. It is largely a local, spare-time product of the farmer in his woodlot. Most of the hard woods are past the age of harvest, and occupy valuable space and prevent the soft woods from returning. Some quantities of white or canoe birch are being used for furniture and veneer in the veneer mills. Its consumption is growing in a narrow area. Beech, maple and oak are also used in furniture and hard wood flooring. But the supply of hard woods greatly exceeds the market. The modern science of plant products utilization promises to develop new uses for hard woods; and if it succeeds, forests depleted of their pine and with their spruce running low, may present new sources of income for their owners.

Pulpwood production in 1949 amounted to 1,275,982.8 rough cords, divided as follows by types of trees and by counties:

County	Spruce and Fir	Hemlock	Pine	Hard- woods	Poplar	Total
Androscoggin..	7,978	2,671	24,250	4,134.3	68	39,101.3
Aroostook.....	196,796.2	6,214	—	3,166.5	24,326	230,502.7
Cumberland...	4,085	700	653	8,559	381	14,378
Franklin.....	68,831	4,223.4	7,412	10,458	1,412.2	92,336.6
Hancock.....	42,729	8,456.5	59	2,918	371.2	54,533.7
Kennebec.....	8,755.3	5,015.5	3,058	1,612.6	428.3	18,869.7
Knox.....	11,268.7	1,812.6	1,529	517.5	184.2	15,312
Lincoln.....	9,723.7	3,031.4	1,829	264	308	15,156.1
Oxford.....	30,380.8	9,910	6,588	41,320	698.5	88,897.3
Penobscot....	98,940.6	37,653.2	5,406	20,352	9,113.4	171,465.2
Piscataqua....	81,267	5,985.6	235.3	9,235	11,573.4	108,296.3
Sagadahoc....	2,720	896	941	436	75	5,068
Somerset.....	191,568.5	5,610.7	737.5	30,001	9,876.6	237,794.3
Waldo.....	21,673.5	5,129.3	4,551.5	3,337	1,067.4	35,758.7
Washington...	105,814.4	9,968.5	3,579	7,637	20,004	147,002.9
York.....	—	—	—	1,500	10	1,510
	882,531.7	107,277.7	60,828.3	145,447.9	79,897.2	1,275,982.8

In terms of board feet, soft wood lumber production in Maine in 1949 was as follows, species by species and county by county:

County	White Pine	Hemlock	Spruce and Fir	Norway Pine	Cedar	Pitch Pine	Tamarack	Mixed Softwoods	Total Softwoods
Androscoggin.....	19,269,061	12,876,257	6,574,570	193,573	1,000	501,000	.....	63,166	39,478,627
Aroostook.....	3,613,747	407,457	19,583,153	.....	1,046,394	79,000	49,820	20,829,148	45,608,719
Cumberland.....	40,314,973	13,131,279	743,340	62,300	12,500	15,600	.....	9,693,461	63,973,453
Franklin.....	5,729,642	2,170,343	1,181,325	25,000	29,500	.....	6,000	.....	9,141,810
Hancock.....	11,929,526	601,813	3,988,009	1,207,946	73,000	267,690	.....	.....	18,067,984
Kennebec.....	11,951,465	5,824,199	1,033,890	104,182	54,000	155,000	2,000	757,931	19,882,667
Knox.....	2,515,567	1,261,528	1,119,306	.....	5,000	.....	5,000	29,905	4,936,306
Lincoln.....	7,338,518	1,577,241	1,331,256	52,500	200	.....	.....	133,673	10,433,388
Oxford.....	51,798,354	12,640,413	1,100,822	225,849	.....	.....	2,000	10,000	65,777,438
Penobscot.....	11,606,255	2,535,054	2,246,635	1,142,389	779,104	120,000	12,500	68,500	18,510,437
Piscataqua.....	8,841,497	1,322,440	2,735,830	10,000	144,048	.....	2,000	.....	13,055,815
Sagadahoc.....	3,673,340	1,229,669	209,978	20,448	.....	1,200	1,500	.....	5,136,135
Somerset.....	9,558,702	3,518,553	1,818,657	11,500	203,350	1,400,000	9,000	732,134	17,251,896
Waldo.....	9,509,950	3,059,828	2,925,748	41,214	107,700	62,000	2,000	645,975	16,354,415
Washington.....	8,806,145	478,710	1,819,774	1,104,646	1,516,000	.....	.....	6,262	13,731,537
York.....	65,741,799	12,565,190	935,347	686,883	.....	99,000	.....	1,330,662	81,358,881
Totals.....	272,198,541	75,199,974	49,347,640	4,888,430	3,971,796	2,700,490	91,820	34,300,817	442,699,508

The percentage of production of each kind of wood was thus as follows:

White Pine.....	61.3% of total
Hemlock.....	17 "
Spruce and Fir.....	11 "
Norway Pine.....	1.2 "
Cedar.....	.9 "
Pitch Pine.....	.6 "
Tamarack.....	.02 "
Mixed Softwoods.....	8. "
	<u>100%</u>



Hard wood production in board feet, species by species and county by county, was as follows in 1949:

County	Birch	Maple	Beech	Oak	Ash	Basswood	Poplar	Elm	Mixed Hard-woods	Total Hard-woods
Androscoggin.	1,050,005	261,868	200	505,024	26,787	49,825	.....	200	.....	1,893,909
Aroostook.....	567,690	3,015,128	529,542	358,000	125,232	162,781	14,824	27,050	138,882	4,939,129
Cumberland..	1,480,591	115,000	112,840	768,116	2,224	85,493	.....	1,200	.....	2,565,464
Franklin.....	14,676,154	3,297,822	1,602,395	49,989	32,775	116,494	11,012	.....	17,084	19,803,725
Hancock.....	319,000	2,000	.....	17,500	4,000	.....	.....	.....	131,427	473,927
Kennebec.....	1,038,380	215,000	118,590	361,500	19,000	129,000	3,000	16,000	79,000	1,979,470
Knox.....	214,862	76,602	55,026	170,628	2,538	.....	.....	2,400	3,846	525,902
Lincoln.....	143,140	31,773	16,850	494,750	2,800	2,000	.....	.....	.....	691,313
Oxford.....	18,322,422	1,897,858	1,182,259	738,024	228,146	116,146	29,373	1,223	656,007	23,171,458
Penobscot.....	1,624,380	1,588,840	532,220	69,089	369,550	207,462	7,000	1,200	14,000	4,413,741
Piscataqua....	5,164,712	2,217,539	100,847	30,423	362,099	333,151	.....	3,000	15,000	8,226,771
Sagadahoc....	6,417	1,702	868	33,295	.....	.....	.....	.....	10,020	52,302
Somerset.....	13,208,716	3,740,060	1,768,455	202,010	1,787,734	232,782	31,589	11,528	285,988	21,268,862
Waldo.....	371,553	89,520	36,202	201,500	156,000	29,500	16,920	1,000	225,000	1,127,195
Washington...	672,395	62,620	29,645	78,247	2,700	.....	.....	.....	.....	845,607
York.....	1,197,350	124,838	129,100	989,822	57,132	.....	.....	.....	326,405	2,824,647
Totals....	60,057,767	16,738,170	6,215,039	5,067,917	3,178,717	1,464,634	113,718	64,801	1,902,659	94,803,422

Percentages of the total hard wood production were:

Birch.....	63.3% of total
Maple.....	17.7 " "
Beech.....	6.6 " "
Oak.....	5.3 " "
Ash.....	3.4 " "
Basswood.....	1.5 " "
Poplar.....	.12 " "
Elm.....	.07 " "
Mixed Hardwoods.....	2. " "
	<hr/> 100%

A notable development in conservation is the extension of national, state and towns forests, although Maine has not been very active along these lines until recently. The national forests and state forests and parks are a development to which Maine's attention is now seriously turning, and which promises to attract increasing attention and support. A still newer trend is that toward the town or community forest.

Town forests are a European idea introduced into America by Harris A. Reynolds, of the Massachusetts Forest and Park Association. In 1950 about 3,000 such forests covering nearly 1,000,000 acres, were established. Under this plan, a community may, by purchase of idle lands or by the taking of title to tax lands, acquire woodlands acreages as town property. These properties are placed under modern management and planted when necessary, and in time produce revenue with the harvesting of mature trees. The Town Forest of Russell, in the Berkshires, for example, has already produced sufficient revenue on an annual basis to cut its tax rate about in half, and the hope is that in the next generation revenue from the Russell Town Forest will be enough to enable citizens, instead of receiving a tax bill, to get a check from the town as their share of the forest revenue after payment of all town expenses.

Aside from possible revenues, the town forests have other value. Being located in town areas, they are immediately available to adults and children for sports, picnics and swimming. Fish and game thrive in these forests, and sportsmen enthusiastically support them. The forest, by conserving water, raises the water table in the surrounding area, and is of value to all the farms. Schools use it educationally, turning the woods into veritable nature laboratories. The whole community learns at first hand the meaning of forests and their conservation. All citizens use the town forest for their enjoyment, profit and education, and all become quick to prevent vandalism and profiteering with respect to it. Conservation at state and national levels thrives under such a plan.

Formerly Maine lumbermen were of a common stock. They were stalwarts born to the woods, who thrived on a diet of snow, cold weather, baked beans, salt pork, bacon and flap-jacks with maple syrup. Their knowledge of forests made them thoroughly at home in the wildest regions, even in the depths of winter. More recent crews have been largely hired in the big cities, and sometimes arrive in the woods in paper-thin clothing, with no more knowledge of lumbering than a Brooklyn school child who has played under shade trees in city parks. The old-time Yankees in these crews are usually outnumbered by Russians, Finns, French, Swedes, Lithuanians, Poles, Canadians, Indians, Italians, Spaniards, Jews, Swiss and Scandinavians—to name the more prominent nations represented. In the old days the woodsmen went north by steamer on Moosehead Lake, and with their winter clothing in packs on their backs tramped through the woods, perhaps a few days, perhaps a week or more, until they reached the camps where they were hired. Today, they are met at the railhead by buses which roll them to the depot camps at a speed of thirty miles or more an hour.



These woodland roads serving the lumber camps are a good business in themselves. The Spruce Wood Department of the Great Northern Paper Company, for example, has built several hundred miles of gravel road because the million dollars or more so spent are regained many times over in the ease of transport of men, supplies and equipment. Wood is also delivered faster and cheaper by this means. Over the old tote roads, mere tracks through the wilderness, rough with boulders and deep with mud and mire, only small tote wagons drawn by great teams of horses could move. Rubber-tired trucks and buses, in contrast, roll swiftly and smoothly to their destinations—with much less cost in transit.

The Great Northern has even gone so far as to operate a chain of farms and "hotels" to serve its woods crew. These farms produce hay, grain, potatoes and pork near the cutting operations, and thus save transportation costs. Two of the most celebrated of these farms are the Pittston Farm, north of Kineo, and the Grant Farm, across Moosehead Lake. These farms in addition to their thoroughly modern, efficient farm buildings and equipment, have dormitories for woodsmen going in and out of the forests, as well as rooms for officials and guests of the company. The rates are absurdly low, if a visitor pays at all. The beds are comfortable. The food is abundant and excellent. Many a high-priced city hotel provides lesser accommodations for its patrons.

The lumber camps of the present day are very different from those of the earlier times, with their rough buildings and accommodations. In the old days, when snow was necessary to "tote" in supplies and to move logs about, no cutting was done until snow flew; but today lumbering is almost a year-around activity, except perhaps during "mud-time" in the spring. Cord wood, important today, is also produced and marketed differently. The men start work as soon as it is light enough to see. They drop their trees and cut them into four-foot lengths until about mid-afternoon, when they finish the day by piling their work into cords at the stump. This piled wood is picked up later by other crews and either trucked to the mills or driven down the rivers in spring.

Formerly the axe was the only important tool. Every lumberman had his own axe, and in the evenings and on Sundays he sharpened and polished the steel until it was "sharp enough to shave with." Today most cutting is done with one- or two-handed cross-cut saws or sometimes a single man working alone uses a buck-saw with a very narrow blade, which cuts amazingly well. Trees, if large, are first notched with an axe at the swell of the roots. Then the saw is started through them. Wedges are driven into the cut behind the saw, as it starts to bind, and when these wedges are driven in far enough the trees break over and tumble with a crash. By controlling the position of the original notch and the pressure on the wedges, the cutters can drop a tree almost where they please. For sport, some experts drive an upright stake into the ground, then drop their tree so that it hits the stake squarely and drives it out of sight.

Next comes "limbing," which is the trimming away of the branches to the point from the base where the diameter of the log is

four inches. At this point the log is sawed across in such a way as to leave the top. Sometimes these are piled up in great heaps, and in wet weather they are burned. Otherwise this slash is left where it lies.

In the old days, logs were hauled to a yard by teams of horses hitched to them by chains. Now the cord wood is picked up where the cutters pile it and carried to the edge of a road, leaving only enough room for a team to pass when the time comes to take the pulp wood to the mill.

The prelude to all these operations is the "cruise." An expert criss-crosses through an area, and selects or marks the timber to be cut and estimates the amount available. These men are amazingly accurate. They are usually lone operators taking great pride in their work, in which they often follow ancestors who have for generations been expert woodcraftsmen.

When a company is assured enough wood for a profitable operation, a swamping crew comes in, building a road to the campsite where log cabins or tar-paper-covered shacks are erected. These shacks, though not picturesque, are warm in the mid-winter nights when they are nearly buried in snow. The old-time camps usually had a big hole left in the roof directly over a shallow pit where a huge log fire was kept continuously roaring. Feeding the fires and keeping up the cord wood supply was a day and night job. Those old camps were draughty and cold, and sometimes so smoky that the men could hardly get to sleep. The modern camps, by contrast are heated by huge, air-tight stoves, with sheet-iron pipes to carry off the smoke. Glowing cherry-red, they radiate tremendous quantities of dry heat which dries soaking wet woolen trousers, sweaty shirts and snow-drenched wool socks very quickly, even if odorously.

The camps of today differ little in design from the older ones. They are mostly one-story affairs with outside walls of logs or boards about six feet high. The ridge-pole is about twelve feet from the ground, and the roof slopes gently down to the walls. The roof, usually tar-papered, is not insulated; and the terrific heat inside melts the snow soon after it falls, although the intense cold freezes the water as it drips from the eaves and forms great icicles, which in the course of the winter season coalesce until often the camps are walled in with glistening sheets of ice. The stable for horses is similar, although usually not heated. It is still called the "hovel."

Around the walls of the men's quarters are bunks, usually double-deckers. They may have mattresses, but more often the blankets are spread on hay or fir boughs, which are very comfortable. In former times the bunks were mere shelves on which the men slept in long lines, keeping one another warm under a single felt-like blanket strip. Nowadays each man has his own bunk, by grace of a board which separates it from his neighbor's. The only other items of furniture are a bench along the row of bunks, and poles which are nailed to uprights to provide a place for the men to hang their clothes. The camp boss, the scaler (who measures the lumber), the clerk and the paymaster, when he comes, sleep in the office building. Another typical lumber camp building is the store where the men buy tobacco,



clothing and shoes on credit, the amounts being deducted later from their pay.

Some camps of large companies have experimented with spring beds and mattresses stuffed with hay, which can be changed as often as necessary. Sanitary facilities are usually limited, but some big,



*Part of Hathaway Brothers Mill, Columbia Falls*

semi-permanent camps even have shower facilities—at which the old-timers jeer. These oldsters are firmly convinced that it is unhealthy to change clothes repeatedly through the winter, while taking a bath in the woods is merely “flying in the face of Providence.” These woodsmen, old and young, hate fresh air; they get so much of it on the job. They hate to have a door left open in the camp; and the thicker the air becomes with tobacco smoke and the odor of wet clothing drying off, the better they like it.

Probably the most important building in the camp is the cook-house, which is next to the sleeping quarters. Often the two are under the single roof, being separated by pantry, or “dingle,” in which supplies are kept. The cook-house is neat and wholesome, for



the lumber camp cook prides himself upon cleanliness as much as upon the quality and quantity of the food he turns out. No white-capped Waldorf chef is ever so despotic or tempermental as the wilderness pot-slinger. The tables are simply rough boards laid on trestles or "horses," but they are scrubbed clean with sand soap after each meal by the "cookie," or cook's helper, who does all the "dirty work."

Meals are tremendous. In the old days there was not much variety. Salted or smoked meat and potatoes were enough. Sometimes a deer provided fresh meat. Long ago some camps hired hunters to keep them supplied with meat. Great loaves of white bread and pails of steamed brown bread were always on hand, and, with huge pots of baked beans, were the mainstay of the campers' diet. It was heavy food. It was man's food. But it was necessary to keep the men well fueled for their exertions in the biting cold.

Today modern food packing and transportation enables the woods companies to set a table which, though it may not be better, is more varied. Frozen meat, fish and vegetables are common. But baked beans and white or brown bread, with flap-jacks and maple syrup, are still the breakfast mainstay. A man with a dozen flip-flops drenched in syrup, plus ham and eggs, maybe a side-dish of red kidney beans and a slice of cold apple pie with cheese, has a breakfast to stiffen the backbone for a solid stretch of manual labor.

Day by day, as the cutting progresses, piles of logs or pulp wood collect behind the choppers and sawyers. The camp "boss," meanwhile, lays out main roads and branch roads for his gang of swamper to clear to a sufficient degree that horse-drawn sleds or tractor-pulled trains of sleds may get to the cuttings. On these sleds, over the roughest imaginable road, the wood is hauled to the "landing"—usually the bank of a stream or river. Sometimes, in mid-winter, the wood is hauled and stacked on the pond or stream if the ice is strong enough to bear the wood and the horses.

Ordinarily, the haulers have little or no trouble, because the roads are laid out so that there are no steep declivities. Sometimes it is impossible to avoid a grade, and then it becomes necessary to use some method of easing the loads down the grades. Probably more men and horses have been killed in the Maine woods in hauling accidents on these down-hill excursions than in all other types of accidents combined. If a load, sometimes weighing many tons, passes out of control, it runs over the horses, crushing them and usually the teamster to death.

On low-angle grades it is often enough to keep the snow shoveled away and to roughen the surface with boughs and hay to stop the sleds from sliding too easily. Another precaution consists of wrapping the runners with lengths of old chains, which dig into the ground and bite effectively against the ledges.

On steep grades there may be real trouble. The loads may be snubbed down. At the top of the grade a large tree is cut off about six feet from the ground and stripped of its bark, to serve as the "snubbing post." Then a length of heavy rope, usually a three-inch line, is laid alongside the road running up and down. When a team-



ster comes to the top, he halts his horses, passes the free end of the line around his load with two half-hitches, which draw with a tightness proportional to the strain. The loop of the line, the half-way mark of its length, he passes several times in spiral loops around the snubbing post. The weight of the line reaching down the hill keeps these loops turned tightly around the post, and their friction as they slip around is enough to check the descent effectively. When the load reaches the bottom, the teamster unhitches and drives off. The ends of the rope have changed places automatically, and the line is ready for the next load that comes along.

Occasionally a rope breaks. Perhaps a sharp rock frays a few threads of the cable, and when a strain comes this little break enlarges rapidly. While the other twists of the cable may hold the load, there is always a chance that the whole line may part at the weak point. The teamster drives with one eye behind him, and when the rope breaks he lashes his horses to a full run. The intelligent beasts sense the peril and dash down hill with death but a whisker behind them. If a horse manages to stay on his feet, the bottom of the grade is usually reached in safety; and the horses stand panting, their great chests heaving, foam dripping from their mouths and clouds of steam pouring from their nostrils. Sometimes a horse catches his hoof in a rock or hole. Then there is one less team—and usually one less teamster.

The other way of snubbing is employed as a rule on longer grades. A single length of line is hitched to the load and snubbed around the post. Then two men, wearing leather mittens to keep the flesh from being ripped from their hands, feed the rope around the snubbing post. If they do it carefully, all is well. But if they permit the line to slip, then try desperately to recover control causing it to jerk, the line, stretched as taut as a fiddle-string, may snap at the sudden strain. The result is as before. Either the team wins the race with death, or fails.

In a few places the gradient is too steep for snubbing. Then the logs or cord-length pulp wood may be rolled down the incline or run down a chute made of smoothed logs. This process is simple, but sometimes a log flying at lightning speed may jump out of the chute and splinter itself against another tree or a ledge. Of course, if the flying missile hits a man, another woodsman's life is ended. Lumbering has been softened greatly in modern times, but it is still a rough-and-ready job which requires men of strength and courage.

At the "landings" a man marks each log with the symbol of the operator—a cross, an initial or some registered hieroglyphic.

When the ice goes out in spring, great quantities of logs and pulp wood are shot down the tributaries near and far into great collecting basins like Chesuncook Lake. In the old days the logs were warped slowly across the lake to the sluice gates in the dam by men pulling on ropes which were twisted around capstans on shore. These bull-heads, as the capstans were called, were manned day and night, for the drive must go as fast as possible before the spring spate of the rivers abated. Today a fleet of motorboats or steamboats drag the logs to the sluice gates in rough rafts in about one-tenth of the time.

Then the sluice gates are opened, and the logs are drawn into the white water and go churning along down Ripogenus Gorge to placid waters hundreds or more miles below, where great booms, reaching like fingers across the Penobscot above the mills, collect the logs. Skilled workers sort them and send on those that do not belong to that particular mill to the booms of their destination.

Logging is still hard work, with soaking feet and sweat-saturated clothing, with few hours for sleep and only time enough to stuff down enormous hot meals. But the frenzied activity of an older time is gone. In the days when every drive was made up of long logs, the drive was indeed perilous and exhilarating, and the driver's life rested on his sure-footedness as he rode the logs and untangled the big jams.

Most lumbering men still enjoy the life in the woods. It is rough and hard, but it is free. There are men to whom "paper work" is to be avoided at all costs, who are happiest when deep in the woods away from paved streets, stone buildings, noise and confusion. For such men there remain two ways of earning a livelihood—the sea or the woods. Many Maine men still go into the forests gladly, finding their best way of life under the stars and among the spruce trees.

The great dividing-line between old-time lumbering in Maine and its modern successor is Ripogenus Dam, built by the Great Northern Paper Company to create a storage basin, assure enough water for log drives and regulate the flowage. It is situated at one of Maine's wildest and most picturesque places. The awesome Ripogenus Gorge was built to replace the old crib-work dam erected years ago by axe, auger and brute force, and which "blew" again and again and had to be repaired or rebuilt almost every ten years. It was about 1915 that Great Northern built a forty-five-mile-long gravel road from Greenville to the dam site and began hauling in the necessary materials to construct what was at that time one of the largest dams in the United States. It created a lake holding 20,000,000,000 cubic feet of water, a body of water twenty-five miles long, and with a forty-five-square-mile area—one of the largest of its kind in the world.

The dam is 860 feet long, but with its aprons on either side is more than 1,000 feet in length. It is 92 feet high and 64 feet wide at the base. Across the top runs a road 16 feet wide. From the top of the dam to the lower end of Ripogenus Gorge there is a drop of 260 feet.

The construction company built a little city to house the 700 men employed in building the structure, and 65,000 barrels of cement were hauled in from the railhead forty-five miles away. Before the road was built, a horse-drawn sled required three days to negotiate the old tote road. With the new road, seven-ton trucks made two round trips daily.

The rock crushers and mixers were built on the job into the side of the gorge, and from this quarry a line of cars carried mixed concrete to fill the forms of the new dam structure. Finding sand of a suitable quality was a problem, but it was found in a pit a mile and a half below the dam. This sand was washed out of the dirt by diverting a natural brook channel through it. The lighter dirt was carried



away, leaving the heavier particles of sand behind. Transporting 1,000,000 or more tons of sand up that mile-and-a-half stretch from the sand-pit to the mixers at the quarry was a major job in itself.

The Great Northern dam left nothing to chance. After the site was prepared by blasting away the rock walls and base of Ripogenus Gorge, it was found that there were seams and faults in the living rock, through which water from the new lake might gradually seep and in time weaken the dam's foundations. The entire area of rock was accordingly criss-crossed by a multitude of holes two inches in diameter and sixty feet deep. Wherever there was a seam or a fault, these holes were drilled by a carefully prepared plan. Cement under terrific compressed air heads was forced down into all these holes and fissures. Thus the walls and bed of the Gorge were bonded firmly together. The engineers made the Gorge a solid mass, stronger than Nature herself had built it.

For such a massive dam, ordinary sluice-gates operated by screws and similar appliances would not suffice; so the massive gates were geared to electric motors which, at the flick of a wrist, move the great valves as gently as a leaf sinks and rises on the wind.

In the old days, Ripogenus Gorge was famous as a man killer. "Rapogenus," as the old-timers called it, took many a life in the earlier days of lumbering. Today, with the great dam providing ample heads of water, and most of the wood going through in four-foot lengths, the terror has been tamed. Lumbering has modernized itself.

Though lumbering is modernized, its ancient uses continue. It goes into building and the making of paper. Maine has nearly a thousand lumber products mills. Much hardwood goes into these undertakings, which produce machine-turned articles bringing in millions of dollars annually. Beech, birch and maple are widely used in the production of such items, ranging in size from shoe-pegs to ships. Toothpicks, spools, dowels and clothespins are made of white birch. White birch, canoe or paper, grows in great quantities on 5,500,000 acres of Maine timberlands, making Maine the most important paper birch state in the country. The species seems particularly gifted for seeding into burned or cleared areas, and poplar and pin cherry usually come on to fire-swept regions along with it.

Spools made in Maine go to the big thread manufacturers in Rhode Island, Connecticut and New Jersey—even in some instances to California. Some of the wood goes to Britain in the form of spool bars for finished manufacturing there. Shoe-pegs and shoe-shanks are shipped to Germany and Japan. Maine birch pegs have also been used in the manufacture of hand grenades and shells. The first toothpick is said to have been made by Charles Forster, of Strong, Franklin County, Maine. He copied the art from South American natives, whittling his first pick by hand. Hotels were the initial users. Novelty, toys, sporting items, canoes, snowshoes, skis, oars, paddles, toboggans and sleds are among other items produced by numerous wood-turners throughout the state.

Christmas trees are an industry in themselves. Fir is the favorite in Maine, with spruce ranking second. In the Great Lake states fir

and spruce are used; in the Rockies, the lodgepole pine and Douglas fir; on the Pacific coast, the white or silver fir; in the South, slash and scrub pine; and in the Middle Atlantic states, red cedar. The first Christmas tree sold in America is believed to have been brought from the Catskills to New York by a woodsman in 1821, although use of the tree for a midwinter festival was known even in ancient oriental countries. The industry has grown rapidly over the last half-century, most Maine trees coming from Washington County. The biggest buyers are the coal-mining and industrial regions of Pennsylvania. Cutting begins in October each year, and continues until within a few days of Christmas. The major sources are abandoned fields and pastures which have reverted to forest growth. Cut-over timberlands are another source of Christmas trees. Foresters are encouraging the thinning, rather than the clear cutting, of Christmas tree lands. Some regions aim to thin down young conifer stands to 700 trees per acre. All Christmas trees cut from the National Forest bear this tag: "This is a certified Christmas tree, cut for forestry improvement."

Fuel wood is another Maine industry. The average annual cut of wood for fuel in Maine is 500,000 cords or more. It surpasses the cut for other hardwood industries. The industry was still greater when every railroad used wood for its locomotives and for heating. As late as 1890 the Maine Central Railroad used wood in its Bangor-Vanceboro branch locomotives.

Wood is also used for charcoal pit-burning. The Katahdin Iron Works, in Township 6, Range 9, had its beginning back in 1843, when charcoal was made in pits from wood cleared in the forests, then was used in the smelting of bog iron ore, of which the region boasted rich deposits. The primitive method of burning was to stack cord wood in a pit, building layers of wood around a chimney. When the pile was big enough, it was covered with alternate layers of wet clay and moss. Inflammable liquid was poured down the chimney to ignite the kiln. After days of slow burning and careful watching, blue smoke appeared from holes bored in the sides of the kiln, indicating that the wood was done. The beehive-shaped kilns of today later replaced the older pit-burning method. The cost of burning wood for charcoal was 4 cents per bushel, and about 200 bushels were needed per ton of iron. Charcoal burning has long since disappeared from iron smelting, coke now being used for fuel.

Wood was similarly used for limestone burning and brick baking. Back in 1733 Samuel Waldo, owner of the ancient Waldo Patent, discovered rich limestone deposits in Rockland and Thomaston, and in the period that followed the Scotch-Irish settlers took up the burning of this rock as an industry. Thirty cords of wood were required to burn a charge of rock in a kiln which would produce 300 casks of lime. The burning often continued for eight days, and sometimes between 2,000 and 3,000 cords were burned in a single night. Brickmaking furnished employment to hundreds of men around 1835, mainly for chopping the cord wood and hauling it to the kilns. The 100 or more brickyards of former days have dwindled to scarcely more than a dozen. Many brick kilns still burn wood.



The tanning of animal skins for leather with hemlock bark extract was a primitive Maine industry. In 1810 there were 200 tanneries, and in 1840 there were 395. In 1869 the industry ranked among the first five of the state. The average tannery used from 4,000 to 6,000



*Maple Syrup Time in Maine*

cords of bark annually, and larger plants consumed 10,000 to 12,000 cords. The old home method of tanning consisted of breaking up the dried hemlock bark by hand, building piles of alternate layers of bark and skins in huge vats, then pouring in water and allowing the piles to set until the acid-formed liquor had treated the skins—usually about a year. In payment for tanning his neighbor's skins, the tanner usually retained half of them for himself.

Maple syrup and maple sugar are further "tree products" of Maine. A stand of sugar maples in this state is often called a "sugar bush" or "sap orchard." Although "Vermont maple syrup" has



gained wide renown, many Maine patriots insist that much of the delicious syrup which finds its way into world markets under the Vermont label would be found, if traced to its origins, to have come from Maine. From forty-five to fifty gallons of sap make about a gallon of syrup. Cold nights and warm days provide ideal "sap weather," and the yield under these conditions is greatest.

The making of spruce gum is an ancient industry that has disappeared almost entirely from the scene. The extensive use of spruce for pulp has probably been a factor in the disappearance of spruce gum, and the tremendous manufactured chewing gum industry is probably the other major reason. The red spruce particularly yielded this gum.



## CHAPTER VIII

### *Commercial Fisheries*

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH, a Virginia pioneer who made many trips to Maine for fish for his own colony, said after a trip to this region in 1614 that the main staple here was fish, and that any man of normal requirements could earn more than he could spend by working here three days out of seven. The major source of income was, as he explained, angling.

Both Virginia and Massachusetts fishermen came north for fish. As early as 1612 a Virginian, Captain Samuel Argall, on a fishing expedition to Mount Desert Island, encountered and defeated a French boat with its crew. His exploit came when the English thought they had been ousted from Maine by the French, and opened this area once more to them. When Maine itself seemed unsafe for them, the English fished off Monhegan Island.

Early in the sixteenth century European fishermen had discovered, or rediscovered, the Grand Banks of Newfoundland, and some authorities place the first visit to the Monhegan area as early as 1535. Others claim that for centuries the Vikings and other European fishermen had come to the islands off Maine to spend their summers and had returned every autumn, as a matter of practice, to their native European shores with great quantities of dried cod and other fish. Cod was the most popular fish for these fishermen until the nineteenth century, and John Smith himself slack-salted cod to preserve them, and shipped them to Spain to be sold at "a pretty profit."

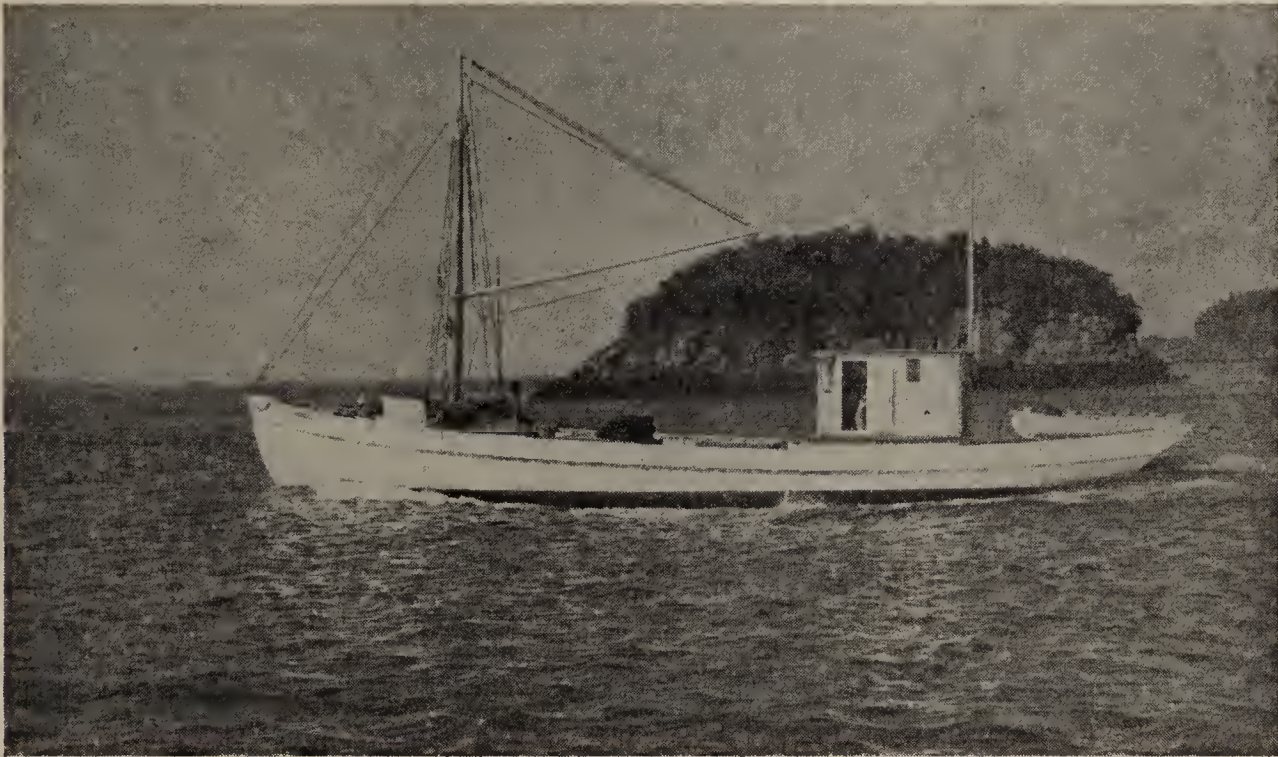
In 1765 sixty or sixty-five Maine boats were active in cod fishing, bringing in about 1,000 tons of cod annually through the ensuing ten-year period. The manning and care of these ships required the services of about 230 seamen, and the major markets for cod were in Europe and the West Indies. Still further fishing was done from dories close to shore, and the catch of these shore fishermen was sold in Maine. The Revolutionary War abruptly wrecked the foreign portion of this trade, and after the war the business was only partially restored. In 1786 and in the period immediately following, only about 300 tons of cod were caught for export. The value of fisheries dropped from a pre-war figure of about \$50,000 to a post-war level of \$10,000.

Afterward the fishing trade recovered, however, and soon little "schooners" were slipping off the highly-scented ways from Maine shipyards, and crews were bringing home cod dried for the West Indies trade. When Talleyrand came to the United States in 1794, mainly to survey its commercial possibilities for French financiers, he reported that the District of Maine would not prosper as long as its people were only lumbermen and fishermen. He described the fisherman's life as being "at the edge of the society to which he belongs," and added: "The fisherman's knowledge is only a little



cunning, and his action, which consists only in having an arm hang over the side of the boat, closely resembles idleness!"

It was an "idleness" that did much for Maine, however, and which in bad agricultural years actually fed its citizens. Groundfish, lobsters and clams in such years constituted their major items of fare. Herring had been caught for years by the Indian method of "torching," or by the light of a torch at night, but by 1820, when Maine became a state, they were being caught in commercially significant quantities. The introduction of the brush weir greatly facili-



*Bringing in the Sardines on the "Continental," Seaboard Packing Company Boat, Lubec*

tated catching them. Between 1820 and 1826 Maine fishermen produced  $19\frac{1}{4}$  per cent of all fish and shellfish caught in the United States, achieving an annual average of more than 12,000 tons. The Maine fishing fleet in those early years of the nineteenth century provided employment for 2,500 to 3,000 men, and the value of exports of fish alone totaled nearly \$500,000 annually.

As time went on, the fishing industry changed. The once seemingly inexhaustible supply of "cod fishes" along shore diminished in number, and fishermen had to go farther away to make the catch they desired. The Grand Banks of Newfoundland, the world's great fishing grounds, attracted Maine schooners, and by the time of the Civil War almost every town along shore had at least one "Banker" to its account. But there was heavy competition from Canadian fishermen. Besides, Gloucester and Boston were growing as fishing ports, and their superior facilities for handling and marketing the fish forced the Maine schooners out of business, or caused them to adopt Boston and Gloucester as their home ports.



By the fourth decade of the nineteenth century Massachusetts shellfish production had declined to such a degree that most of the supply was consumed within that state. At the same time New England and New York markets were growing, and the only source of the additional shellfish was in Maine waters. The trend of Maine fishing then gradually shifted to lobsters. Clams also rose in importance, although it was not until near the close of the century that they had a sale wider than to the salted bait market. Every winter the fishermen dug, shucked and salted thousands of barrels of clams to supply the offshore fishing fleets of the northeastern seaboard. As fresh bait became more popular, this clam business dwindled in quantity, although the export demand remained constant until about 1912, Portugal being a leading consumer.

After 1820 Maine's fisheries enjoyed more economic freedom, although other conditions militated somewhat against them. Even the limited degree of industrialization to which the state was subjected exerted a suppressive influence. The erection of numerous dams decreased the speed of water run-off. New farming practices led to soil erosion and permitted stream-beds to become covered with silt. Industrial wastes were dumped into the streams, particularly when industry was new and practically uncontrolled. Municipal sewage and the other debris of villages and cities likewise contributed to the reduction of spawning migrations of numerous species of fishes. Among the fish most affected were those swimming from the sea into the interior rivers for the reproduction season—salmon, shad, alewives, smelts and others, which found more and more Maine rivers intolerable.

At the same time herring, originally a bait fish, attracted an ever heavier demand, not only as a table delicacy, but as a source of crudely processed oil, as fish to be smoked or dried, and especially for use as agricultural fertilizer. Smoked herring grew in popularity until it reached its peak at the close of the nineteenth century. In 1900 the smokehouses in operation in Maine numbered 211. Then a decline set in, until in 1949 there were fewer than twenty-five smokehouses.

Another use of herring was on the increase. Back in 1850 the idea of packing small fishes in oil under the name of "sardines" had originated in France. The annual pack at that time was 3,000,000 cans, and in the next decade it increased about 300 per cent. In 1865 George Burnham, of Burnham and Morrill, in Portland, conceived the idea of using the small Maine herring as a substitute for sardines. Literally millions of these small fish were caught every year near Eastport. They were too small for pickling or smoking, and he thought his idea of a Maine "sardine" would prove profitable. Thorough and methodical in temperament, he visited France, familiarized himself with French canneries, then in 1867 established a plant at Eastport to carry out his purpose. Because of the dampness of the climate, he found considerable difficulty in drying the fish, and only gradually was he able to destroy the insistent flavor of herring oil. Others, meanwhile, became attracted to his idea, and by 1875 sardine canning was successfully in operation. By 1905, according

to the United States Census of Manufactures, sardine packing in Maine was second only to salmon canning in Alaska and the Columbia River valley in American fisheries, while it ranked seventh among the manufacturing industries inside Maine.

Lobsters had been successfully canned as early as 1843, and lobster canning did much to attract the nation's attention to Maine fisheries. Subsequently they became more important in their fresh state, especially with the development of up-to-date methods of shipment, as well as of keeping them lively until ready for use.

#### LOBSTERS

As Robert L. Dow has written in a Department of Sea and Shore Fisheries bulletin, "Commercial Fisheries of Maine," the "Maine lobster" is the same species as is found in eastern Canadian waters and in diminishing numbers along the southern New England and Middle Atlantic coast. Of its habits, he wrote:

"Living on the ocean bottom, among rocks and in mud burrows, and seeking the protection of seaweed, kelp and other marine growths, the lobster is, as far as is known at present, relatively non-migratory, moving offshore into deeper water during the cold months, and returning to the coastal shoals during the spring and summer.

"From observation in captivity and the experience of commercial fishermen, it is believed that the lobster eats fish, mollusks, marine invertebrates and small quantities of algae and marine plants. When confined in pounds, lobsters will dig, shuck and eat clams in considerable quantity. At the Boothbay Harbor station egg lobsters appear to prefer mussel meats to fish.

"Not only does the lobster chew up his food with his several sets of concave teeth but his stomach itself is a reasonable facsimile of an efficient rock-crusher capable of grinding up the shells of both mollusks and crustacea. On this account, with the resulting identification difficulties involved, no recorded efforts have been made to determine the lobster's dietary habits by analyzing the contents of his stomach.

"The lobster uses eight of his ten legs for moving forward or backward. He can also propel himself rapidly through water by contracting the muscles of his tail. The other pair of legs, the large claws, are used for offensive or defensive action, and to obtain food.

"The lobster is usually right-handed; that is, the large crusher claw is on the right, while the pincher claw is on the left. Some lobsters, however, are left-handed or even ambidextrous.

"Freak lobsters, so-called, are those which have double large claws (or some other similar abnormality) and those whose shell color is unusual. Off-color lobsters may be blue, bright red, pseudo-albino, calico or parti-colored.



“Although little is known specifically about the function of the antennae, it is believed that different sections of the antennae, or feelers, are particularly sensitive to certain types of stimuli, and that the lobster is able to locate food and avoid natural enemies or other dangers by means of them.

“At periodic intervals, varying with differences in growth, age, sex and, probably, other factors, the lobster sheds its skeleton shell. Commencing at the end of the first



*Mackerel and Lobster Fleet, Cape Porpoise*

larval stage, shedding re-occurs throughout the period of the lobster's growing life, as the direct result of growth together with other unidentified contributory changes.

“Although individual adult lobsters may shed at any season of the year, the bulk of the population sheds between June and September. In Maine there appears to be a geographical variation in the time of shedding. In the western part of the state lobsters moult from four to six weeks earlier than they do in the extreme eastern portion.

“Shortly after she has shed, while her new shell is soft, the sexually mature female is impregnated by the male. Following a year within the female's body cavity the eggs are extruded, fertilized and attached in an adhesive mass to the swimmerettes under the tail. The number of eggs varies with the size of the lobster; the smallest sexually mature female in Maine waters will produce from nine to ten



thousand eggs, while one hundred thousand appears to be the maximum limit for the largest females. During the summer months of the next year the eggs complete their incubation period and are hatched.

“The length of the surface swimming period of lobster fry varies with, among other conditions, the temperature of the water. The minimum time appears to be about fifteen days when the water temperature is 68° F. If water temperatures are low, the time requirement may be as great as two months. By the time the young lobster leaves the surface or sub-surface waters permanently it has developed to the fifth or sixth stage.”

Early colonists appreciated the Maine lobster. In Rosier's account of Waymouth's voyage to Maine in 1605 appear the following words: “And towards night we drew with a small net of twenty fathoms very nigh the shore; we got about thirty very good and great lobsters . . . which I omit not to report, because it sheweth how great a profit the fishing would be.”

After 1840 Maine was in the lobster business “for keeps.” Deficiencies in the Massachusetts supply were made up in Maine. A lobster fisherman named Captain Church cruised into New Harbor in 1853 aboard his smack “Monticello,” and was so successful through use of hoop-net pots that the citizens of New Harbor threatened to drive him out unless he ceased “catching up all the lobsters.”

From western Maine coastal waters, commercial lobster fishing moved gradually eastward, reaching Penobscot Bay in the late 1840s and Eastport by 1855. At that time non-resident fishermen were the major enterprisers. Maine men entered the business, too, as the market in New York and Boston increased. From the original lobster packing business in the early 1840s, the state developed twenty-three lobster packing factories along the coast, as far west as Portland, in the next thirty-five years. By 1854 large quantities of Maine lobsters were being shipped to California and to foreign markets. By 1879 a Southwest Harbor firm was canning whole lobster in the shell for the export trade, although their purpose was mainly for garnishing other dishes.

In 1880, the first year in which records of the catch were kept, nearly 9,500,000 pounds of lobsters were used in the production of 2,000,000 pounds of canned lobster meat. Those figures were believed to represent a decline from 1870, which had been a peak year of activity.

By 1872 the state passed its first restrictive legislation with respect to lobster canning. From that time onward the commercial phase of the industry constantly decreased. Subsequent legislation culminated in the 10½-inch lobster law of 1895, which marked a decided trend toward conservation. The effect of the law was to stifle the canning industry, which had been thriving on under-sized lobsters, and to boost the fresh lobster business.



By 1904 twenty-six tidal lobster pounds had been constructed in Maine waters, raising total storage capacity to 1,500,000 lobsters. The number of tidal pounds has since increased to forty, with the additional storage facilities furnished by 1,000 tanks and cars, making total accommodations for nearly 5,000,000 pounds of lobsters in these different devices. The development of more stable marketing conditions makes possible the maintenance of these live storage pounds in a way that is really serviceable to the industry.

Eggs and seed lobsters were first given protection by law in 1872, but the law was repealed in 1874 by establishment of a closed season on all lobsters from August 1 to October 15 each year. Any lobster under 10½ inches in length was not to be caught, preserved, sold or exposed for sale between October 15 and April 1 of each year. Every Legislature in the 1870s and 1880s imposed a new restriction on canning. In 1883 a minimum size was placed on canning lobsters during the open season—nine inches. It was not until 1895 that the all-year-around 10½-inch law was enacted.

In addition to the restrictive legislation of earlier years, the Legislature of 1903 took a positive step toward preserving the species, providing for the purchase of egg-bearing lobsters by the state for conservation and propagation purposes. From 20,000 to 40,000 pounds of seeders were being purchased annually by 1949 for the "planting" of lobsters in Maine waters, as well as several thousand more for the hatchery and rearing station.

Lobster fishermen were licensed after 1915, along with dealers and transporters. In that year there were 3,000 lobster fishermen in Maine. By 1946 their number had passed the 6,500 mark. Those figures cover fishermen alone, not those engaged in processing or distributing operations.

From time to time the methods of measuring lobsters have been ever more accurately defined by legislative enactment, so that the opportunity to misinterpret the lawmakers' intentions would be ever reduced. Enforcement of the lobster laws was placed in the hands of the state's coastal warden service in 1895, when the Department of Sea and Shore Fisheries was created. The number of wardens varies, but in recent years has ranged between twenty-five and thirty.

With the development of the lobster industry, the amount of study going into this shellfish and its habits and peculiarities has constantly increased. A comprehensive body of knowledge now exists for the guidance of all who have any interest in carrying on fishing operations on a scientific basis. The Legislature first granted authority to operate a propagating and rearing station in 1937, further expanding the plan in 1941, but without adequate implementation. In 1947 the Legislature turned over a part of the unrefunded marine gasoline tax to the Department of Sea and Shore Fisheries for the conduct of a marine fisheries research program. The fund is still being used for a continuing lobster research activity. In 1946 the Governor and his Council made further funds available, with the result that the Department of Sea and Shore Fisheries and the

Bacteriological Section of the Maine Agricultural Experiment Station were able to co-operate effectively through the facilities of the Department of Industrial Co-operation at the University of Maine. Further research programs were recommended by the Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Commission, involving joint investigations of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service and the several interested states.

Considerable experimentation with lobsters was taking place as early as 1890 and 1900 in the United States, Norway, Holland, France, Great Britain, Canada and Newfoundland. A French reference dates back to 1865. United States experiments began with establishment of a federal hatchery at Boothbay Harbor early in the twentieth century. Its output has consisted mainly of larval lobsters of the first stage of development, although some fourth-stage lobsters have been planted from time to time in Maine waters. The state station is operated co-operatively with the federal hatchery. It was designed to rear young lobsters to the fourth, or theoretically first bottom-seeking, stage under conditions affording them protection from natural enemies during their dangerous surface swimming stages.

The practice at Boothbay Harbor Hatchery is to hold egg lobsters purchased for propagation purposes either in a pound or in cars until about May 15. When the eggs become light brown, the lobsters are placed in hatching troughs about ten feet long and divided into three-foot-long compartments,  $11\frac{3}{4}$  inches wide and 12 inches deep. Lobster larvae are collected twice every twenty-four hours and placed in rearing boxes, where they are held until 90 per cent have completed their third moult and entered the fourth stage. Survival among larvae is greater if the temperature of the water in the beginning stages is about ten degrees higher than normal sea water temperature, and also if they are fed ground mussels instead of the traditional beef liver.

Thus every effort is being made to collect the complete life history of the lobster, in the hope that the resulting understanding will help the lobster scientists take the proper steps to promote conservation.

Before the 1840s lobsters were usually caught by hand. The fisherman gathered them at low tide by picking them up from their hide-outs under rocks and seaweed. Sometimes the fisherman used small boats at low tide, hooking up quantities of lobsters by means of a long-handled gaff. Hoop-net traps were introduced in Maine about 1840; but the many escapes led to use of the lath pot, the forerunner of the present types of trap. The two current types of trap are appropriately named the "parlor" (probably named after the one into which the spider invited the fly) and the "double-header," which are much alike, except that the "double-header" has two entrances, one at each end. Admittance to the trap is by meshed entrance ramps, knitted of twine, nylon or plastic. Inside the trap hangs the bait—herring or redfish, or perhaps including mackerel, tuna, flounder, pollock, mussels, clams, sculpins or others.



In the old days the lobster catch was usually delivered by smack boats, almost entirely to nearby centers. Canning in the mid-nineteenth century made delivery easier. In the present century, refrigeration science has reached such a high state of development that lobsters can now be shipped by rail, motor truck or air. Tank trucks are sometimes equipped with self-contained cooling, aerating and circulating systems which make it possible to carry live Maine lobsters to distant markets.



*Tides and Storms Undermine Fish and Lobster Houses*

Maine lobsters, quick-frozen in the shell, have been marketed since 1946. Widespread experiments are in process, designed to improve the quality of quick-frozen lobster meat. Colleges, universities and numerous fisheries services are assiduously studying every possible method of bringing the lobster to the table in more perfect condition than ever before.

In 1880, the first year in which records were kept, lobsters caught totaled 14,234,182 pounds, and the average price was 2.2 cents per pound. The catch went up to 24,452,111 pounds in 1889, when the price per pound was still \$.022. By 1897, after adoption of the 10½-inch law of two years earlier, the catch was down to 7,474,270 pounds. Afterward there was a gradual rise in lobster production, until another peak—19,936,542 pounds—was attained in 1910, when the price was \$.107 per pound. A sharp decline came during and after World War I, and in 1942 the catch was only 8,403,793 pounds, although the price had mounted to \$.216. The figures since then are as follows:



Year	Pounds	Value	Aver. Price per Pound
1942.....	8,403,793	\$1,821,519	\$ .216
1943.....	11,468,025	2,933,303	.255
1944.....	14,056,795	4,675,290	.332
1945.....	19,129,019	7,938,542	.414
1946.....	18,775,798	7,186,325	.382
1947.....	18,277,093	6,816,196	.372
1948.....	15,923,053	6,439,474	.404
1949.....	19,272,495	6,696,961	.3475

## CLAMS

The clam's body is encased within two "half-shells," hinged by an interlocking projection and ligament which the clam operates from within by means of two adductor muscles. When these muscles become relaxed or the clam dies, the shells are forced apart by the elastic pad beneath the hinge. The shell is made up of two lime layers and a protective chitinous covering, and varies in thickness, color and shape according to the soil and growth rate of the clam. The rate of growth during any growing period is indicated by the width between the concentric growth interruption lines on the shell. From the mantle, just inside the shell, a sticky secretion is exuded, and as this secretion becomes impregnated with lime the shell is formed. Two further muscular tubes, of retractable character, are used for the drawing in of food and water and expelling of waste.

When the tide covers the flats, the clam extends its siphons upward and begins to draw food-bearing water through its incurrent tube. Digestion proceeds almost circularwise, with the elimination of waste matter through the excurrent tube. Only a microscopic examination makes it possible to distinguish the sexes under ordinary conditions. A 2½-inch female clam spawns approximately 3,000,000 eggs, while a male of the same size produces sperm into the billions. The naked eye cannot distinguish the minute eggs from the spermatozoa of the male. But the whole process is quick. Males and females extrude these sex products into the water, where the motile male cells swim, as though of their own accord, to unite with the eggs; and fertilized eggs become swimming larvae within a few hours.

Larvae of the clam pass through a "free swimming period" varying from twelve days to three weeks, depending upon water temperatures and other conditions, and often are widely scattered from their spawning center during this time. Then they have most of the organs and characteristics of adult clams. The swimming organ then begins to disintegrate, and the larva descends to the bottom to crawl about on its foot, which is extruded through an opening in the mantle. There it attaches itself to some object by means of a thread similar to that found in the adult mussel—sand grains, seaweed, rocks, thatch-grass or any suitable anchor. Early rapid growth increases the length of the clam to the general shape



of the adult by the time it can be seen by the naked eye. Still the clam retains its power of attachment for a considerable period, although it may detach at any time and crawl short distances. If it is washed out of the flats after it has developed to the burrowing stage, it may dig itself in again or migrate short distances by means of its foot to find more favorable conditions. Customarily the young clam is established in its burrow before it is an inch long. It can still dig in as an adult, although its power to do so is diminished.

Clams eat small plants and animals, clumps of bacteria and decomposing fragments of larger organisms. Rate of growth is governed by numerous factors, but usually clams living near low tide level grow faster than those at higher levels. Usually water temperatures affect growth, too. Maine clams under optimum growing conditions, reach commercial size in their third year.

Island areas and tidal estuaries abound in succulent clams, in as much as soil conditions are best for them there. Loose shifting soils often bury them so deeply that they do not survive. Lower portions of the flats are best suited to clam life, both because water circulation is better and there is less shifting sand and smothering silt to make life uncomfortable for the little creatures. There are also fewer mussels to create and collect large quantities of silt, thereby blanketing the flats and making them unsuitable for settlement or survival.

Maine began clam conservation efforts as an outgrowth of commercialization. Commercially, the clam has always stood in a peculiar position. The Indians ate them, as huge shell heaps along the Maine coast attest, but usually resorted to them when game and finned fish were inadequate. White men also tended to regard them with disdain. Elder Brewster, of the Plymouth Colony, complained bitterly of the period during the winter of 1620-1621 when he had only clams for food. A certain stigma came to attach to any persons who had to depend upon clams for subsistence. Sprague's *Journals of Maine History* includes a notation in this regard: "In 1781 food was scarce with many at the Kennebec. Mr. Bailey knew families without bread for three months at a time, many even twenty miles inland sought the clam banks."

Even in 1850 clams were dug mainly to supply the Grand Banks fishermen with salt bait. The bait business continued big until 1875, but use of fresh bait then supplanted it. The demand for clams from Boston hotels began to boost the industry again after 1885. Clambakes also became popular. By 1890 nearly 800 fishermen were engaged in clam fishing, and about 40,000 cases of clams were packed annually. At the end of the century out-of-state shipments of clams to Boston, New York and other large markets had increased 500-fold. They were shipped both in the shell and shucked. In the same period the annual pack increased to more than 60,000 cases, and clam juice was also being processed and marketed. The bait industry persisted, but mainly for export. In 1912 thousands of barrels of salt bait clams were shipped to Portugal.

By 1949, not only 3,300 commercial fishermen were engaged in clam fishing along the entire length of the Maine coast, but many

others were active in related industries—shucking, processing, canning and delivery. The demand for fried clams, steamers, clamcakes, chowders, clam pies and other clam dishes in restaurants and hotels had mounted to greater height than ever before. The clam catch, with prices, as indicated below, over the last decade, points the condition of the industry:

Year	Pounds	Average Price per Pound	Total Value
1939.....	4,979,415	\$.042	\$209,711.63
1940.....	5,968,620	.04	237,093.26
1941.....	6,841,155	.057	390,419.62
1942.....	6,033,660	.078	470,018.09
1943.....	4,729,050	.13	614,053.58
1944.....	3,368,235	.123	415,415.65
1945.....	5,822,745	.13	776,366.00
1946.....	9,809,417	.185	1,814,655.00
1947.....	7,898,292	.189	1,496,642.00
1948.....	8,969,362	.20	1,801,207.00
1949.....	8,622,872	.164	1,414,151.00

Governmental protective measures have been undertaken, both through legal enactments and by co-operative studies and investigations of the whole life cycle of the clam. Richard E. Reed, Commissioner of Sea and Shore Fisheries in 1950, as this work goes to press, is also chairman of the clam committee of the Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Commission, through which experimental work in different states and in Canada is effectively dovetailed and co-ordinated. All this work, like the legislation that has been adopted, has been directed toward keeping the commercial clam fishery as profitable as possible.

Originally clams were dug during the autumn and winter months, and from April until October no digging was done because there was no market for clams in those months. Whatever closed season there was in those days was voluntary; but the custom of that period unquestionably set the mode for later legislation. The digging season changed, however, when the bait clam market vanished and the fresh clam market became a year-round institution. So, as the depredations upon the clam supply became heavier in the 1880s, agitation spread for a law to help protect the clam trade against extinction of the species.

The first restrictive legislation came in 1890. Digging in some of the flats was forbidden during June, July, August and part of September. But even after that law had been in operation for several years, the clam industry was still complaining of the decline in the supply. That decline was, in fact, accelerated.

Following the lines of thought on other fisheries, the clam men began suggesting a size limit. But the general belief was that such a limit would be hard to enforce. Such a law—the “two-inch law”—was passed in 1935, after almost thirty-five years of pressure in that



direction. It is now generally agreed that the two-inch law is the most effective conservation measure yet taken.

By 1906 there was no question that the clam population was on the wane. A law adopted in 1905 to encourage shellfish research had made it possible by that time to employ an expert fish culturist, Milton Spinney, to conduct a clam experimental station at Popham Beach. It was his discovery that a layer of silt averaging  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in depth had been deposited on some of the flats and had smothered seed clams. Encroachment of mussels had also introduced unbearable living conditions for the clam family generally. For the next several decades cultivation and propagation experiments were conducted at different points along the coast, with the resulting conclusion that clams could be propagated from seed, that flats should be completely dug over at intervals not exceeding two years, and that if the flats were not dug over in this manner the result would be an unmerchantable clam. The search in all the experimentation continued to be directed toward intelligent control and sound harvesting practices. The ultimate aim was to relate clam, quahog and mussel research in such a way as to obtain the optimum commercial yield of all species. The many and diversified experiments that resulted are still being expanded.

Meanwhile, the economics of the clam industry has made possible the digging of marginal or semi-marginal areas, with the result that total production has remained at a more or less constant level, although specific flats that were yielding large quantities of clams as late as 1945 were producing only a small fraction of the number four years later. Research seems to show, too, that in some areas digging lags behind supply, while elsewhere the flats have been dug to the point of non-productivity. One of the assignments of the Department of Sea and Shore Fisheries is to keep the Legislature informed on problems of clam flat management.

Although clam research has not advanced to the degree desired by those most interested in the fishery, partially because of more pressing shellfish problems, current studies bring many facts to light. Predatory aquatic creatures are destructive to clams, particularly seed stocks, usually with varying seasonal intensity. Leading predators are the horseshoe crab, which grinds the clam to ingestible size with special organs situated at the bases of the legs surrounding the mouth; the green crab, which consumes seed stocks and nips off exposed portions of larger clams; the boring cockles and other drills that suck out the clam meat after boring a round, counter-sunk hole in the shell by means of their rasp-like tongues. Several species of seabirds have also been seen attacking and consuming clams.

Characteristic of the studies being made by the different states, as well as by the federal government and by Canada, all of them now inter-related, are the following examples.

Geological studies of shellfish-producing areas are being made in Maine. Predator and competitor control is being investigated in Massachusetts. The Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution is experimenting with methods of physically improving clam areas. New Jersey and Connecticut are studying the problem of clam larvae and spat development. The Fish and Wildlife Service is conducting

intensive research on problems of clam flat management, while in Canada the effect upon clam flats of commercial digging has been under close investigation for several years. Information as it becomes available in the course of these experiments is pooled among the various groups.

Experiments supplementing the efforts of these major projects are being carried on by the several agencies in their respective areas. For example, in Maine experiments are being conducted in the physical improvement of clam flats, in competitor control, in survey methods, in determining what constitutes favorable and unfavorable flat conditions and in evaluating by chemical analysis the quality of clam meats from representative flats all along the coast.

In the autumn of 1948 the United States Department of the Interior, Fish and Wildlife Service, began a five year Clam Investigation designed to determine the causes of the decline in abundance of soft clams and quahogs, and to recommend measures for increasing production.

Headquarters have been established at Boothbay Harbor, Maine, with field units at Newburyport, Mass.; Kingston, Rhode Island; Milford, Connecticut; New Brunswick, New Jersey, and Beaufort, North Carolina.

The Boothbay Harbor unit has chosen Sagadahoc Bay and Robinhood Cove for intensive studies of our soft shell clam in cooperation with the Maine Sea and Shore Fisheries Department. A clam population census has been taken by digging two-square-foot samples at intervals throughout each bay. Growth rings on the shells have been interpreted to tell how old the clams are. Notched or marked clams have been planted in various places to check natural mortality and growth rates. Further studies are being made of the spawning and setting and the currents which carry the larvae from place to place. All of these studies are designed to determine how many clams can safely be removed from Sagadahoc Bay and Robinhood Cove each year.

Investigations at Newburyport, Mass.—in cooperation with the Marine Fisheries Division of the Massachusetts Department of Conservation—have as their object the development of methods for commercial soft clam farming and for town planting programs. Along with this work methods for control of clam predators are being developed. Further investigations are being made of the causes of clam mortalities.

#### THE STATE OF MAINE CLAMBAKE

The clambake is a Maine institution which those interested in fisheries have sought to preserve. Usually the clams are prepared by underground cooking in the orthodox bake. The preparations are a source of fun and excitement for all concerned, and the hours of waiting are filled with happy suspense. The eating of the finished product, consisting of clams, lobsters and all manner of delicacies, is more than full payment for the anxious period of waiting.

The procedure begins with the digging of a shallow, circular hole in the ground, from 8 to 10 inches deep. The diameter of the hole varies in proportion to the number of people to be fed. Customarily,



for twenty persons a 3-foot circle is dug; for fifty, a 5-foot circle; for 100, a 7-foot circle; for 250, a 9-foot circle; and for 500, two 8-foot circles.

The hole is lined with rocks. Hard rocks hold the heat better than soft ones. Porosity is to be avoided in the structure of the rocks chosen. Flat sandstone is not advisable. But hard rocks with a smooth surface are preferable. Round and oval shapes are to be desired. They should not be less than 6 inches thick. Rocks of the size of a football are best of all. They are arranged with the tops at about the same level, and as close together as possible. A live green tree branch is used to sweep them clean of all sand. A broom of green saplings is desirable, because it will not catch fire, and it does not have to be dampened at the risk of having it cool off the rocks.

A half-cord of dry hard wood is sufficient for a 7-foot circle, feeding 100 people. If soft wood is used, more is needed. Sixteen-inch stove wood is best. A fire is kept going over the entire surface of the circle of rocks. The fire should be kept low and next to the rocks, since the aim is to heat them. A test of the heat may be made by pushing aside a bit of wood and pouring about a half-teaspoonful of water on one or two rocks not too near the edge. If the water sizzles and becomes steam almost instantly, the rocks are hot enough. To heat them to this degree, two hours of time is usually necessary. Getting the rocks too hot will cause less difficulty than not getting them hot enough.

When they are hot enough, all burning wood is removed by steel rakes or other handy instruments. Work must be performed fast before they cool. The green birch branch or sapling brush is used to remove all possible ashes, so that the food will be kept clean and smoke will be wholly removed.

Over the clean, hot rocks a layer of wet seaweed is placed—preferably the kind in which Maine lobsters are packed for shipment. The layer should be about six inches deep, and should cover all the rocks. All possible steam must be kept inside, so great speed is necessary.

Washed clams go on top of the seaweed—soft-shell Maine clams are recommended by all Maine people. Sometimes a 1/2-inch wire mesh screen is placed over the seaweed to hold the clams and prevent them from falling through and becoming entangled in the seaweed. A bushel of clams can be used for thirty people; a barrel for 100. They are spread evenly over the screen.

Lobsters go directly on top of the clams. On top of the lobsters go sweet corn, frankfurters, sweet or Irish potatoes and eggs. If chicken is used, it should be pre-boiled for 20 or 30 minutes depending on its size. Broilers should be cut in half, and larger birds should be quartered. They should be placed in cheesecloth and put with the other food. The last layer of husk should be left on the corn to keep it clean. The eggs should be boiled two or three minutes beforehand—long enough to make the whites firm so that the shells will not break. They can be placed in cheesecloth covering, and will be hard-boiled when finished.

A layer of canvas protects the whole collection of food, and great care should be taken that as little steam as possible escapes around the edges. Small stones placed around the edges of the canvas will hold the steam inside. The canvas must not, however, touch the hot rocks around the edges. The stones remain covered with seaweed; otherwise the canvas will become scorched or burned.

The entire bake should be well covered, and should remain for about an hour. A good test is to lift up the edge of the canvas and see whether the lobster nearest the edge is done. If it is ready, the rest will be finished. Otherwise, baking should continue a while longer. If a wind is blowing, make the test at the edge where the wind strikes the bake.

The same rocks should never be used for a second clambake, because, once heated, they lose their ability to retain heat.

Variations of the method include the iron plate technique, which removes the necessity for the hole and the rocks. In the barrel method, hot rocks are placed in a barrel which has been water-soaked overnight to provide steam. Occasionally a stovepipe is used. The "pot bake" may be done at home or on an outdoor barbecue, but lacks the atmosphere of the seashore bake.

#### QUAHAUGS

Quahaugs are hard-shelled clams. Maine production is relatively insignificant, being only a fraction of clam production. Most quahaugs caught commercially in Maine come from the flats between the New Meadows River and the Harraseeket River. The outlet for cherry-stones and littlenecks is confined largely to the Boston, New York and Philadelphia markets, and chowders supply southern New England canneries. The quahaug catch has fluctuated to a marked degree over many years, the production figures being as follows from 1931 through 1949:

Year	Pounds	Value	Aver. Price per Pound
1931.....	198,000	\$18,000.00	.091
1932.....	134,860	13,642.00	.101
1933.....	11,594	1,054.00	.091
1935.....	1,700	152.00	.09
1937.....	13,200	960.00	.073
1938.....	55,000	4,000.00	.073
1939.....	333	15.13	.046
1940.....	3,685	335.00	.091
1941.....	119,130	16,174.65	.136
1942.....	122,342	21,496.23	.176
1943.....	79,046	16,542.38	.209
1944.....	30,855	5,049.00	.164
1945.....	301,312	56,701.44	.188
1946.....	168,192	39,590.00	.235
1947.....	96,302	27,662.00	.287
1948.....	288,677	60,348.00	.2095
1949.....	589,794	98,794.00	.1675



## MUSSELS

Sea mussels were first canned experimentally during World War I, and were only developed commercially about 1942. During World War II large quantities of blue mussels were packed in Maine. Between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 pounds of mussels were canned annually at Southwest Harbor, Bar Harbor, Milbridge, Stonington, Friendship, McKinley, Thomaston and Brooks. The industry provided employment for several hundred plant workers, and netted nearly \$100,000 yearly to Maine fishermen. With the recent shift to fresh mussels, Maine's blue mussels are being marketed increasingly in the large metropolitan centers of the East. But mussel canning has declined, only one factory being engaged in this type of canning in 1940.

## SCALLOPS

Scallop fishing reached its commercial peak in 1910, when more than 2,000,000 pounds were produced. Between 1916 and 1919 production declined sharply. The Sea and Shore Fisheries Department has been conducting scallop researches since 1947, although the work is inadequate because of the pressure of other needs.

Scallop production has been as follows:

Year	Pounds	Value	Year	Pounds	Value
1887.....	221,000		1919.....	73,000	
1888.....	180,000		1924.....	296,244	\$80,676
1889.....	295,000		1928.....	326,178	110,125
1892.....	116,000		1929.....	358,570	122,552
1898.....	167,000		1930.....	436,416	109,201
1899.....	52,848	\$ 3,059	1931.....	586,870	77,366
1900.....	174,120	8,588	1932.....	607,780	96,239
1901.....	218,984	9,164	1933.....	1,073,172	145,884
1902.....	125,820	9,363	1935.....	743,200	115,620
1903.....	137,304	9,747	1938.....	792,900	86,477
1904.....	141,876	12,325	1939.....	394,965	55,766
1905.....	628,176	71,851	1940.....	455,500	34,373
1906.....	561,336	45,205	1941.....	316,414	69,177
1907.....	520,704	57,856	1942.....	131,115	48,620
1908.....	952,092	84,206	1943.....	226,849	104,813
1909.....	1,858,383	162,128	1944.....	100,692	36,249
1910.....	2,027,121	183,389	1945.....	105,308	40,017
1911.....	1,461,670	139,055	1946.....	136,531	71,922
1912.....	1,857,303	225,574	1947.....	507,032	257,476
1913.....	777,440	132,102	1948.....	453,686	217,662
1914.....	850,384	157,177	1949.....	508,916	179,845
1916.....	586,632	91,774			

## SHRIMP

Before 1939 researches were under way to determine the practicability of commercial shrimp production in Maine. The United States Fish and Wildlife Service studied the problem, as did the

Maine Department of Sea and Shore Fisheries and numerous commercial fishermen and seafood processors. Some promise for such a shrimp fishery was offered, but developments were never adequate. Between 1939 and 1945 production increased; then it declined again to a miserable low in 1949.

Bad weather conditions are usually blamed for the failure; but still enthusiasts feel that lack of knowledge of the life habits of the shrimp is the real cause.

Production figures over a decade have been:

Year	Pounds	Value	Year	Pounds	Value
1939.....	19,864	\$ 845.00	1945.....	554,000	\$27,000.00
1940.....	8,610	452.00	1946.....	161,000	8,000.00
1941.....	57,000	2,330.00	1947.....	193,000	10,500.00
1942.....	75,400	3,000.00	1948.....	27,325	3,122.00
1943.....	291,000	14,600.00	1949.....	9,853	1,806.00
1944.....	394,000	15,700.00			

#### CRABS AND OTHERS

Canned Maine crabmeat is generally regarded as equal to any from any source, and as superior to most. Production is not large, either of canned or of fresh crabmeat, but the market is constant and many producers cannot supply the demand. Packing plants are situated at East Machias, Stonington, Friendship, Thomaston, Brooks, Bar Harbor, Rockland, Portland, Ash Point, Spruce Head, South Portland and Yarmouth. Lobster fishermen, who once bemoaned the damage crabs did to pot-heads and lobster bait, now actually pay their boat expenses by selling their crab catch to canners and packers. This income has run as high as \$40,000 to fishermen in some recent years.

Other shellfish caught commercially include periwinkles, squid and sea urchins, of which several hundred thousand pounds are produced annually, adding another \$30,000 or \$40,000 to the fishermen's income. Hen, or surf, clams have been dragged in York County waters; and in the same area ocean quahaugs have been caught and sold for bait to trawl fishermen operating out of Massachusetts ports.

#### MARINE WORMS

The Maine marine worm industry supplies more than thirty million blood and sandworms as live bait for sport and commercial fishermen from Maine to Virginia. This industry brings to the 400 odd diggers of Maine more than \$350,000 income each year. Although bloodworms are sometimes used to catch weakfish and striped bass, many fishermen claim that the sandworm is a superior bait. The bloodworm is a favorite for flounder, eels and other small fish that are caught from piers and rowboats close to shore.

The journey of the Maine bloodworm or sandworm from the mudflats to the fisherman's hook is a long and tedious one. First, the digger searches him out of his burrow in the mud and sells him to a shipper who supplies an out-of-state wholesaler. A retail



dealer, who may operate a fishing tackle business or an auto service station, or may rent rowboats, buys the worms in lots of one hundred from the wholesaler and sells them to the fishermen.

For shipment, the worms are packed in baskets or boxes of rockweed and most of them are sent by railway express. Occasionally a shipment is made by air express.

Since 1931 Maine has been supplying bloodworms and sandworms to the coastal regions as far south as Virginia for salt water sports fishing. Most of these worms are dug in flats from Kittery to Hancock. There are literally miles of flats that have not yet been explored for this expanding and profitable industry.

The outlay for equipment to dig worms is modest. A digging hoe made from a spading fork, a ten-quart bucket for bloodworms, a pair of boots—and a strong back—are all that are needed to earn a digger a good day's pay for the two to four hours he spends on the flats. A large wooden pail or box is used for sandworms. In the summer time a pair of canvas shoes can be substituted for the hot cumbersome boots. A license to dig these worms must be procured from the Department of Sea and Shore Fisheries.

Written instructions will never make a worm digger of anyone. The only way to learn is to get out on the flats and keep turning over the mud and picking up the worms. Before long anyone can become expert at finding them. A moderately good digger will average 300 to 400 worms per tide. A digger used to receive as little as 60 cents per hundred for his labor, but at present he gets more than double that amount. A good digger can earn \$100 in a week.

The shipper is not just a middleman, as one might think, but a necessary cog in the process of getting the worms to the fisherman. For a few cents per hundred over the price he pays the digger, he provides storage for the worms, gets orders from the wholesalers and prepares and packs the worms for shipment. His equipment can run into a very sizable investment. He must have a cool basement or cellar to keep the worms and a large number of wooden trays to store them. He has to gather rockweed and wash it to use as packing in shipping. Because the wholesale dealer orders by the thousands and the worms have to be shipped within 48 hours after being dug, a digger would be unable to market what he could produce by working alone. In addition, it would be impractical for the digger to go to the extra labor of shipping the worms himself.

The bloodworm (*Rhynchobolus Americanus*) is pink and red in color and ranges in size from a tiny worm up to two feet long. Its fin-like parapods along the sides are used to propel the worm. The head can be extended from its body at will to burrow and grasp food. The bloodworm is found in tidewater mudflats along the coast and up the tidewater rivers. Salable bloodworms must be about five inches or more in length.

The sandworm (*Nereis Virens*) is a flat segmented worm with appendages along each side for burrowing and swimming. It is brightly colored with iridescent shades of red, orange and yellow. It is found in most tidewater mudflats, occasionally reaching a length of four feet. Marketable sandworms must be at least eight inches long and brightly colored.



## IRISH MOSS

Irish moss or carrageen (*Chondrus crispus*) is the oldest seaweed industry in the United States. For a century it has been harvested and sold, chiefly for making *blanc mange*. More recently, a commercially useful extract, carrageenin, has been prepared from it, to serve as a stabilizer in chocolate milk, salad dressing, soda fountain syrups, cough syrups, tooth-paste, hand lotions, cosmetics, paint, beer, and pharmaceutical and industrial products. The range in the uses appears to be limited only by human ingenuity.



*Raking Sea Moss*

In 1835 sea moss was first gathered in Ireland; it was discovered at Scituate, Massachusetts, in 1847. Despite the fact that the American moss was superior to the imported variety, increasing costs gradually made its harvest prohibitive until World War II shut off imported supplies and revived the industry in this country. The discovery of prolific beds of moss along the Maine coast gave impetus to the industry in this state.

Sea moss grows approximately half-way between rockweed beds and kelp beds; just at the low-tide level to the point where shoal water ends. It can be identified by its clusters of springy fronds. The mature plant reaches a length of not over six inches and may vary in color from a bright green through greenish yellow to brown and even a deep purple. It is the only seaweed that looks distinctly like moss.

It offers an excellent opportunity for seasonal employment for high school and college students during vacation, as well as for fishermen to supplement their incomes during slack periods. The drying beaches along the coast and the bleaching plants where the dried moss is processed offer employment opportunities along these



lines. The harvesting season is from May through early September, with the exception of about a week in August, when it blooms. Areas which are in bloom should not be gathered until the sticky fine green or grayish green growth in the heads of the moss, which characterizes the bloom, has disappeared, either through maturity or as the result of a storm. Continuous raking of a moss bed not only improves the growth and quality of the weed, but increases the



(Dow Photo)

*Drying Sea Moss at Cape Small Point*

amount of gum which it will yield. Periwinkles and barnacles damage the moss, and beds containing them should not be raked. All foreign types of sea life should be removed from the moss before it is delivered, as the decay of such matter will cause spoilage to the moss itself.

Mossing equipment consists of a dory, or punt, and a moss rake. The rake, constructed of tempered steel, has closely spaced tines about six inches in length. The average rake is about one and one-half feet wide. Rakes designed for mossing may be purchased from the Buzzel Forge, of Oakland, for \$10.50. The rake handle is usually about ten to twelve feet in length. Additional equipment for the mosser is a bottle of fish oil to be used to form a slick on the water beside the dory so that the moss may be seen on the rocks below, since any ripple on the water prohibits good sight.

The mosser to be successful should stand with one foot against the bulkhead and pull the dory up over the rocks to the wind each



time the rake leaves the moss ledge. This maneuver keeps the boat in position. Raking in water up to eight feet in depth at low tide, the mosser will have approximately four hours to work each tide. Loaded directly into the dory which has been cleaned to avoid spoilage, the moss should be delivered to the buyer as soon as possible. The average dory load of moss will weigh from 1,100 to 1,200 pounds, while that of a punt will run from 200 to 300 pounds less. If a mosser is too far from a green moss market, he can black-dry process it himself and ship it to a buyer of black dried moss. This processing which requires a minimum of two days' additional work is dependent entirely upon weather conditions. The drying place should be prepared above high water, preferably on a small sandy beach lacking large rocks, although wooden platforms or a wharf, or a large flat ledge or a closely mown lawn or field may be used, but wire trays should not be employed as they tend to break up the moss. The moss may be spread upon old sails, pieces of canvas or awnings for drying. Although fogs, dews and slight rain appear harmless to green moss, it should be covered with canvas or raked together and covered to prevent spoilage in case of rain while drying. Using a wide tooth wooden hand rake, the green moss should be spread out over the drying space not over three inches in depth in order to give it full benefit of the sun and sufficient circulation of air. In the morning, after one full day of sun, while the moss is still damp, it should be turned over to dry the underside. After two full days of sun the moss should be dried adequately for loose storage in a dry shed or building where it will not be contaminated by bait, coil oil or other odors.

Black moss should not be handled during the extreme heat of the day as it is more brittle then and will easily break. It should be taken up toward evening, when it will have absorbed a slight amount of moisture and should be stored not longer than ten days before shipment to a buyer. The sale of green moss by the individual mosser is usually more profitable than the sale of black dried moss, but if green moss buyers are not available in a given area the mosser will have to do his own drying to keep the moss from rotting. The current price of green moss is two cents a pound, while that of dried moss, dependent upon quality, has a top figure of twelve cents delivered. One thousand pounds of green moss will yield about 250 pounds of black dried.

#### KELP

Kelp is processed by three Maine firms. It is a limited industry, but the production of algenic acid from Maine's kelp beds makes it commercially important.

#### FINNED FISH

In recent years landings of finned fish have represented 87 per cent of the volume of Maine's fish catch, but only 30 per cent of the value of total fisheries in the state. They have an annual production of 250,000,000 pounds, worth more than \$5,250,000 to the fishermen.



Groundfish species such as cod, haddock, halibut, cusk and the like have fallen off 50 per cent since 1915, but the use of rosefish has kept the total groundfish figure almost unchanged. At the middle of the twentieth century about 25,000,000 or 30,000,000 pounds of groundfish, exclusive of rosefish, were being landed yearly. Production of rosefish varied between 50,000,000 and 60,000,000 pounds annually through the same period.

Until about 1935 rosefish, bream, redfish, or sea perch was considered a waste variety. Yet now its production is rivalled only by that of herring, and in total value it exceeds all others of the finny species except herring, bringing more than \$2,000,000 to Maine's fishermen annually.

In the flounder group—gray sole, lemon sole, yellowtail, blackback and dabs—production has increased from about 100,000 pounds in 1915 to 2,300,000 pounds in 1949. About \$100,000 yearly comes in to Maine fishermen from this source.

#### HERRING

Of finned fish, herring are the most important commercially, production ranging from 80,000,000 to 180,000,000 pounds a year. This fish may be packed as sardines, kippers, smoked herring, salted dry herring, pickled herring, and numerous fish spreads, such as cocktail paste.

The smoking of pickled herring, either round or filleted, is an important branch of the herring industry. There were about twenty-five smoked herring stands in eastern Maine in 1950, although their number had declined from the figures of earlier years. Herring is also used in fish oils, lobster bait, fertilizer and fish meals. Its scales are made into pearl essence for the manufacture of imitation pearls and novelty decorations for women's dresses.

Maine has twelve fish meal and fertilizer plants and four herring scale, or pearl essence, plants.

The state's forty sardine plants are spread over a wide area, although the major concentration is in the Eastport-Lubec area. There are canneries in Milbridge, Southwest Harbor, Machiasport, Rockland, Yarmouth, South Portland, Portland, Bath, Prospect Harbor, West Pembroke, Port Clyde, Jonesport, Addison and Belfast. The annual pack totals more than 3,000,000 cases of sardines alone.

Additional thousands of cases of other types of herring products are also sold yearly. The herring fishery employs thousands of people, and the different branches of the industry are said to be worth between \$25,000,000 and \$30,000,000 annually to Maine and its people.

#### MACKEREL

Mackerel landings have increased notably in the last half-century. The 2,000,000 to 4,000,000 pounds produced here each year bring in an annual income of as much as \$190,000. It is not only of commercial value, but is a favorite game fish for salt-water anglers.

## SMELTS

The smelt fishery reached its peak around 1900. Yearly production has dropped about 60 per cent since that time. Annual fluctuations are great, probably because of weather conditions. Some authorities claim that the drop in the smelt catch in 1949 resulted from lack of ice during the peak of the winter fishing period.

The production of this fish over an extended period of years has been as follows:

Year	Pounds	Value	Year	Pounds	Value
1887.....	1,204,000		1919.....	524,000	
1888.....	1,279,000		1924.....	627,707	\$137,430
1889.....	1,045,385	\$ 74,077	1928.....	832,216	176,189
1892.....	1,617,000		1929.....	852,280	183,828
1898.....	1,608,000		1930.....	720,708	126,399
1899.....	880,106	66,682	1931.....	567,422	90,587
1900.....	1,017,434	77,074	1932.....	270,327	36,546
1901.....	686,328	56,930	1933.....	529,990	56,827
1902.....	1,001,762	95,833	1935.....	682,800	79,648
1903.....	1,029,900	121,720	1938.....	692,800	58,302
1904.....	981,140	97,769	1939.....	62,384	5,187
1905.....	770,391	86,588	1940.....	199,100	34,302
1906.....	921,521	107,206	1941.....	271,552	19,611
1907.....	790,034	86,437	1942.....	179,199	22,939
1908.....	926,718	110,186	1943.....	239,402	42,964
1909.....	953,954	110,004	1944.....	511,391	92,050
1910.....	1,088,454	115,107	1945.....	752,618	156,770
1911.....	1,168,092	125,011	1946.....	572,575	126,269
1912.....	990,145	106,351	1947.....	599,626	139,608
1913.....	563,135	40,776	1948.....	542,236	137,291
1914.....	509,535	64,569	1949.....	160,776	40,003
1916.....	537,633	63,679			

## OTHERS

Other salt-water species caught in commercially small quantities include whiting, shad, shark, catfish, skate, salmon, butterfish, eels, swordfish, alewives, sturgeon, menhaden and tuna. Total weight for all these fish exceeds 25,000,000 pounds annually, with a value ranging between \$250,000 and \$300,000.

The Department of Sea and Shore Fisheries, among its other activities, has undertaken to raise silver salmon brood stock to supply eggs and fry for the stocking of Maine's coastal streams. Late in 1950 Fred Baird, marine biologist of the department, undertook this work, which represented the state's first effort to raise salmon through the fresh-to-salt-water cycle for breeding purposes. The silver salmon was brought from the west coast to Maine's coastal streams, where the large Atlantic salmon is having difficulty in continuing.

Salt-water sports fishing is increasing in Maine waters. Some sportsmen prefer to battle giant tunas, while others are content with



pollock, described as the gamiest of fish, or mackerel. Frequently commercial fishermen take employment as guides to the sports fishermen.

The charter boat business grows accordingly. Almost every Maine shore community has boathouses and many other businesses relating to fishing. Shipyards build lobster fishing boats, smacks, trawlers, draggers, seiners, pleasure boats and other types of marine



*Tuna, Bailey Island*

vessels. Yards and shops are to be found at Bath, Beals, Boothbay Harbor, Camden, Castine, Cranberry Isles, Cumberland, Damariscotta, Friendship, Hancock, Harpswell, Islesboro, Jonesboro, Jonesport and West Jonesport, Kennebunk and Kennebunkport, Lubec, Mt. Desert, South Portland, Robbinston, South Bristol, Southwest Harbor, McKinley, Bernard, Thomaston, Tremont, Vinalhaven, Waldoboro, Westport, and East Boothbay.

Truck and transportation firms engaged in the delivery of fish and shellfish products both within and without the state add a considerable sum to the total revenue derived by Maine people from the commercial fisheries. Total consumption of marine gasoline averages more than six million gallons yearly, and the sale of marine engines, cordage, twine, and other gear and equipment reaches a substantial figure annually, giving employment to many hundreds of distributors, salesmen, servicing personnel, and the like.

Landings of different species of fish at Maine ports in 1949 were as follows:

## FISH

Species	Pounds	Value (Paid to Fishermen)
Cod.....	5,264,558	\$ 269,487
Haddock.....	6,316,801	422,163
Hake.....	4,673,024	200,372
Pollock.....	5,727,706	134,444
Cusk.....	1,202,550	50,896
Halibut.....	44,440	12,285
Mackerel.....	3,351,769	157,569
Flounders:		
Gray Sole.....	760,981	34,848
Lemon Sole.....	1,135	73
Yellowtail.....	119,725	8,743
Blackback.....	832,881	39,774
Dab.....	585,591	15,777
Rosefish.....	55,502,605	2,014,071
Whiting.....	12,431,500	147,191
Wolfish (catfish).....	158,847	4,295
Shark.....	59,448	2,173
Shad.....	4,908	206
Tuna.....	159,604	15,134
Alewives.....	3,280,647	31,157
Herring.....	149,893,889	2,408,383
Smelt.....	160,776	40,003
Sturgeon.....	409	69
Eels.....	41,800	8,672
Salmon.....	1,018	507
Menhaden.....	5,027,345	45,040
Butterfish.....	227	10
Grayfish.....	587,000	4,802
Suckers.....	9,305	651
Miscellaneous.....	2,381,408	19,357
Total.....	258,581,897	\$ 6,088,152

## SHELLFISH AND OTHER PRODUCTS

Crabs.....	734,399	\$ 20,217
Clams.....	8,622,872	1,419,691
Quahaug.....	589,794	98,794
Lobsters.....	19,272,495	6,696,961
Shrimp.....	9,853	1,806
Scallops.....	508,916	179,845
Mussels.....	386,321	15,345
Periwinkles.....	10,288	3,186
Squid.....	20,075	395
Sea Urchins.....	79,490	2,291
Marine Worms.....	435,527	315,931
Sea Moss.....	1,125,000	18,704
Livers.....	1,779,347	123,937
Spawn.....	47,296	3,096
Total.....	33,621,673	\$ 8,899,888
Grand Total.....	292,203,570	\$14,988,040



## FISH IN 1950

Maine's harvest of fish and shellfish products for 1950 exceeded the 1949 total by 58,000,000 pounds with an all-time total of 350,554,000 pounds, but the dollar value to Maine fishermen went down \$784,200. November gales, which destroyed thousands of lobster traps and cost Maine fishermen at least \$1,000,000, and light summer catches further helped cause the 1,000,000-pound drop in landings. Estimated 1950 landing figures totaled 18,369,000 pounds, valued at \$6,431,000, against 1949 totals of 19,272,495 valued at \$6,696,961.

A poor mid-summer market and an over-abundance of schools of herring along the Maine coast drove the value of landings down about \$1,241,000. Total herring landings for 1950 topped 184,000,000 pounds, valued at \$1,257,000, compared with 1949 figures of 149,893,889 pounds, valued at \$2,408,383. Maine weirmen and seiners agreed that there were more herring on the coast in 1950 than had been seen in a decade. Thousands of pounds of the fish were released from nets because there was no market for them.

The colorful rosefish headed the bright side of the landing ledger with a total estimated harvest of 79,000,000 pounds valued at \$3,067,000. This was a jump of 23,000,000 pounds and \$1,000,000 over the 1949 totals. The boom in the rosefish fishery resulted from the fact that more draggers were basing their operations in Maine ports in 1950. Improved processing and handling facilities at both Portland and Rockland attracted increasing numbers of fishermen and boats. About seventy rosefish draggers were operating from Maine ports in 1950.

The clam industry declined in 1950 in poundage and revenue for the first time since shortly after the close of World War II. In 1950 Maine flats yielded an estimated 6,770,000 pounds of clam meats worth \$1,175,000, whereas 1949 diggers caught 8,623,000 pounds valued at \$1,420,000.

Both cod and haddock in 1950 displayed healthy landing increases over the previous year. Haddock landings totaled 6,449,000 pounds, valued at \$522,000. Cod in 1950 totaled 5,709,000 pounds, earning \$288,500 for the fishermen. Slight landing increases were displayed in all other major species.

Total landing figures for 1950 were 350,554,000 pounds valued at \$14,203,800. Figures for 1949 were 292,203,570 pounds, which brought \$14,988,040. Nearest previous highline year was 1948, when Maine fishermen caught 305,037,000 pounds of fish, valued at \$16,183,000.

## CHAPTER IX

### *Vacation-Travel Industry*

LONG before white men came to the shores of Maine, Indians of what is now Maine, New Hampshire and Canada spent their summers along the seacoast, fishing, feasting and planting. They were Maine's first "summer tourists," traveling by canoe along the rivers, streams and lakes and establishing well-defined trails between the coast and inland points. Remnants of their summer encampments are scattered all along the Maine coast in the form of "shell heaps," most prominent of which are at Damariscotta. The "Sokokis Trail," generally following the Saco River from the York County beach areas to Fryeburg and the general direction of which is followed by present-day State Highway 5, is an excellent example of a one-time Indian "tourist" route overland.

During the 17th, 18th and first half of the 19th Centuries, pioneering, settling and lumbering, with their first rudimentary industries, were the chief concerns of Maine's first white residents. In the latter years of this period, however, sports hunters, fishermen and just plain travelers with a scientific bent came to Maine in increasing numbers, drawn by stories brought back to "civilization" of the apparently unlimited wildlife and inland fishing resources of the great Pine Tree State. As lumbering operations penetrated deeper and deeper into the Maine wilderness, the fame of the various major regions as ideal for hunting, fishing and camping grew steadily. Henry David Thoreau's *The Maine Woods*, based on travels along the Upper Penobscot Branches in the mid-1800s, did much to popularize the "call of the wild" for Maine and remains a classic to this day.

"Publicity" on Maine dates as far back as the Norse Sagas—if it is true, as seems probable, that the Norsemen visited the area of present-day Maine. The accounts of the early explorers also brought descriptions of Maine to the outside world, most bizarre of which was probably that of David Ingram, an English sailor, who, with two companions, walked from the Gulf of Mexico to the St. John River in 1568-69. It was Ingram's fanciful description of a fabulous city called "Norumbega," whose streets were paved with gold—believed to be in the Penobscot Region—that fired the imaginations of explorers of both England and France.

The voyages of Samuel de Champlain and Captain John Smith in the early 17th Century (see Part One, Chapter Three) also brought descriptive references to the present region of Maine to the attention of more and more people in both England and France. From then on, the records of colonization and settlement became the headwaters of the stream of Maine "publicity" that has continued to this day. Advertising pamphlets—forerunners of present-day Chamber of Commerce booklets—were printed in England early in the 1600s to induce settlers to come to what is now the Boothbay Harbor Region. About 1750, the early proprietors of Brunswick advertised in a Boston



newspaper for young men to come there and settle, noting that there was in the area an "abundance of comely damsels" willing to listen to matrimonial proposals—an advertising "theme" not greatly divergent from modern attention arresters.

Steamship lines and, after 1850, railroads, early exploited the potentials of passenger traffic to Maine destinations, especially during the summer months, and the "vacation business" gradually became more important than the hunting, fishing and camping lure of the



*Rangeley Water Carnival Crowd*

Pine Tree State. This was especially true in the coastal regions. Old Orchard Beach first began to attract summer vacationers by printed leaflets and handbills in 1850, 13 years after the first "summer boarder" was accommodated. In 1855, Mt. Desert Island began to be known through Charles Tracy of New York, and other artists and newspaper articles in metropolitan dailies and magazines began to print increasing numbers of articles on Maine's scenery and healthful summer vacation possibilities. By 1865, Bar Harbor's social life was well established and the first cottage was built in 1867, forerunner of the great summer estates along the Maine coast, which reached their peak during the past quarter-century.

Railroad and steamship line advertising also continued to increase during the last half of the last century and large summer hotels came into being, along with a steady growth in cottage and summer estate construction. The first Mt. Kineo House on Moosehead Lake was opened in 1844 and burned in 1857. It was rebuilt and burned



down again in 1868. A new one was built in 1870 and enlarged in 1874. About the same period, John B. Marble opened the Rangeley Tavern on the main street of the village. It catered to lumbermen at first, but gradually became more and more a sports fishermen's and vacationers' hotel. In 1895 it was moved to the shore of Rangeley Lake and gradually enlarged as the Rangeley Lakes Hotel until it stands as it is today as the Rangeley Sheraton. In 1873, Captain Fred C. Barker, who ran a small steamer on Mooselookmeguntic Lake, largest of the Rangeley Chain, built a few log cabins at Bemis, on the southeast shore of the lake, and the Maine sporting camp resort was born. With a central lodge and dining hall and with a cabin colony, its prototype was the Maine lumber camp. Similar cabin resorts have developed in hundreds of places throughout the State, first for fishermen and hunters, then for vacationers. From this same idea have developed, with the advent of the automobile, the elaborate motels and cabin colonies lining America's main highways and at her recreational resorts from coast to coast. From it also developed the Maine boys' and girls' summer camps, just before the turn of the present century.

In 1884, the Maine Central Railroad began intensive promotion of the summer vacation trade. Payson Tucker, general manager, coined the slogans, "Maine, the Front Dooryard of our Country" and "Maine, the Nation's Playground," themes which have been variously followed in Maine ever since and copied by many other States. Through trains were scheduled between Boston and Maine points, the first being to Mount Desert Ferry, where passengers transferred to Bar Harbor. Short line hauls also became increasingly popular, to such places as Old Orchard Beach, or to steamship line terminals, such as Bath and Rockland. The first general tourist guide book of the State was published by the Maine Central Railroad in 1885. Old Orchard Beach, Bar Harbor, the Rangeley and Moosehead Lakes and the White Mountains were the principal locales described. This was the forerunner of the hundreds of guide books since published by transportation lines and by private individuals and organizations. In *The Maine Woods*, a publication of the Bangor and Aroostook Railroad since early in the present century, became one of the most famous of these, until it was suspended due to paper shortages in World War II.

During the last quarter of the last century and up to the present, summer hotel and resort construction increased steadily until there are now some 5,000 hotels, camps and tourists homes of all sizes and descriptions licensed by the State as to sanitary regulations.

One of the first Nation-wide advertising "stunts" was a facsimile of a small town country weekly, called *The Bucksport Hen*, which was distributed from a special advertising car from Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oregon in 1891. It was used to promote the road show starring Richard Golden in *Old Jed Prouty*, the location of which was the historic Jed Prouty Tavern in Bucksport. Some 500,000 copies of *The Bucksport Hen* were distributed from city to city across the Nation. Its back page was given over to an advertisement which read:



“COME EAST, YOUNG MAN!

Sea-girt Maine! The Nation's Sunrise State!

The Perennial All-Year-Round Land!

The Most Romantic and most remote section of the Union!  
Its limitless resources, tremendous waterpower, equable climate and prolific soil! Its rugged coast, primeval forests, myriad lakes, and crystal rivers! Its great Maine Central Railroad system and marvelous future developments!”

Then followed a descriptive article of 3,300 words describing Maine's scenic attractions and industrial and agricultural opportunities with appropriate headlines, such as:

*Her Pine-Saline Air. Her Magnetic Atmosphere. Her Majestic Coast. Her Hidden Forests. Her Wild Lakes. Her Multitude of Reservoirs. Third in Water. Second in Fisheries. Maine's Wonderful Soil. Bar Harbor Leads. A Modern Utopia.*

Thousands of people in all parts of the Country heard of Maine for the first time through *The Bucksport Hen*.

About 1895, a group of Maine hotels jointly published a booklet, each hotel taking 2,000 copies, with a picture of that hotel on the front cover. The same year, the New England Information Bureau was started in the New York office of Hiram Ricker & Sons, operators of Poland Spring House and bottlers of Poland Water, which they advertised into world-wide consumption. This New York office, dispensing information and handling railroad tickets and Pullman reservations, was continued until 1923. The Rickers in 1895 also began publishing at their own expense full page advertisements in metropolitan newspapers, describing the beauties of Maine as a whole and Poland Spring House and Poland Spring Water in particular.

Until World War I interrupted the steady advance of the vacation-travel business in Maine, the industry had grown steadily since prior to 1850 and had become an important part of the State's economy. The readjustment period following that war also was marked by the sudden upsurge of the automobile industry and the blossoming of the hard-surfaced highway system in Maine as well as the rest of the Nation. The war and its immediate aftermath had, moreover, uprooted economic institutions several generations old and had altered the geography and nature of the public's demands.

Millions of Americans began to travel for the first time and all over the Nation there was an awakening to the tremendous possibilities of the vacation-travel business. The same process was repeated on a much larger scale in World War II, with similar more extensive results. But in the early 1920s, Maine business leaders saw that other States and other regions were confronting Maine with serious competition. So important had the vacation-travel business become to Maine's over-all economy, that these leaders foresaw that unless countermeasures were taken, this competition could lead to a stifling of business opportunities and a creeping economic paralysis in their home State.



To meet this economic threat, a group of Yankee hotel men was called together by Hiram W. Ricker of Poland Spring and crystallized their thinking into an organization to be called the *Maine Publicity Bureau*. Its purpose would be "to maintain and operate a bureau and offices for the purpose of acquiring and disseminating information concerning the business interests of the State of Maine; to act as advertising and publicity agent for the aforesaid purposes; to buy, print, sell, publish and deal in papers, books, magazines and other publications; to acquire by purchase or lease, and to hold,



*Poland Spring House*

maintain, mortgage or convey any property, both real and personal, necessary for or incidental to its business."

Signers of the first call were Hiram W. Ricker of Poland Spring, Alonzo Q. Miller of Auburn, Joseph W. Simpson of York Harbor, Charles H. Fogg of Houlton, Henry P. Rines of Portland, Gerard F. Alley of Bar Harbor and Frank D. Marshall of Portland. The certificate of organization was received and filed by the Secretary of State on January 19, 1922. The first subscriptions to the new organization—\$1,000 each—were made by Harry A. Chapman of Bangor, Henry P. Rines and Hiram W. Ricker, together with lesser sums from other members. During the first year, \$29,570 was raised; \$35,482 in 1923; \$35,148 in 1924; \$36,458 in 1925; and \$37,552 in 1926. The bulk of this money was spent to advertise Maine in the principal metropolitan dailies east of Chicago and north of Washington. Booklets and folders descriptive of the State and maps showing the arteries of travel also were published. Maine thus became the first State in the Nation to set up a State-wide publicity and advertising organization and the first to advertise nationally on a State-wide basis. In 1924, Harrie B. Coe, publicity secretary of the Portland Chamber of Commerce, who



had participated in publicity and promotional work of the Maine Central Railroad as described above, was elected full-time secretary, a position he held until his retirement in 1940.

In 1925, Ralph O. Brewster (now U. S. Senator Owen Brewster), who had been a member of the Publicity Bureau's Executive Committee since its inception, was elected Governor of Maine. Members of the Publicity Bureau were instrumental in passage of a bill by the Legislature appropriating \$25,000 a year for two years to be



*Luther Gulick Camps, South Casco*

spent exclusively for preparing data and printing booklets, folders and maps, this money to be spent under the direction of the Governor and Council. A similar move in the previous Legislature had been passed by a majority of the House and Senate, but was vetoed by Governor Percival P. Baxter.

Also created at the time was the Maine Development Association, made up of a County Chairman from each of the sixteen counties, who appointed committees in each city and town to see that an article was put into the town warrant or city budget to vote money for publicizing and advertising the State of Maine. This expenditure was permissible under an act of the Legislature allowing cities and towns to appropriate money for such a purpose, not to exceed one mill of the city or town valuation. This act was fathered by Frank H. Holley of North Anson, Speaker of the Maine House in 1923, who also was instrumental in creation of a legislative Committee on Maine Publicity, first standing committee of its kind for any State in the Nation.



The officers of the Maine Development Association, with headquarters in Augusta, were: President, Colonel Albert J. Stearns, Norway; Vice Presidents, Colonel Fred N. Dow, Portland, Louis J. Brann, Lewiston, Frank H. Holley, North Anson, and John W. Leland, Sangerville; secretary, Colonel E. A. Robbins, Camden; corresponding secretary, Harrie B. Coe, Portland. The Maine Publicity Bureau then became the service organization to handle the inquiries created by State advertising. Its Publicity Committee, together with its President and General Secretary, were constituted an Advisory Board that sat with the Governor and Council and the Maine Development Association to determine the media in which advertising should be placed.

So successful was this teamwork between government agency and private business organization that, in 1927, the Legislature boosted the advertising appropriation by the State to \$50,000 a year for two years and set up the Maine Development Commission under organization lines much the same as exist today to administer the appropriation. The Maine Development Association was then disbanded as an organization and its most important structural features were incorporated into the Maine Publicity Bureau. The concept then established of the relative positions of an official state agency as the "wholesaler" for State of Maine promotion, and the Maine Publicity Bureau, voluntarily supported by individuals, businesses and communities, as the "retailer," has been developed by actual practice over the intervening years to the present where its effectiveness is daily demonstrated in the coordinated activities of the two organizations.

This combination also means that the total efforts of the two organizations, which are entirely separate fiscal entities, give Maine an advertising and promotional mechanism unequalled by any other State. The necessary fueling of this mechanism, on the one hand by State appropriation, and on the other by community and business memberships, determines the rate of operation and effectiveness of each organization and also the total promotional effort in behalf of Maine business. Although established at first for the promotion of the vacation-travel industry, both the Maine Publicity Bureau and the Maine Development Commission have broadened their fields of activity, especially in the past decade, for the promotion and development of all phases of Maine's economy.

With the election of Louis J. Brann, Democrat, as Governor in 1932, Maine greatly expanded its efforts at development and promotion during the Depression Decade. As noted above, Brann was vice president of the Maine Development Association and active in the Maine Publicity Bureau for some years prior to his election. He had campaigned vigorously on a platform advocating a greatly increased State investment for economic development, a theme which cut across party lines and brought him considerable support from many nominal Republican local leaders. During his first term of office, the Legislature substantially increased the appropriation for the Maine Development Commission and a broad program of advertising, research, publicity and publications was instituted under Everett F.



Greaton of Auburn, who became executive secretary. Greaton still holds this office under the title of executive director. Attraction of new industries to Maine became a specialized field of Development Commission activity and this was intensified again after World War II.

Activities of the Maine Publicity Bureau also had constantly increased, except for a brief period at the beginning of America's participation in World War II, and in 1946 the Bureau serviced more than 110,000 mail inquiries, compared with the 6,177 handled in 1923,



*Governor Payne Presenting the Boost Maine Message of Maine Publicity Bureau in Portland*

during the first effective full year of the Bureau's promotional work. The Publicity Bureau's annual budget, raised from voluntary subscriptions, also had risen steadily during these years, especially from 1940 to 1946 under the executive managership of Guy P. Butler, present manager and chairman of the Advisory Board for these volumes.

The year 1948 saw a period of economic readjustment similar to conditions following World War I, when the Maine Publicity Bureau was founded. Although the general business decline of that year proved to be only temporary, general conditions at the time seemed quite similar to those of 1920-21. There was, in addition, a psychological "hangover" from the Depression Decade and a general note of discouragement as to Maine's economic prospects was evident, especially among younger people.

To meet this threat to economic development and prosperity, just as its founders had met a similar threat early in the 1920s, the Maine Publicity Bureau which had changed its name to "State of



Maine Publicity Bureau" in 1937, launched an intensive "Boost Maine Campaign," a movement which is in its third phase early in 1951.

After Frederick G. Payne had been elected Governor in September of 1948, campaigning in the State Primaries principally on a platform of expanded economic development similar to that proposed by Louis J. Brann in 1932, and before his inauguration, he was invited to become honorary chairman of the Boost Maine Campaign and accepted without hesitation. Active chairman was Harold F. Schnurle, chairman of the Maine Development Commission, one of the six citizens-at-large appointed to that body by the Governor and Council. The Governor, and State Commissioners of Agriculture, Sea and Shore Fisheries and Inland Fish and Game are ex-officio members of the Development Commission.

Under the leadership of these two men, both of whom had been among the State's most active citizens in economic development and promotion, a county-by-county campaign was conducted by the Publicity Bureau, bringing the "Boost Maine" message to every community in the State. In its first phase, launched in Lewiston on November 29, 1948, the campaign had as its basic goal "to reawaken the booster spirit in every citizen of Maine." Its second primary objective was "to reawaken public interest in the imperative need for increased promotional activity in the State of Maine" and to implement this by an intensive drive for membership support of the Maine Publicity Bureau, along with increased legislative support for the Maine Development Commission.

Boost Maine Committees were set up in all sixteen counties and these key "boosters," totalling nearly 1,800 and in every community of the State, assisted the Publicity Bureau staff in conducting an effective campaign. By the time this phase of the Boost Maine movement had been completed in August of 1949, the Maine Publicity Bureau membership had increased from 2,700 to 7,800 and its operating budget from \$90,000 to \$150,000. The Maine Development Commission also had been granted a similar increase in appropriation from the Maine Legislature, from \$235,000 a year to \$290,000. The same Legislature also appropriated a capital expenditure of \$60,000 for the erection of a new Maine Information Center and year-around industrial exhibit hall at the Kittery junction of U. S. Route One and the Maine Turnpike, where an estimated 70 per cent of all incoming automobile traffic enters the State of Maine. The Legislature also appropriated \$10,000 for a survey of pollen-free areas in the State, to promote this attraction to the millions of hay-fever and allergy sufferers of the Nation.

The rise in the "booster" spirit throughout the State—the campaign also was taken into many of the larger school systems—was reflected in thousands of daily incidents and was given complete support by the newspapers, radio stations and other advertising media of the State. One of the most notable effects, in addition to a general uplift of business psychology, was a more noticeable spirit of unity among business people in the various sections of the State, as regional jealousies became submerged in the larger State-wide effort. Always



a problem and somewhat of a deterrent to State progress almost since the first settlement of Maine, regionalism was shown in the Boost Maine movement to be more of a name than a substance, as a general rule. A second noticeable effect came from the practical campaign operations of "selling Maine to Maine people first." Gains made in this field, especially among the young people in high schools and colleges, giving them more information that hitherto had been available on the resources, opportunities and possibilities in the Pine Tree State, pointed the way to the conduct of the second phase of the Boost Maine movement, which was carried out in 1950.

By late 1949, as a result of the county-by-county, community-by-community campaign, the "booster" spirit had captured the imaginations of most people in the State of Maine. The second phase was launched on January 1, 1950, with a series of twelve official monthly topics for the year to more consciously point Maine's collective attention to a more prosperous economic future. The business, professional and civic leaders of Maine had demonstrated their enthusiasm in the most practical manner—by subscribing the funds necessary for the intensive campaign. Now needed were action programs on an organized scale by clubs and organizations, schools, communications media, group leaders—even the clergy participated.

Officially designated by the Governor, the various "months" were promoted throughout the year by the Maine Publicity Bureau through the medium of promotional kits on the monthly topics to nearly 2,000 key information dispersal outlets. January was Know Maine Month; February, Maine Winter Sports Month; March, Maine Courtesy Month; April, Maine Beautiful Month; May, Maine Transportation Month; June, Maine Hospitality Month; July, Maine Seafoods Month; August, Maine Industry Month; September, Maine Skills and Trades Month; October, Maine Harvest Month; November, Maine Conservation Month; and December, Maine Arts and Hobbies Month.

Again, thousands of individual incidents of participation in the program were generated in the various group categories and media, all calling attention to some aspect of Maine's economy. The total effect of the continuing Boost Maine program already has been incalculable and the seeds sown for future benefit to the State cannot adequately be foreseen. More than one State leader has declared the Boost Maine movement to be the most important State-wide program ever conducted in the Pine Tree State.

The third phase of the campaign continues in 1951 and is titled, "Boosting Maine Through Community Action." Having gone through the practical support phase, to the individual knowledge programs, the movement now seeks to inspire concerted community action for local improvements, along lines of community planning, beautification, cooperative undertakings and similar projects, to enlist the support of all major community groups, such as civic leadership, schools, business, clergy, industry, etc., to the very last citizen. It is based on the axiom long emphasized by the Maine Publicity Bureau, that the over-all prosperity of the State is only the sum-total of the prosperity of its individual communities. A "Suggestion Manual" for the 1951 Boost Maine theme has been prepared by the Publicity Bureau and made available to all interested groups.

To signify the close coordination and association of the Maine Development Commission as "wholesaler" and the Maine Publicity Bureau as "retailer" in promoting Maine, Mr. Schnurle, the chairman of the Development Commission, also was elected president of the Maine Publicity Bureau in 1950 and reelected in 1951. Nearly all members of the Development Commission also are directors of the Maine Publicity Bureau. As a result of the increased membership in the Publicity Bureau generated by the Boost Maine Campaign, the



*Skiing, Rangeley*

Board of Directors was increased from 41 to 75 and the County Boost Maine Committees were incorporated into a greatly enlarged State-wide Advisory Committee of the Bureau, totalling more than 1,700 local leaders from all sections of the State.

As noted before, although both the Maine Development Commission and the Maine Publicity Bureau have broadened their activities to include virtually all phases of Maine's economic life, the vacation-travel business still remains the most spectacular and has grown faster than any other segment of state-wide business activity. It was estimated in 1896 that "more than 50,000 persons came to Maine, to fish, to hunt, or to enjoy our fine scenery." While fishing and hunting still remain strong magnets and are essential features of many vacations, the increase of visitors who come to Maine purely for vacationing, touring, sightseeing and relaxation has grown tremendously, even during the past fifteen years, as the number of the Nation's workers granted paid annual vacations has skyrocketed.



By 1925, it was estimated that some 700,000 tourists came to Maine. This number had swelled to an estimated 1,000,000 in 1940 and by 1950 the latest estimate was 1,250,000. Total new money brought into and spent in Maine by these visitors in 1950 was an estimated \$150,000,000 poured into the arteries of trade and commerce in every section and virtually every community of the State. Since economists estimate that every new dollar brought into an area circulates from ten to twenty times in the ordinary channels of business and trade before it becomes frozen in capital investments, such as real estate, savings accounts, bonds, property improvements, etc., it may be seen that the vacation-travel industry in Maine gives rise to from one and one-half to three billion dollars of business transactions, which is a sizable portion of the total estimated annual business volume of the State of Maine.

Based upon past national studies of more than a quarter-century on the distribution of the new money coming into a given area from the vacation-travel industry, the following summary was prepared by the Maine Publicity Bureau to show where each original dollar of the \$150,000,000 brought into Maine in 1950 was spent in the first instance:

\$34,500,000 went to retail stores of all types for food, clothing, drugs, gifts, accessories, etc.

\$34,500,000 went to hotels, sporting camps, restaurants, overnight places and tourist homes for food and lodging.

\$13,500,000 went to garages and service stations for repairs, storage, gasoline, oil and other services.

\$10,500,000 went to the building trades for new construction, repairs and maintenance.

\$9,000,000 went to theaters, sports and concessionaires for entertainment and pleasure.

\$7,500,000 went to boys' and girls' camps for food, lodging and instruction.

\$6,000,000 went to public utilities for transportation, electricity, gas and water.

\$4,500,000 went to insurance agencies for the protection of life and property.

\$4,500,000 went to doctors, lawyers, dentists and others for professional services.

\$3,000,000 was paid out for direct employment of Maine people by out-of-state visitors.

\$18,000,000 was spent for the "thousand and one other things" that visitors to Maine found desirable.

The year 1950 found the Maine Publicity Bureau operating at an all-time peak level of activity, with substantial increases noted for all departments as a direct result of the Boost Maine Campaign started in late 1948. Mail inquiries received and processed totalled 145,097, an increase of 30 per cent from 1949. About 65 per cent of these mail inquiries were traceable to the newspaper, magazine and television advertising sponsored by the Maine Development Commission, coming from all sections of the United States and from many

foreign lands. Over-the-counter and telephone inquiries in the Publicity Bureau's Portland, Bangor, New York, Kittery and Fryeburg offices totalled 81,300, an increase of 21 per cent over 1949. The Fryeburg Branch Office of the Publicity Bureau was opened in 1950 as a permanent summertime Western Maine Information Center to serve the increasing automobile traffic entering Maine over Route 302 from the mid-West and Canada. A temporary information office was opened in 1948 at the Kittery junction of U. S. Route One and the Maine Turnpike and continued in operation in 1949 and 1950 during construction of the new Maine Information Center, referred to above, which was scheduled for formal opening early in 1951.

The Publicity Bureau also, as a standard feature of its promotional program, sponsors and coordinates a Cooperating Information Bureau Service, in which the entire personnel of the Maine State Police and nearly 50 local information offices operated by Chambers of Commerce, Boards of Trade and similar groups participates. An annual Travel Counsel School and a weekly summertime series of bulletins are major features of this program, aimed at raising the standards of courtesy, hospitality and informational service throughout the State.

In 1950, Publicity Bureau promotional publications totalled 254,500 copies in 13 separate productions, each designed to do a specific "selling job" for Maine. These publications are: Come to Maine, Maine Invites You, Motoring Thru Maine, Fishing in Maine, Hunting in Maine, Maine Camps and Cottages for Rent, Maine Real Estate Opportunities, (and supplement), Maine for Winter Vacations and the quarterly Pine Cone magazine (four issues). In addition, nine issues of the membership bulletin, The Bureaugraph, were published for a total of nearly 100,000 copies, as well as 2,000 copies each of Who's Who in the Maine Publicity Bureau and Facts about the Maine Publicity Bureau. Production of all literature was up 20 per cent from 1949.

The Bureau's newly-created Advertising Department, in addition to being an important factor in the production of the promotional publications, also assisted more than 300 business establishments and proprietors with their individual advertising and publicity problems, media selections, booklet preparations and related subjects. The Bureau's Editorial Department prepared, edited, revised and checked all publications and sent monthly mailings of Boost Maine Promotional Kits to nearly 2,000 clubs, schools, libraries, newspapers, radio stations, advertising managers, civic groups and similar key informational outlets. It prepared the weekly Travel Counsellor Bulletins during twelve weeks of the Summer; sent out more than 400 separate mailings of news releases, special articles and feature material, totaling more than 40,000 pieces to newspapers, magazines and radio stations; submitted more than 1,100 photographs to editors and had an estimated 50 per cent usage of all submitted material; took 2,000 new Maine scenic and industrial photographs, including color transparencies, and added four new 16 mm. color reels to the Bureau's circulating motion picture library. Activity of the Editorial Department increased by an estimated 40 per cent over 1949.



The Bureau's Real Estate Service Department maintained an active file of 5,000 prospects for purchasing Maine property; distributed 7,500 copies of Maine Real Estate Opportunities to these and other prospects; prepared and distributed a Monthly News Letter and semi-monthly bulletin service to more than 200 Bureau members in the real estate business; and serviced more than 1,800 office and telephone calls from owners, brokers and prospects. The newly-created Community Relations Department worked with municipal officials and civic groups in some 50 community promotional programs and assisted in planning and publicizing these events. It also worked with county officials to promote a State-wide, uniform system for the proper marking of points of historic, scenic and cultural interest; and coordinated the functional activities of the Maine Publicity Bureau in assistance of community programs.

The Convention Promotion and Special Projects Department, also created as a result of the Boost Maine Campaign, assisted in obtaining 18 new conventions for Maine, helped promote attendance at eight other large conventions held in Maine, and provided Maine promotional material for use at nearly 50 national conventions held in other States. It handled the Maine Information Service at the Boston, New York and Chicago Sportsmen's Shows, the National Motor Boat Show in New York, the Eastern States Exposition in Springfield, Mass., and the Lions International Convention in Chicago. It also planned and administered the most extensive composite display of Maine-made products ever assembled in the State of Maine Building of the Eastern States Exposition, visited by more than 300,000 persons. It arranged more than a score of Maine window displays in many metropolitan centers and assisted in numerous other projects, including the annual meeting of the Maine Three-Quarter Century Club, which is sponsored by the Publicity Bureau.

The Membership Relations Department was reorganized into a regional setup, with resident assistant regional field managers in each section, to make personal visits with the Bureau membership and to serve as principal liaison between the sustaining members and the organization's functional departments.

Including its own publications, those supplied by the Maine Development Commission and other state agencies, community and regional literature and promotional material supplied by manufacturers, hotels, resorts and other individual business establishments, the Publicity Bureau in 1950 distributed a total of more than 1,000,000 pieces of literature about Maine, an increase of 25 per cent over 1949 and an all-time record in the organization's history. The show windows of the Bureau's Maine Information Office at 30 Rockefeller Plaza, Radio City, New York, were used for 45 separate displays of Maine products. More than 2,000 Maine Booster Kits, a specially-packaged assortment of Maine literature, were provided to Maine "boosters" who used the booklets to "sell Maine" during their travels in other States. In addition to planning and preparing for opening of the new \$60,000 Maine Information Center at Kittery, arrangements also were made to share a new Information Office with the Augusta-Hallowell Chamber of Commerce, which was to be opened on the new Augusta rotary traffic circle in the spring of 1951.





*Maine Wildlife*





As further indication that the Maine vacation-travel industry still was following its long-term upward trend, the first five weeks of 1951 saw a nearly 10 per cent increase in inquiries received by the Publicity Bureau as compared with the same weeks in 1949. All departments of the Publicity Bureau likewise were maintaining a similar increase in activity.

In recognition of the economic importance of the vacation-travel industry to New England, the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston in 1947-48 inaugurated a monthly index report system, which the Maine Publicity Bureau helped set up in the Pine Tree State. This index is not, however, geared to register the increase in new establishments or new construction such as has taken place in the 1947-50 period. During these three years, it is reported by private, authentic estimates, more than 3,000 new accommodations units have been added to the existing Maine vacation-travel physical plant, predominantly in roadside transients accommodations. These have included more than a score of entire new cabin colony establishments, especially along Route One in the coastal regions. Most notable expansion in new construction has been along Route One from Kittery to Portland, belying the fears of proprietors in that section that the new Maine Turnpike (see TRANSPORTATION) would ruin their businesses. An increase in general business along this route has taken place since the opening of the Maine Turnpike, according to competent business observers.

Early foundation stones of the present vacation-travel industry in Maine and still basic to it today are Maine's resources of scenery, fishing and hunting and the innate hospitality of Maine people. Maine scenery is more specifically described in other sections of this work, such as Part One, Chapter One, and Part Three. In summation, it is claimed that no other State in the Nation has a greater variety of scenery; its coast more beautiful, varied and striking than any other coastal section of the United States, either on the Atlantic, Gulf, or Pacific coasts; its mountains of scenic and forested grandeur; its lakes, rivers and streams in such profusion and size; its forests (84.5 per cent of the land area of the State is wooded) of vast expanse, with spruce, pine and fir coming down to the water's edge on both coast and lakeshore; and its rolling farm lands extending in pleasing prospect from the hilly slopes of western Maine to the vast, fertile acreages of Aroostook's "Potato Empire," where wide horizons blend with the azure of blue skies and cloud formations at times simulate majestic parades extending as far as the eye can see. In modern-day aerial travel, the beauty and majesty of Maine scenery attains its zenith of human appreciation.

Maine climate also is classed as extremely varied, giving rise to the traditional quip: "If you don't like the weather in Maine, wait a minute." This variety reaches its greatest expression in the distinctiveness of the four seasons, each of them subject of some of the finest descriptive classics of Maine natives and visitors in fine art, poetry, literature, music and painting. From the time the softness of spring breaks winter's icy, snow-mantled bonds, through the deep-green and maturity of summer, with its equable temperatures,



and into the brilliancy of autumn and its flaming colors, then again gradually into winter's majestic coverlet for Nature's slumber, the cycle is complete each year with the seasons each approximately three months in length. Various advertising slogans to epitomize Maine's appeal to the vacationer have been used over the past quarter-century, most prominent of which have been: "Maine, the Land of Remembered Vacations," "Air Conditioned by Nature," "Vacationland" and "You Feel You BELONG in Maine," the latter the current State-



*State Fish Hatchery, Raymond*

sponsored advertising theme. "Vacationland" was adopted by the 1937 Legislature as an automobile license plate slogan and, although an attempt was made to eliminate this in the 1949 Legislature, its value for advertising the State was easily recognized and the repeal bill unfavorably reported by unanimous vote of the Legislature's Committee on Maine Publicity.

Another cornerstone of Maine's vacation-travel industry is its fishing, principally on streams, lakes and ponds, although saltwater sports fishing in recent years has been gaining in popularity. Here again, variety and abundance seem to be the key words summing up Maine's constantly increasing popularity with the growing millions of American men, women and children who find relaxation in the ancient art of angling. It is claimed that Maine has more waters containing trout, landlocked salmon, togue and Atlantic salmon than any other State. In 1949 Maine captured top national honors in the landlocked salmon, eastern brook trout, white perch and Atlantic salmon



divisions. In 1950, heaviest fish in four of the seven official record species in Maine weighed more than the largest fish of those species taken in Maine the previous year. Maine fishing experts estimate that



*Smelt-Dipping at Night, a Traditional Spring Pastime in Maine*

more and larger fish have been caught in Maine during the past four years than for a long period previous. Maine's exclusive "One That Didn't Get Away Club," sponsored by the Maine Development Commission, was originated in 1939 and up to 1945 had a total of only 45 qualified members. In the 1950 season alone, 66 persons fishing in Maine waters landed prizes large enough to gain them official membership. Membership in the club is given to persons catching a landlocked salmon weighing ten or more pounds; a trout weighing six or more pounds; a togue (lake trout) weighing 15 or more pounds; a



bass weighing five or more pounds; or an Atlantic salmon weighing 15 or more pounds.

At the present time, the practice of privately-owned fishing preserves is virtually unknown. The State fishing license, at a moderate fee, is the only requirement for fishing in any of Maine's inland waters that can be reached. The inland fishing season generally extends from the time ice is out in the spring to September 30, although special season limits apply to bass fishing, opening dates in several counties and closing date on brooks and streams, which is August 15. In addition to the major game fish species already mentioned, some Maine waters also contain rainbow trout, brown trout, pickerel, smelts and numerous varieties of food fish. The Penobscot River, especially at the Bangor Salmon Pool, and Washington County's Narraguagus, Dennys, Pleasant, Machias, East Machias and Orange Rivers are now the principal streams in the Eastern United States where Atlantic salmon, called the king of all game fish, may be taken by fly fishing only.

In addition to Maine's Commercial Fisheries, described in Chapter Eight, sports fishermen along the Maine coast also find excellent tuna fishing during July and August, the heaviest thus far taken on rod and reel in Maine waters being 874 pounds. Handlining and harpooning also are used to take Maine tuna, commonly called "horse mackerel." Striped bass ranging up to 40 pounds and more also have been taken in recent years in the tidewater stretches of Maine's larger coastal rivers, while mackerel, pollock and other school fish provide unusual sport with rod and reel. Handline and pole fishing from wharves, bridges, and shore points for flounders, cunners, mackerel and rock-cod also are enjoyed by thousands throughout the summer and autumn. Scores of party boats take groups for fishing outings around the outer islands of Maine's many bays.

Hunting in Maine, with its nearly 17,000,000 acres of woodland, also is marked by variety and abundance and it is presently claimed that Maine's game population represents the greatest wildlife resource of any State in the Nation. A 358-pound, 12-point, white tail deer buck shot by an Aroostook County woman was the heaviest of its species reported taken in the Nation in 1949. Another Maine buck, shot by E. M. Stuart of Waban, Mass., in 1949, topped the British Columbia record set in 1905 for antler spread of inches. A total of 35,051 deer were tagged in the Pine Tree State during a season of only one month in most Maine counties and a few weeks longer in the rest. In the 1950 season, 22,083 bucks and 17,133 does were tagged for a total Maine deer kill of 39,216, highest on record.

Maine also established the unique "Biggest Bucks In Maine Club," sponsored by the Maine Development Commission, in 1949, in a move to keep official records of all outstanding bucks shot. (One deer of either sex may be taken per hunter during each annual season, which runs from October 21 to November 30 in the six northern counties and from November 1 to 30 in the ten southern counties). Nearly 60 hunters bagged bucks that weighed more than 300 pounds and more than 850 tagged whitetails averaging 248 pounds. These

official records lend credence to Maine's claims that the biggest white tail deer in the Nation are definitely in the Pine Tree State.

Black bears running up to 500 pounds also are common in Maine and may be hunted throughout the year, although late autumn is considered the best time. Usually hibernating in the winter, Maine's black bears caused a nationwide controversy in the winter of 1948-49, when many reports were received that they were roaming the woods during the usual hibernation season. In addition to year-around open season on bears, the State pays a \$15 bounty for each one killed in or adjoining organized townships. Specially-trained bear dogs also have been used in recent years to track bears.

Other popular game species hunted in Maine include red fox, raccoon, bobcat and lynx (on which there also is a \$15 state bounty), and the rabbit variety known as the varying hare. Beaver, muskrat, otter and sable and weasel also are trapped under special regulations, while a dozen other species of small game, such as porcupine, woodchuck and gray squirrels may be hunted with small arms. Moose currently are protected in Maine and have been increasing under State protection. The biggest game animal on the North American continent, they are frequently seen in the central coastal area and often cause crop and orchard damage. They stand six to seven feet tall at the shoulders and the bulls have antler spreads often exceeding 80 inches. Several highway signs have been posted along Route One in Lincoln County warning motorists of moose crossing areas and incidents have been reported of the moose at these crossings racing trucks, buses and automobiles.

Upland bird shooting features ruffed grouse, commonly called partridge; woodcock, also called "timber doodles;" and pheasants, found mostly in the southern and coastal counties of the State. The latter are reared and released annually by the thousands by Maine's Department of Inland Fisheries and Game.

With its rugged coastline of nearly 2,500 miles, made up of bays, peninsulas, beaches and marshlands, plus its thousands of lakes and ponds, Maine is a breeding ground for ducks and waterfowl and also is directly on the Atlantic Flyway for the millions of ducks, geese, brant and similar species on their annual southward migration. Black ducks, wood ducks, green- and blue-winged teal, scaup, ring necks, goldeneyes, buffleheads, eiders, old squaws, Canada geese, scoters, brant and many varieties of mergansers make up Maine's principal Autumn waterfowl population. Mallards, pintails, ruddy ducks and snow geese also are present, but not quite as plentiful as the other species. Special methods of shooting from "blinds," either stationary or on sculling boats, and the use of artificial decoys, are most popular in duck shooting along the Maine coast. Both State and Federal waterfowling regulations apply. Maine claims the only eider duck shooting on the Atlantic coast, since eiders, which breed in the Far North, never travel south of the Maine coastline.

Since fishing and hunting first began to attract visitors to Maine, the skilled occupation of the Maine Guide has developed and today has an important place in the vacation-travel industry. The licensed Maine Guide must pass a strict State examination for the protection



of visitors, know the territory in which he operates, possess a wealth of woods lore and skills, pass a "white water" test of canoe poling; and generally is expected to be able to provide for the safety, comfort and enjoyment of the visitors, the latter commonly dubbed "sports," a term of long standing usage. Maine law prohibits non-residents from building fires in the Maine woods, except under the supervision of a registered Maine guide. This prohibition includes camp stoves, canned heat, or any other type of open flame, unless confined to a stove in a permanent building. A Maine Junior Guides Program also has been inaugurated by the Maine Development Com-



*Sky Lodge at Jackman*

mission in recent years as an incentive to youthful campers. Certificates are awarded annually in person by the Governor.

Once highly popular, then in eclipse during the past generation as automobile transportation developed, canoeing in Maine has shown signs of much popular revival in recent years. A heritage from the American Indian, canoeing was the most common form of transportation on Maine's lakes, ponds, streams and even along its coast when the white man first came to Maine. The Indian had well-defined canoe routes over which, in his light birch bark craft, he could travel from any point in Maine to any part of Eastern Canada. Increase in the number of dams, built first for logging and driving operations and later for waterpower, together with development of rail and highway transportation and—in more recent years—airplane travel, have served to check the use of canoes for long trips; but there still are many famous short and long canoe trips in Maine which attract a growing number of vacationers each year. Guides are required in wild land townships, over which the most popular of the long canoe trips pass. These include such famous canoe trips as the West and East Branches of the Penobscot, the Fish River Chain of Lakes, the Rangeley-Umbagog Trip, the Grand Lake-Machias River Trip, the St. John River, the Allagash, Attean Lake, Little Big Wood



Lake, Moose River, Moosehead Lake, Kennebec River, Penobscot River, East Grand Lake-St. Croix River, Union River, Damariscotta River, Belgrade Lakes, Saco River, Mattawamkeag River, and many others, especially in the coastal waterways.

The prohibition against non-residents kindling fires in unorganized townships from May 1 to November 30, except under supervision of a registered guide, does not apply at the public camp sites or luncheon grounds maintained by the Maine Forest Service. In organized townships, permission to camp or kindle fires must be obtained from the landowner. Several score public camp sites and luncheon grounds have been established by the Maine Forest Service and are designated on the official Maine Highway Map. Public camp sites have been established principally in the wild land sections, along the waterways and highways used by visitors and campers, especially where there may be little or no accommodation facilities available. Public camping also is supervised in the various State Parks.

Hiking and mountain climbing also are popular vacation diversions in Maine and often combined with camping on long trips. Many mountain climbs both easy and rugged, are listed in "Mountain Climbing In Maine," published by the Maine Development Commission, with special attention being accorded to Maine's most outstanding mountain climbing area, Mount Katahdin and Baxter State Park. The Appalachian Trail, also known as "The Silver Aisle," is the most famous of all Maine hiking trails, as well as the start of the longest "foot path through the woods" in the world. Beginning at Mount Katahdin, it extends for some 2,054 miles to Mount Oglethorpe in Georgia, the southern end of the Blue Ridge Mountains, 266 of these miles being in Maine and crossing many of Maine's highest peaks. Only two small towns, Monson and Caratunk, and the hamlet of Blanchard, intrude upon the wilderness pattern of the Appalachian Trail in Maine. All the rest is forest.

The Maine portion of the Trail is characterized by extreme variety. By reason of the terrain, it necessarily cannot adhere to its ideal of following a continuous mountain ridge crest. Instead, it presents an alternating pattern of mountain, forest, stream and lake. It is further varied by two canoe crossings. The Trail is conspicuously indicated by an unbroken line of white paint blazes, facing the direction of travel. Many side trails are marked by blue blazes. The insignia of the route is a diamond-shaped marker with the "AT" monogram. A unique feature of the Trail in Maine is that at the end of each moderate day's travel, comfortable accommodations may be found at a sporting camp, located on some lake or stream. Thus, one may travel the 226 miles of the Trail in Maine in 24 days, carrying no heavier burden than the barest of personal necessities.

For the traveler to whom camping en route is an essential feature of the pleasure of Trail hiking, there is an alternative system of accommodations in the form of open front lean-to's. Such structures are public camp sites and exempt from the Maine law requiring employment of guides by non-residents while camping. More than a score of these lean-to's are located on the Trail in Maine. Road approaches also make possible numerous combinations of trips of varying length along the Trail.



The Trail route in Maine, by reason of its topography, can be divided into three major divisions. The Eastern, between Katahdin and the Piscataqua River at Blanchard (118 miles), is a section of delightful variety. It is the least strenuous and, therefore, a desirable initiation to Trail travel in Maine. The attractions of Katahdin, northern terminus of the Trail, are widely-known. Daicey Pond, Rainbow Lake, Nahmakanta, Pemadumcook and Jo Mary Lakes, Yoke, West Branch and Long Ponds lie along the route. Rainbow, Nesuntabunt, Big and Little Boardman and White Cap Mountains and the Barren-Chairback Range, with its 15 miles of ridge-crest travel, traversing Chairback, Columbus, Fourth, Third and Barren Mountains are its outstanding peaks.

The second division, 49 miles, is a transition zone between the terrain in the east and the rugged mountains of Western Maine. It is a land of historic interest. From the Kennebec River to the east base of Mt. Bigelow, the Trail route follows Benedict Arnold's march through the Maine wilderness across "The Great Bend" of Dead River, so graphically described in Kenneth Roberts' "Arundel." The long, open crest of Moxie Bald Mountain and Pleasant Pond Mountain, both surrounded by Maine Forest Service firetowers, are the most prominent peaks in this section.

The western portion, a distance of 99 miles, from the east base of Mt. Bigelow to the Maine-New Hampshire line, is marked by the ruggedness of the terrain. Here the Trail traverses a series of eleven peaks, close to 4,000 feet in elevation. The Mt. Bigelow Range has 20 miles of ridge-crest trail. Sugarloaf's symmetrical bare cone is the second highest in the State (4,237 feet). Saddleback's (4,116) long, above-timber-line granite dome, overlooking the Rangeley Lakes, is of extraordinary interest. Beyond, the Trail becomes still more strenuous. Its important features are Baldpate, the Mahoosuc Range and Old Speck, with its 1500-foot climb in a mile and a half of Trail. This is reputedly the most strenuous on the Appalachian Trail in Maine. Such picturesque names as Mahoosuc Arm, Fulling Mill, Full Goose Mountains and Carlo Col typify this rugged terrain, which ends at the Maine-New Hampshire line.

Full information on the Appalachian Trail in Maine is contained in a 600-page Guide, the latest supplement of which was issued in 1950. This publication contains detailed trail descriptions reading in both directions with notes of points of scenic and economic interest, together with articles on the geology of the Trail route and a Bibliography. It contains more than a dozen maps, with the section relating to Mt. Katahdin particularly complete and detailed and one of the best sources for details on that section, including a two-color contour map of the Katahdin Region. Publisher of the Guide and other detailed material on specific sections of the Trail in Maine is the Appalachian Trail Conference, Washington, D. C. Maine Publicity Bureau offices also dispense this literature at cost.

The proposal of the Appalachian Trail was advanced in 1921 by Benton MacKaye of Shirley, Mass. Present leader of the conference and one of the most prominent in its progress over the past two decades is Comdr. Myron H. Avery, U. S. N., of Washington, D. C., and a native son of Maine (Lubec).



## MAINE SUMMER EVENTS

In tune with the expansion of the vacation-travel industry, Maine's communities and regions have, during the past decade, greatly increased the number of "special events" and similar attractions to lure the largest possible number of visitors. During the summer months of 1950, the Maine Publicity Bureau's Maine Calendar of Events listed more than 200 such events of state-wide, regional and local interest. Among these were Maine Broiler Day at Belfast,



*Old Orchard Beach*

the Maine Lobster and Seafood Festival at Rockland, the Maine Potato Blossom Festival in Aroostook County, the Maine Tuna Tournament at Boothbay Harbor, the Penobscot Indian Pageant at Old Town, the Maine Coast Craftsmen exhibit and fair at Rockport, Doc Grant's Rangeley Lakes Doll Carriage Parade and Children's Day, the Outdoor Writers Association of America convention at Moosehead Lake and many local Fourth of July and Labor Day celebrations.

In addition were many community open house and garden days, summer-long schedules of State Fairs, motorboat racing, harness and running horse racing, regional products and art exhibitions, yacht races, county fairs, golf tournaments, musical concerts, religious meetings, a dozen summer theaters, horse shows and dog shows. All known sports also are available in Maine in season giving weight to its claim as "The Playground of the Nation" and as the best place in the world "to live, work and play."



In addition to booklets mentioned above, the Maine Development Commission currently publishes such booklets and folders as: "Maine, the Land of Remembered Vacations," "Facts About Maine," the State Highway Map, Maine Fishing, Maine Hunting, Maine Salt Water Fishing and Public Parks in Maine. Commission members in 1950 were Governor Frederick G. Payne, ex-officio; Harold F. Schnurle, chairman; Ralph C. Masterman, Bar Harbor; John L. Baxter, Brunswick; George J. Wentworth, Kennebunk; Curtis M. Hutchins, Bangor; Clarence B. Beckett, Calais; and the following ex-officio members, Albert K. Gardner, Commissioner of Agriculture; Richard E. Reed, Commissioner of Sea and Shore Fisheries; and George J. Stobie, Commissioner of Inland Fish and Game, who was succeeded late in the year by Roland H. Cobb.

Presidents of the Maine Publicity Bureau since its inception were Hiram W. Ricker, Poland (1922-1930); Herbert L. Swett, Skowhegan (1930-1937); Fred D. Jordan, Bangor (1937-1938); Charles B. Day, Rangeley (1938-1939); R. C. Masterman, Bar Harbor (1939-1943); Frank A. MacKenzie, Bangor (1943-1945); James C. Maher, Portland (1945-1948); Edward B. Denny, Jr., Damariscotta (1948-1950); and Harold F. Schnurle, Augusta (1950- ).

Officers re-elected on January 15, 1951, were Harold F. Schnurle, president; James M. Acheson, Augusta, vice president; Guy P. Butler, secretary; Fred H. Gabbi, treasurer; Charles L. Hildreth, assistant treasurer; Harold M. Skelton, Lewiston, chairman of the board; and A. J. Cole, Bangor, vice chairman of the board. The annual meeting of that date also authorized the Publicity Bureau to maintain, and, if possible, expand its promotional program for 1951 and expressed complete confidence in the prospects for continued expansion of the Vacation-Travel Industry in Maine.

#### INLAND FISHERIES AND GAME

The state government has taken its full role in development of the hunting, fishing and recreational potentialities of Maine to a degree of importance to the state's economy. In December, 1950, Roland H. Cobb became commissioner of the Department of Inland Fisheries and Game, succeeding George J. Stobie, of Augusta, one of the deans of fish and game work, who had served in the office for twenty-three years and was highly regarded throughout the United States. The Department was established in 1866.

The commissioner's function is administrative. He is, in a sense, a business executive, and an important part of his background is his training in the business world. He is assisted by a deputy commissioner, who by the same token performs functions resembling those of the vice president of a business house. Maine's deputy commissioner in 1950 was Earle Bradbury, of Augusta, who is still serving as this volume goes to press.

Lester Brown, of Augusta, retired military officer, is chief warden of the Department of Inland Fisheries and Game at the time of writing. He, the commissioner and the deputy commissioner have their offices in the State House at Augusta. Serving under the chief warden

are thirteen warden supervisors who report regularly to him from different parts of the state, each in turn having charge of the work of several wardens working locally throughout Maine. Each warden has many miles to cover by automobile and on foot. There are 125 wardens in all, including the chief warden.

These wardens are like police officers who guard Maine's fish and game and make arrests where violations of fish and game laws occur. In addition, they help farmers protect their crops from deer and other game, hunt for lost persons when the need arises, aid in dragging ponds for victims of drowning, and perform numerous similar duties.

The warden force includes five trained pilots—"bush" pilots who wear wardens' uniforms and have authority to make arrests, but who usually follow the procedure of flying ground wardens over their districts and landing when it becomes necessary to perform their usual duties.

Gerry Wade is superintendent of fish hatcheries. These hatcheries are located strategically at different points in the state, sometimes several miles from the fishing lakes because the source of water for hatching fish must be exactly right as to amount and temperature throughout the year. The temperature variation cannot be too great, nor can the amount of water dwindle in dry periods. In addition to the hatcheries, there are many rearing stations, where fish are grown to legal length for stocking.

The Hatchery Division has a large personnel in point of total number of men, although often at individual hatcheries or rearing stations one or more may do the major work.

A group of six biologists works with the Hatchery Division, four being employed at the University of Maine and two working out of Augusta. These men study waters where fish are to be stocked, suggest improvements that may help fishing, and do research on diseases that may attack Maine's gamefishes, although the State has been fortunate in suffering no deep-seated trouble in the way of gamefish diseases.

Maine's Wildlife Division unit consists of a group of game biologists and technicians, who work under a federal law known as the Pittman-Robinson Act. This act provides for payment of 75 per cent. of costs of game projects by the federal government and 25 per cent. by the State. The work is thus a co-operative enterprise of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service and the Maine Inland Fisheries and Game Department.

The Department maintains personnel in the State House at Augusta for office work, bookkeeping, the issuing of licenses and similar duties.

Carl Crane and Robert Peary are working in the engineering branch of the Department. These men and their assistants, draw plans for new construction related to fish and game. They suggest installation of fishways in existing dams where the need has been demonstrated and plan fish screens—a sort of iron grillwork to keep gamefish within the lakes and ponds rather than to allow them to escape into rivers and streams.



The Department is self-supporting. Revenue comes from sale of hunting and fishing licenses and, in far less amounts, from other sources. It pays out large amounts for deer damage to agricultural crops and for general expenses of the department.

The Department's income from July 1, 1949, to June 30, 1950, totaled \$1,222,560, of which \$111,512 came from the issuance of 27,878 resident combination hunting and fishing licenses, \$213,594 from 106,797 resident hunting licenses, \$158,150 from 79,075 resident fishing licenses, \$304,325 from 15,216 non-resident deer hunting licenses, \$104,296 from 23,177 non-resident fifteen-day fishing licenses and \$64,927.50 from 8,663 season fishing licenses. There were many other sources of income, including fees, sales, fines and grants, but these were some of the principal items. The out-of-state hunting licenses have been particularly fruitful of good revenue and have at the same time led to the spending of great quantities of money which otherwise would not be spent in Maine's general economy. Each hunting license costs \$20 to a visitor from out of the state; and the number of these issued grew from 3,109 in 1920 to 16,348 in 1949. The fishing licenses, costing the out-of-state visitor from \$3.25 to \$7.50, increased in number from 15,221 to 55,215 over the same period. Maine is third among the states in sale of out-of-state hunting licenses, and is proud of the contribution of these visitors to the state's whole economy. The deer kill increased from 5,829 in 1920 to 39,236 in 1950.

The passage of laws to govern hunting and fishing is the province of the State Legislature. The earliest law on record to protect certain fur-bearing animals—otter, beaver, mink, sable, musquash, fisher and wolverine—was adopted by the Legislature in 1790. That law afforded them protection during the summer months and in September. Since then everything possible has been done, as far as modern science has led the way, to protect Maine's fish and game and keep nature flourishing on an enduring basis.

## CHAPTER X

### *Transportation*

UNTIL after the Revolution, Maine was practically without roads. It was settled in large part by fishermen who lived on or very near the coast and the ocean was their highway. The next important settlers were the lumbermen, and since transportation of their logs to their mills and of their lumber to market was vitally necessary, the rivers back into the uplands were their major means of transportation.

There was some overland travel. Rude tracks were hacked out of the woods, following the trails of the Indians. And as farms were built and villages grew, tracks were made between them. But over such roads travel was not easy. Most people walked if they could not afford a riding horse. Men carried loads of a hundred pounds or more on their backs, like the guides who conduct hunting trips into wild lands today. Horses carried even greater loads, but could be used only for lighter materials or those which were very valuable in proportion to their weight. Anything heavy and bulky had to go by water.

These tracks were at first merely blazed trails. Gradually with the felling of the trees, the worst ledges and boulders were removed and the muddiest spots were filled in or covered with logs to produce those old-time, bone-shaking corduroy roads. The strength and patience of the oxen proved valuable as the "roads" became passable to haul loads from the farms to the nearest harbor for shipment by water to market. Much of this transportation was carried on in the winter when the snow somewhat smoothed the roads and the runners of sleds ran easily. Of course, in the depth of the cold seasons, the rivers also formed smooth and level highways. But spring mud made the "roads" literally impassable. Eventually they dried out; then wheeled traffic of a sort could move at the expenditure of great energy by the oxen. No one rode on the first rude ox-carts. The drover walked beside his beasts rather than risk his neck in the "vehicle."

That same era featured the "stone boat." Some Maine farms still have these useful contrivances in storage for use in difficult times and for rough jobs, such as hauling a boulder out of the path of the mowing. The "stone boat" is a platform of heavy hardwood planks, curved up at the bow. Extant examples of these are often six feet wide and ten or twelve feet long. They can slide over snow, mud, sand, gravel, grass or almost any substance if they are pulled with sufficient power, and the load they carry is limited only by the motive power used and the solidity of the earth beneath their planks. The origin of the "stone boat" is lost in mystery. Perhaps it is nearly as ancient as agriculture itself. It was used in Maine before the Revolution to skid stones into place for the foundations of houses, to clear the cornfields of boulders, to haul logs out of the woods to



the river-side, and to take farm produce to market. These "boats" could go anywhere the oxen could pull them—which is to say, wherever the water was not over their heads or the way a perpendicular cliff.

Transportation by land in any more well-established manner in Maine dates from about 1775, when the first postoffice was established at Falmouth, as Portland was then known. Prior to that year the terminus of the mail was at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and whatever mail proceeded north or east of Portsmouth went on horseback as opportunity offered. With establishment of the postoffice at Falmouth, a regular weekly schedule of mail on horseback was organized.

It seems certain that before the Revolution there was not a single four-wheeled vehicle in Maine. There was no road for such a vehicle. By 1760, some two-wheeled chaises were brought to Portland from Boston for show purposes only. By 1800, however, a four-wheeled carriage appeared in Augusta.

Roads had to improve,—from being used, if for no other reason. Each "stone boat" or ox-cart helped smooth the way. Gradually the citizens began removing boulders, filling in muddy holes and the like to form connections with nearby settlements. But the results were still just rutted tracks winding between the forest trees. When two conveyances met, passing was a technical problem settled by the stronger will.

A wagon drawn by two horses, put on the mail route in 1787, left Portsmouth early in the morning, reached Kennebunk the first day, Stroudwater the second day and Portland the third day—a journey performed on the new Maine Turnpike by private car in an hour or less. A year later, the mail service was doubled, and soon Boston and Portland had three mails a week in the summer and one a week in the winter. Even as late as 1801, it required four days for a letter to travel from Boston to Portland. In 1818, just two years before statehood, stages began operating between the two cities, and thenceforth regular service was possible by land.

East of Portland, land transportation was even slower in developing, but then progressed rapidly until railroads entered the picture. As far as is known, the first attempt to carry passengers east of Portland came in 1793, when a route was operated between Portland and Hallowell by way of Brunswick, Bath and Wiscasset. By 1806 a regular stagecoach service was put in operation between Augusta and Boston, a little more than 150 miles apart by modern routes. The Boston stage left Augusta early in the morning, and if traveling was good the passengers breakfasted at Brunswick, then had dinner at Freeport and supper at Portland, where the bone-weary travelers were lodged for the night. Early next morning the stages left, stopping at Kennebunk for breakfast, Portsmouth for dinner and Newburyport for supper and the second night's lodging. On the third morning, after several hours of rattling along miserably, the stages stopped at Salem for breakfast, then usually covered the final twenty miles to Boston by noon. This schedule was subject to weather hazards, for at muddy seasons the horses could not make such excellent time.

Hallowell was in 1825 an important transportation center, with steamer service to Boston and stage lines radiating in all directions. Stages ran to Farmington through Winthrop, Dixfield and Wilton; others, to Norridgewock through Augusta, Waterville and Skowhegan; and still others to Bangor by way of Belfast. Hallowell's importance shrank, however, after the railroad was completed from Boston to Bath. Both then became the center for stages running to Wiscasset, Newcastle, Damariscotta, Waldoboro, Thomaston, Rockland, Belfast and Bangor.

There were still further stage lines in those early days. By 1823 Portland was offering more or less regular stage service to all important points in Maine, and by 1825 a line was established from Portland to the White Mountains, by way of Conway. When the land boom in eastern Maine was at its height and the lumber business made Bangor a bustling city, stage service flourished from Portland to Bath, Augusta and Bangor. The coaches became larger, the horses more numerous and expensive.

#### WATER TRANSPORTATION

Still, water held the center of attention as Maine's chief means of transportation. It was people's usual preference, and, besides, was more comfortable and, with the advent of the steamboat, faster.

Originally and for a comparatively long time, water travel was by sailboat, schooner, pinky brig and such vessels. These sailing craft maintained communications between the towns along the shore, and linked the District of Maine with Boston and the outside world. A Maine man, in the heyday of the sailing-ship could board a vessel at many a Maine port, and, as casually as his great-grandson now buys a railroad ticket for Boston, book passage for almost any port in the world. Maine men were more familiar at that time with the streets of London, Paris, Rome, Havana and Hong Kong than are their great-grandchildren with those of Boston and New York.

But economic changes, politics, war and the advent of the iron steamship erased Maine's sailing vessels and their glory. A few schooners still eke out a living for their owners by carrying cargoes to the islands off shore, but even they are being rapidly replaced by the Diesel-motored workboat that puffs along with one or two men for a crew in lieu of the five or six who formerly manned a small schooner.

Maine early became interested in steamships. The first steamboat in Maine waters was the *Alpha*, built in 1816. She was a long, flat-bottomed craft of fifteen tons, propelled by a screw in the stern. The next steamer was the *Kennebec*, which ran between Portland and Yarmouth. An advertisement of the early 1820s reveals that a line of steamboats operated the *Patent* from Boston to Portland and Bath, and the *Waterville* between Bath and Augusta. In 1833, the *Chancellor Livingstone*, built by Robert Fulton, began plying the Boston-Portland route. In that same year, the Cumberland Steam Navigation Company established a competitive line between Portland and Boston. Their steamer was the *Commodore McDonough*. These early steamers burned wood in their boilers, but in 1835 the coal-burning *Portland*



was built for the Boston-Portland route and in the same year steamers were running out of Portland for points along both the Kennebec and the Penobscot rivers, as well as Eastport and St. John. Business was not brisk enough for so much service, however, and several of these runs were shortly withdrawn. In 1844 there was no steamer service at all between Boston and Portland.

Late in that year the Portland Steam Packet Company was organized, and built two steamers, the *Commodore Preble* and the *General Warren*, for the Boston line. Records show that on May 22 of that year, the steamer *Maine* visited Belfast. The Portland Steam Packet Company became later the Portland Steamship Company, which held a commanding position in Maine transportation. Its service proved very successful because of the regularity with which its steamers operated and the comfort and luxury of the liners in contrast with the rude discomforts of the stagecoaches and the early railroads. It was the first successful steamship line operating between Boston and Portland; indeed, its very success threatened it with ruin. A rival company drew away trade from it by building a side-wheeler which was much faster than the earlier company's screw vessels and could therefore attract most of the Portland company's business. The Portland company competed by building the *John Marshall* at great expense and exertion. The new ship, faster than any other in the service, promptly won back the lost business, and the company continued to prosper. During the Mexican War, the federal government purchased two vessels, but the Portland company continued to add new ships as rapidly as business justified doing so, among them the *Atlantic*, *St. Lawrence*, *Montreal*, *Lewiston*, *Forest City*, *John Brooks*, *Tremont*, *Portland*, *Bay State*, and *Governor Dingley*. By November, 1863, the company was able to report on its twenty years of operation that its vessels had made 11,200 trips, carried 1,400,000 passengers and 2,500,000 tons of freight without the loss of a single life—a remarkable record which was continued until the famous storm of Thanksgiving, 1898, when the steamer *Portland* was lost at sea between Boston and Portland and all on board were lost. The ship was never heard of, but what were believed to have been pieces of its wreckage were found on Cape Cod.

Shipping penetrated inland, too. In 1832, before the dam was built at Augusta, the stern-wheeler *Ticonic* was built at Gardiner to run between Gardiner and Waterville, providing a through water route from Boston as far as Waterville. In 1835, the steamer *McDonough* was operating between Gardiner and Boston. In 1836, another company was formed at Gardiner to run the steamer *New England* between Gardiner and Boston, but the ship was lost off Boone Island in 1838.

No less a personage than Commodore Vanderbilt, seeking to erect a transportation empire which would cover the entire nation, stepped into the picture at this point and brought steamers from Boston into the Kennebec River as far north as Gardiner. He withdrew shortly, however, and the Gardiner Company put the *Huntress* into operation to replace the *New England* and soon afterward placed the larger steamer, the *John W. Richmond*, into service. In 1841, the Eastern



*Cruise Schooners, Boothbay Harbor*



Railroad put the ship *M. Y. Beach*, into service between Portsmouth and Hallowell and later ran the *Telegraph* between Portland and Hallowell.

Just as the Kennebec-Boston line began to prosper, Captain Sanford, of New York, scenting a profit, put his ship *Splendid* into competitive service between Hallowell and Boston in 1843, and as a result, rates became ruinous. One line reduced its rate to 12½ cents, and the other offered free transportation with breakfast. In 1844 the *Richmond* burned, and the steamer *Penobscot* was purchased to replace her. In 1845 a new opponent, the People's Line, took over the steamer *John Marshall*. The older company built the fine *Kennebec* and ran her on the outside route while the *Charter Oak* ran on the inside route. The steamers *Flushing* and *Bellingham* also were operated daily between Augusta and Bath, while the old *Huntress* continued to connect Gardiner with the railroad head at Portland.

The People's Line could not stand this competition, and the old company regained full control. In 1850, the *T. F. Secor* was placed on the line between Hallowell and Bath, which town the Kennebec and Portland Railroad had then reached. When the railroad reached Richmond, the steamer was operated between that town and Augusta.

In 1850, the old Kennebec Company added the new steamer *Ocean* to its Boston route, but two years later she collided with the Cunarder *Canada* in Boston harbor and was burned to the water's edge. She was replaced by the *Governor*, and in 1857 the *Eastern Queen* began regular trips to Boston. But in the winter of 1860, while being refitted at the Wiscasset yard, she was partially burned, and hardly had been repaired before she was taken over by the Government for Civil War use. On her return from military service the *Queen* re-entered the Boston run, and sailed until 1870, when she was sold out of the state. In 1865, the company built the *Star of the East* at New York and put her on the Boston line. She is described as having been the best-equipped boat sailing out of Boston harbor. In 1866, the old company's *Queen* and *Star*, operating daily between Gardiner and Boston, were faced with competition from the steamers *Daniel Webster* and *Eastern City*, which a new company, organized at Bath, put into daily service between Bath and Boston at that time. Again fares were cut to as little as 25 cents, and hosts of Maine people took advantage of the bargain rates to visit Boston. But the Bath Company was forced to withdraw after a single season. After the sale of the *Queen*, the *Star* was for nineteen years, until 1899, the only boat on the Kennebec route.

Meanwhile, the old *Clarion*, running as a tender to the Boston boats between Gardiner and Augusta, was replaced by the stern-wheeler *Della Collins*. In 1899 the *Star* acquired a sister ship, the *Kennebec*, more splendid than her predecessor of the name, and daily schedules were established between the Kennebec River towns and Boston once again. In 1891 the *Star* was rebuilt as the *Sagadahoc*, and in 1902 was finally sold out of the state. In 1897 the Kennebec Company built the *Lincoln* for winter service between Bath and Boston and a summer route between Bath and Boothbay, but after two years she, too, was sold.

In addition to the Kennebec steamers already mentioned, the *J. D. Pierce* and the *Lawrence* also ran between Bath and Augusta, connecting with railroad trains at Richmond. As many as six steamers sailed from Waterville each day in that heyday of the river boats. They were flat-bottomed, shallow-draft boats with stern paddle-wheels and none heavier than fifty tons. On May 23, 1818, the new *Augusta*, best of the fleet, blew up on leaving her dock at Augusta, and six persons were killed and several more injured. In 1890 the *City of Waterville* was specially built for the upstream service on the Kennebec, but by that time the railroad had everything its own way, and no attempt was made thereafter to navigate the river above Augusta. The closing of the locks in the dam at Augusta finally sealed the doom of river transportation.

Other steamship lines followed a similar course. The New England Steamboat Company, beginning operations between Portland and New York in 1860 with two propeller ships which ran twice a week each way, underwent several changes, and finally was taken over by the Maine Steamship Company, which operated the steamers *Franconia*, *Chesapeake*, *Winthrop* and *Eleanora*. It was the *Chesapeake* which ran down and captured the men of the Confederate Navy who had seized the revenue cutter *Caleb Cushing*. Other vessels which this line acquired were the *Cottage City*, *Manhattan*, *John Englis*, *Horatio Hall*, *North Star* and *Northland*.

Another important early line, the International Steamship Company, incorporated in 1860, operated steamers from Boston to Portland, Eastport and St. John, starting with the *Admiral* and the *Eastern City* and afterwards building the superior ships, *New Brunswick*, *New England* and *New York*, and still later the *State of Maine* and the *Cumberland*. An attempt was made to establish a line between Portland and Halifax with what was, for the time, a magnificent ship, the *Falmouth*, but business was poor and the project was abandoned.

Among other early lines was that plying between Portland and Bangor with the steamer *Daniel Webster* about the time of the Civil War. Soon afterward the Portland, Bangor and Machias Steamboat Company began operating the steamers *Lewiston* and *City of Richmond*. Both lines did very well until the Maine Central Railroad introduced faster service than the steamships could furnish. The Maine Central finally absorbed the Portland, Bangor and Machias Steamboat Company, built the steamer *Frank Jones*, and sold the *Richmond* and the *Lewiston*.

The *Katahdin* and the *Cambridge* were among other famous Maine steamships, and they were variously owned. As Maine took on something of the flavor of a resort region, a new class of steamship began plying between river and seashore cities and towns, as well as between the mainland and the different island resorts, notably in the Bath and Boothbay, Calais and Eastport areas.

The most recent chapter in Maine steamship history began with the formation of the Eastern Steamship Corporation, which by purchase and consolidation acquired the Portland Steam Packet Company, the Maine Steamship Company, the International Steamship



Company, the Kennebec Steam Navigation Company, and the Bath and Boothbay and Boston and Bangor steamship companies. The Eastern Steamship Lines have built or operated numerous steamers, including the *Governor Cobb*, the *Calvin Austin*, the *Governor Dingley*, the *Camden*, the *Belfast*, the *Ransom B. Fuller*, the *City of Bangor*, the *City of Belfast*, the *North Star*, the *Northland*, the *Boston*, the *New York*, the *Evangeline*, the *Acadia*, the *Yarmouth*, the *St. John* and others. During World War I many of these ships were requisitioned by the Government for transport duty. Between 1919 and 1940 the Eastern Steamship Lines ran out of Boston harbor each night, its boats bound for St. John, Yarmouth (Nova Scotia), Bangor, Bath, Portland and New York—a magnificent fleet. During World War II the ships again were requisitioned and only the Yarmouth line has returned to service.

Portland, despite the decline of the Eastern Steamship Corporation, has continued as one of the great Atlantic harbors. Unfortunately, it has been overshadowed by Boston, as Boston itself has been eclipsed by New York. Portland harbor has one great advantage, however; it is the nearest ice-free port to Europe in the United States. Its water is deep, and it can accommodate the world's largest ships. It is said that every ship in the United States Navy could be accommodated at one time in protected Casco Bay. It is only 3½ miles from the open ocean.

Like Boston, Portland has suffered from the lack of good trunk line connections with the interior of the continent. One of Boston's railroads, the Boston and Albany, is owned by the New York Central, while the other, the Boston and Maine, goes only as far as Albany and is thus a secondary road. Through freight for Europe, carried by the large New York Central and Pennsylvania Railroad systems, passes through New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore rather than Boston or Portland. A redeeming feature in the case of Portland is its position as a terminus for the Grand Trunk Railway, a part of the Canadian National Railways, which, in winter uses the port in preference to the northerly and more winter-bound ports of Montreal, St. John and Halifax.

Portland itself has not done everything in its power to develop its port business. The facilities are at hand for the using. Some forward-looking individuals still dream of Portland as a leading port of the world. Their dream has been further kept from realization by two world wars which have played havoc with peacetime shipments to Europe and coastwise trade is no longer of sufficient dimensions to support a great seaport.

After the inroads of World War I, when Portland could not meet the demands made upon its old-fashioned port machinery, a reorganization of the Portland Chamber of Commerce led to appointment of a Harbor Improvement Committee with responsibility for investigating port development possibilities and requirements. An extensive survey revealed that a public terminal should be constructed at the Port of Portland to provide modern shipping accommodations and at the same time remove control of port facilities from the railroads. Upon the acceptance of the committee's report, an intensive educational

campaign was conducted through a newly-named State Harbor Commission. The Commission engaged engineering talent, developed plans, and gathered information to submit to the State Legislature.

On December 31, 1918, the Commission recommended to the Legislature that the State provide funds for construction of a State Pier at the Port of Portland. The legislature received the report favorably, and a state-wide referendum showed that the people of Maine favored the idea by about four to one. The Legislature at a special session authorized a \$1,150,000 bond issue for a State Pier, on condition that the cities of Portland and South Portland jointly agree to purchase a site for the pier. Further referenda in both cities brought approval of a bond issue, and \$350,000 was obtained with which to purchase the Franklin Wharf and Galt Wharf. The new pier was completed in July, 1923 and taken over by the directors of the Port of Portland.

As a result of the erection of the State Pier, passenger and freight services were re-established between Portland and New York and a favorable differential in freight rates was obtained as compared with previously existing figures. Intercoastal services between Portland and Pacific Coast ports was a later development of port improvement, enabling industries of Maine to merchandise their products 3,000 miles away.

The Port of Portland Authority operated the State Pier until the Legislature reconstituted it as the Maine Port Authority in 1929 (Chapter 114, Private and Special Laws of 1929) and turned over all facilities to the new organization. At that time the Port Authority was described in the act as a public agency of the state, set up with "the general purpose of acquiring, constructing and operating piers and terminal facilities at the Port of Portland, with all the rights, privileges and power necessary therefor." It was to have "the power of buying, leasing and otherwise acquiring and of holding, owning, controlling, constructing, leasing, operating and otherwise using and of selling and otherwise disposing of real and personal property and such rights and easements therein as its directors may from time to time consider necessary for the purpose of constructing, or securing the constructing or utilizing of piers and in connection therewith, highways, waterways, railroad connections, storage yards and sites for warehouses and industrial establishments, and may lay out and build thereon such piers, with buildings and appurtenances, docks, highways, waterways, railroad connections, storage yards, elevators, public warehouses, and every kind of railroad and marine terminal facility, as, in the opinion of its directors may be desirable."

Many other powers were granted the Maine Port Authority, which was to make a report to the Governor and his Council once a year and have its books audited annually by the State Auditor. The Authority was also empowered to file complaints against public utilities failing to agree to joint use of facilities, and in that connection to invoke the power of the State Public Utilities Commission if necessary to make its complaint effective.

The Port Authority was to consist of a board of five directors—in the first instance, the directors of the Port of Portland, and after-



ward to be appointed, four of them by the Governor with advice and consent of Council, and one by the City Council of Portland. At the expiration of the term of any director appointed by the Governor, the Governor was to appoint a replacement, as was the City Council of Portland in the event of the expiration of the term of its appointee. All vacancies were to be filled in this manner, and the term of office was fixed at three years.

It thus became the function of the Maine Port Authority to utilize the broad powers conferred upon it to manage the affairs of the State Pier in Portland in such a way as to advance the interests of Maine's entire economy. Despite the difficulties involved, including competition from more strategically placed ports to the south, Portland contrived, as a result, to increase its shipping, of which the State Pier represents but a part, since several good private piers are in operation. The State Pier sailed 109 ships in 1950 as compared with 95 ships in 1949, with a cargo increase of approximately 30 per cent. in that one-year period. Late in 1950 dry cargo tonnage was estimated at about 275,000 tons for the year, as compared with the 1949 figure of 209,000 tons, which was in turn an increase of 20 per cent over 1948.

Through arrangements with railroads and grain shippers, a notable increase in this type of business took place in the same period, sixteen grain ships having used the State Pier in 1949 and twenty-seven in 1950. A special federal inspector's services had to be engaged in this connection to meet with the requirements of federal law; but a net profit of \$3,900 on these operations remained for the Port Authority, over and above the salary of the inspector.

Among important products coming into the port are English china clay, Texas sulphur and Swedish wood pulp, all of them used by Maine paper mills, although imports of Swedish wood pulp declined in 1950, because of high prices.

The set-up of the State Pier is in some respects ideal for further future development. It is within easy reach of three railroads—the Grand Trunk Western (Canadian National), which owns a 1,500,000-bushel grain elevator a short distance away and has its own terminal nearby; and the Maine Central and Boston and Maine systems, which, though they come into the city at Union Station, have switching facilities through the Portland Terminal Company, connecting them directly with the State Pier. The State Pier has three berths for deep-sea ships and a limited area for ground storage with a probable capacity of 50 carloads. The nearby Grand Trunk Terminal has four berths for deep-sea ships and a ground storage space of 1,000,000 square feet at its Deering yards, accommodating approximately 1,200 carloads. The Portland Terminal Company, with its Wharves 1 and 3, has berths for four big, deep-sea ships, while its 462,000 square feet of space adjacent to Yards 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 and Union Station Yard afford ground storage for approximately 775 carloads. Approximately 1,050 cars can be held on wheels in the Portland Terminal Company yards without impairing free operation of the terminal, and the capacity of the Grand Trunk yards is about 200 cars in Portland proper and 450 cars at its Deering yards. In all, ground storage facilities are available for 2,275 carloads of shipments through the State Pier and related organiza-



tions. And rail freight rates on import commerce to northern United States, from the Buffalo-Pittsburgh-Parkersburg line westward to the Mississippi River, are generally the same from Portland as from Baltimore and Hampton Roads and lower than those from Philadelphia, New York and Boston.



*Old Cumberland Oxford Canal, Windham*

#### CANALS

Many of the Eastern States, notably New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania, suffered in the first third of the nineteenth century from an expensive "canal fever." The Erie Canal in New York was spectacularly successful, but most of the other man-made waterways were wiped out of existence as soon as the railroads began giving adequate service. Canals could not compete with steel rails.

In Maine there was relatively little canal building and a consequently smaller loss. As early as 1791 the possibilities of a canal from Sebago Lake to the lower Presumpscot River were investigated, and in 1795 a charter for such a canal was obtained from the General Court of Massachusetts. Work was begun, but soon abandoned, and the right-of-way purchased by the promoters reverted to the original owners.

In 1821 another company was chartered and a canal was built which by 1829 connected Portland, Westbrook, Windham, Gorham,



Standish, Bridgton and Harrison. Freight could be moved much more cheaply by this canal than by any other means of transportation of that time, and for a time the canal did an extensive business. At its opening in 1829 more than a hundred canal boats were in operation. But as soon as the railroads brought superior speed and service, the project evaporated.

In 1807, the Massachusetts General Court also sanctioned the construction of a canal from the Kennebec River through Cobbessee Lakes into the Androscoggin River and thence into the Rangeley Lakes, but this project never existed except on paper.

#### RAILROADS

Agitation for railroads began in Massachusetts in 1828, and spread later to Maine. When the Legislature was first petitioned regarding such a project, considerable opposition came from maritime interests. Also, not much capital was available for inland transportation development because so much Maine money had gone into ships. Accordingly, the Maine Legislature did not charter a railroad until February, 1832; and that road was only three-quarters of a mile long, extending from Calais to Milltown. A part of that line eventually became the St. Croix and Penobscot Railroad, now no longer extant.

This little line was largely a lumber road—as was the second railroad chartered, a road between Bangor and Old Town. Because the Calais promoters were somewhat slow in constructing their road, the Bangor and Old Town line became actually, in 1835, the first railroad to operate in the State. In Maine, as throughout the nation, railroad dreams ran high in the 1830s. Promoters talked of the music of the locomotive taming the sullen wilderness, and vowed that there was magic in steel rails. Once the twin bands of steel were laid, prosperity followed swiftly and everyone would benefit whether or not he owned stock in the road. Salesmen of the new securities made glib promises, and those who asked the Legislature for charters were both persuasive and evasive.

In 1835 someone proposed building a railroad from some point in Maine to some point in lower Canada so as to bring into existence a great seaport on the Maine coast. Such a railroad, it was contended, would funnel Canadian products through Maine rather than through the ice-locked St. Lawrence or the wilderness of Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. A survey resulted in the recommendation of a route from Quebec City to Belfast, on the Penobscot, because that route would be both best and shortest. Accordingly, in 1836, the Belfast and Quebec Railroad was chartered. But it never went beyond the charter stage.

Several other dream roads were chartered by the Maine Legislature at about that time in different parts of the State. The dreamers' intentions were often of the best, too, for Maine still had no roads worthy of the name. Still, no railroad was constructed in the 1830s. Few were built at all, even later, for a long time, although there was a lumber road between Whitneyville and Machias. Some contended that the old locomotive formerly seen on the campus of the University of Maine was once used on this little road.



The first major railroad in Maine was the Portland, Saco and Portsmouth railroad, completed in 1842 between Portsmouth and Portland, which connected with the Eastern Railroad from Boston to Portsmouth.



(Courtesy B. & M. R. R.)

*"The Kennebec," Boston and Maine Railroad, Eastbound at Scarboro*

A year later the Boston and Maine Railroad was completed from Boston to South Berwick Junction, and for years the Portland, Saco and Portsmouth Railroad handled business for both the Eastern and the Boston and Maine. Timetables were dovetailed so that the Eastern Railroad cars were picked up by the Portland, Saco and Portsmouth at Portsmouth, from which the double trains then ran to South Berwick Junction, where cars from Boston, via the Boston and Maine



Railroad, were added, and the whole proceeded to Portland. The trains were operated in reverse between Portland and Boston.

The Eastern Railroad about 1870 leased the Portland, Saco and Portsmouth Railroad, and the struggle for business between the new combine and the Boston and Maine caused the latter to extend its own line from South Berwick Junction to Portland. Thus Portland was



(Courtesy B. & M. R. R.)

*Maine Central Railroad Westbound Freight at Fairfield*

served to Boston by two practically parallel railroads—a situation duplicated in many parts of the United States, as particularly the large roads struggled for business and often deliberately duplicated services already satisfactorily offered by a smaller line. Eventually the Boston and Maine ended the wasteful competition by leasing the Eastern Railroad—another device which became common throughout the country. If a competitor could not be forced out of business, it was bought out by the financially stronger line. The Boston and Maine Railroad, thus established, gradually extended its lines through Fitchburg and Greenfield to Troy, New York, and into different parts of New Hampshire.

In 1839 a survey was made for a proposed railroad between Portland and Lake Champlain. It was believed that this route would attract business from New Hampshire and Vermont. Besides, if Maine



did not build the road, Boston would do so. In fact, Boston did build such a line, and the Maine project languished. Instead, John A. Poor, of Bangor, suggested a line between Portland and Montreal—a revival of the older idea of the Belfast and Quebec Railroad. In 1845 the Maine Legislature granted a charter to the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railway, as Poor's road was known, extending from Portland to the boundary line; and after some difficulty, the Quebec authorities granted a charter from that point on to Montreal. The grounds on which Poor and his associates convinced Quebec to grant the charter were that the distance from Montreal to Liverpool was less by way of Portland than by way of Boston.

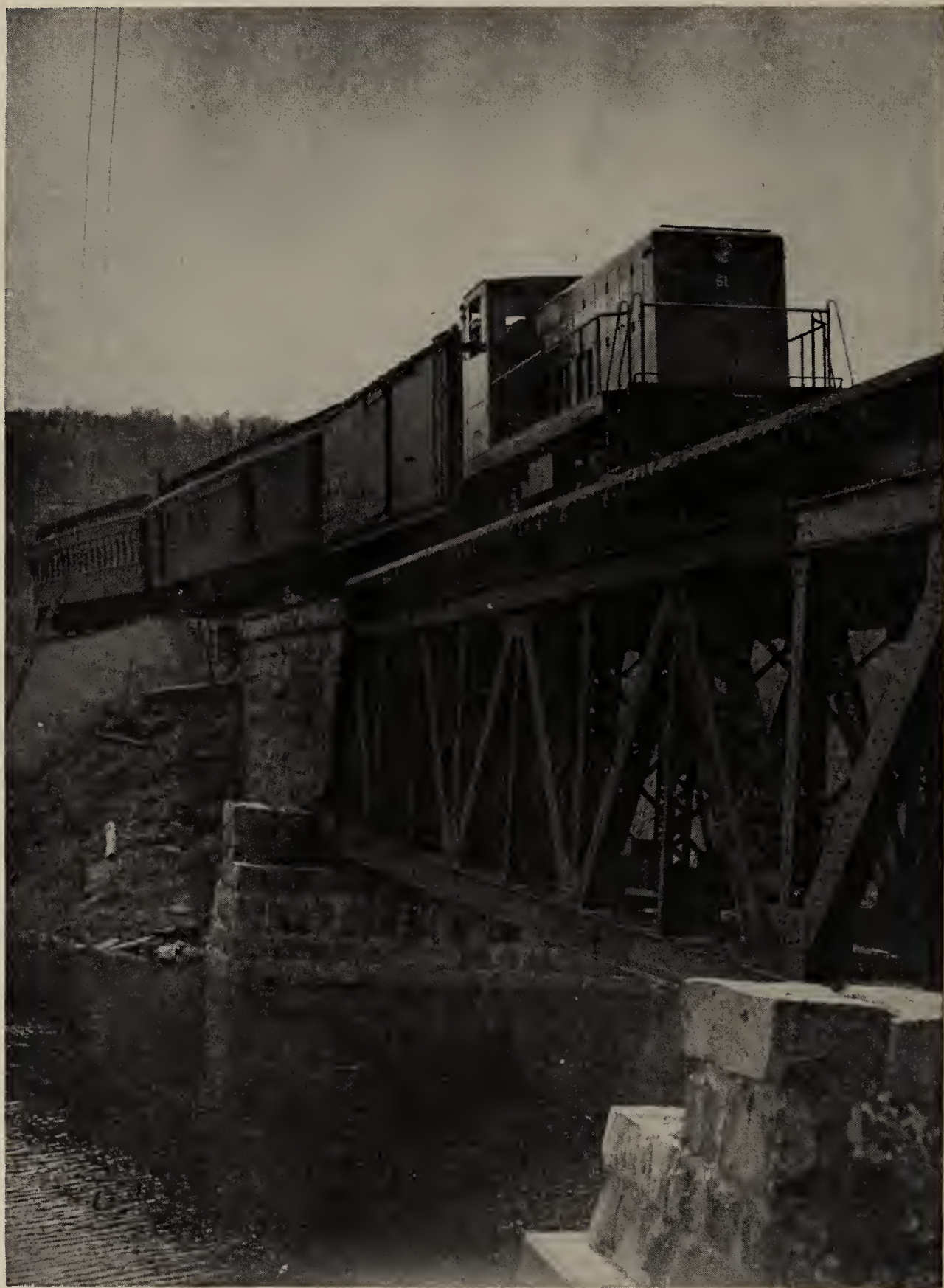
Construction of the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad began in 1845, and trains were running to South Paris as early as 1850. By 1853 the line was extended to Island Pond, Vermont, where it connected with a finished section from Montreal. Through trains between Portland and Montreal were put into service at once. The Grand Trunk Railway leased the line, and continued to operate it until a few decades ago, when, in a great reorganization of Canadian Railroads, the Canadian National Railways were established and took over the Grand Trunk.

The present Maine Central Railroad, like the Boston and Maine Railroad, is a combination of shorter lines in a single system. The Maine Central was formed from a consolidation of the Androscoggin and Kennebec, the Penobscot and Kennebec, the Kennebec and Portland, the Somerset and Kennebec, the Androscoggin and Leeds and Farmington, the Dexter and Newport, the Belfast and Moosehead Lake, the European and North American, the Portland and Ogdensburg, the Maine Short Line, the Eastern Maine, the Dexter and Piscataqua, the Knox and Lincoln, the Upper Coos, the Coos Valley and Hereford Railways, the Somerset, the Portland and Oxford Central (later the Portland and Rumford Falls), the Seabrook and Moosehead and the Washington County. The mere catalog of names suggests the large number of railroads built in Maine just before the Civil War. Enthusiasm for transportation swept the state and the nation. Maine was not in a position to tap the Middle West, or its citizens would have tried that, too.

The financing of the great transcontinental lines was made possible only by liberal grants of the Federal Government. In Maine the federal coffers could not be tapped; instead, the credit of cities and towns was used. Promoters described in glowing terms the benefits of the projected railroads to the municipalities, which would be joined to markets by roads of steel, and the citizens pledged their resources for municipal borrowing, without which many of the roads operating today would not have been built and Maine's economy might have been very different.

Use of municipal credit was probably wise; still, it worked hardships upon the towns, particularly because many of the infant railroads defaulted on their bonds and the cities and towns had to meet the demands of their creditors. In consequence, the Maine Legislature enacted a constitutional amendment forbidding any city or town to incur any debt, save for strictly temporary matters, such as school





*Belfast & Moosehead Lakes Railroad Daily Train*

funds and the like, or for war, beyond 5 per cent of the community's valuation. But meanwhile the railroads had been built—even over-built. At one time, for instance, two roads were projected from Portland to Waterville, one up the Kennebec, the other by way of Belgrade—the so-called “Back Route.” To the people of Augusta the “Back Route” seemed unnecessary, and they refused to help finance it; but the “Back Route” advocates stubbornly went ahead, and on November 27, 1849, the first trains over the Androscoggin and Kennebec Railroad ran into Waterville.

With Waterville conquered, the victors envisioned Bangor as their next goal, and organized the Penobscot and Kennebec road, which was completed July 30, 1855. In that instance the Legislature allowed the City of Bangor to aid in financing the construction, provided a director of the road was elected by the Bangor City Council. The Penobscot and Kennebec and the Androscoggin and Kennebec roads were consolidated in 1862 to form the nucleus of the present Maine Central. The Kennebec and Portland Railroad, which had operated through Brunswick to Bath in 1849, came to Augusta in 1852, and three years later, on January 19, 1855, it had pushed through Waterville to Skowhegan as the Somerset and Kennebec.

At about the middle of the century the so-called “war of gauges” was waged. The present standardization of gauge—that is, the spacing between the rails—was at that time a development which the future was to unfold. It was seldom possible to shift a car from one railroad to another because of the different gauges. With the standard gauge of today, on the contrary, a freight car can be loaded anywhere in North America and delivered to any other point on rails. In such degree has industrial co-operation replaced the jealousy of a century ago.

The Atlantic and St. Lawrence, the Androscoggin and Kennebec, the Penobscot and Kennebec and the Leeds and Farrington were, for example, broad-gauge roads; their rails were 5 feet 6 inches apart. The Portland, Saco, and Portsmouth and the Somerset and Kennebec were “standard-gauge” roads, the rails being 4 feet 8½ inches apart. Thus, when these roads were consolidated into the Maine Central in 1870, the strip of road between Bangor and Waterville was remade to standard-gauge specifications so that trains could run directly between Boston and Bangor. Similarly, the extension of the Maine Central from Danville Junction to Cumberland Junction necessitated that the line between Waterville and Danville Junction be narrowed to standard-gauge size. Then, within two years, the entire stretch of the Grand Trunk was relaid to conform to the standard-gauge pattern.

A road which went down to defeat in this war of the gauges was the European and North American Railway, a grandiose title for a little line that ran between Bangor and St. John, New Brunswick. It was originally broad-gauge, and its trains ran over wide tracks for several years after its opening on October 19, 1871. The idea behind this road was to make it possible to leave a ship from Europe at Halifax and proceed all the way to Boston by rail by way of Bangor and Portland—a saving of two days as compared with sailing time. The originators failed to consider the loss of time in



making connections at Halifax. The road failed to prosper, and on November 13, 1882, it was leased to the Maine Central for 999 years and the rails were relaid to standard gauge specifications. Subsequently, arrangements were also made for joint use of the rails between Mattawamkeag and Vanceboro by the Canadian Pacific.

In 1869 the City of Bangor built the Bangor and Piscataqua Railroad between Old Town and Dover, using the tracks of the European and North American Railway between Bangor and Old Town. The Bangor line was completed to Guilford in 1871 and to Monson Junction in 1875, then to Blanchard in 1877, but because of lack of funds it did not reach Greenville until 1884. In 1887 it leased the Bangor and Katahdin Iron Works Railroad between Milo Junction and Brownville, and in 1892 the two roads were leased to the Bangor and Aroostook.

Before that time the Maine Central had made an effort to acquire the Bangor and Piscataqua, but the City of Bangor, principal owner, considered the terms offered inadequate. So the Dexter and Piscataqua Railroad, which later became a part of the Maine Central, was built from Dexter to Dover-Foxcroft. Both roads were originally constructed as broad-gauge lines, and had to be reconstructed after 1877.

In 1875 the Aroostook River Railroad was constructed from Aroostook Junction, on the New Brunswick Railway, to Fort Fairfield, and a year later was pushed through to Caribou. Six years later it was extended to Presque Isle. Another Canadian line, the Houlton Branch, was built about this time from Sebec Junction to Houlton. Both of these lines eventually became a part of the Canadian Pacific system.

From this network of railroads running northward out of Bangor into the upper reaches of Maine, the Bangor and Aroostook system soon emerged, beginning with the consolidation of the Bangor and Piscataqua and the Bangor and Katahdin Iron Works railroads in 1892, as already indicated. Maine's potato industry greatly enhanced this railroad's success. In that same year, 1892, the Bangor and Aroostook was continued to Houlton, and in 1893 to Fort Fairfield and Caribou, then to Ashland Junction in 1896. In 1897 it was extended from Caribou to Limestone, and a line from Caribou reached Van Buren in 1899. In 1902 the road purchased the Patten and Sherman Railroad, built in 1896, and in 1903 a branch was built between Ashland and Fort Kent.

For a water outlet, the Northern Maine and Searsport Railroad from Lagrange to Searsport had already been built, and in 1905 the Bangor and Aroostook took over this line. In 1907 it built a branch from Millinocket to East Millinocket, a second track from South Lagrange to Northern Maine Junction, and the Medford cut-off and a second track from Packards to West Sebois. By 1909 branches were in operation from Van Buren to Grand Isle and from Kent Junction to St. Francis. The Washburn extension and the extension from Grand Isle to Fort Kent, with which it then connected, had already been in operation for eight years. Prior to construction of the Northern Maine and Searsport extension, the Bangor and Aroostook had made use of the Maine Central tracks between Bangor and Old Town,

where the Bangor and Aroostook repair shops were situated. The new extension, however, enabled the Bangor and Aroostook to deliver its train and cars to the Maine Central at Northern Maine Junction, which effected a considerable saving. Eventually the Bangor and Aroostook moved its repair shops from Old Town to Milo Junction, later renamed Derby.

Eastern Maine railroads were developing simultaneously. Mt. Desert had started its career as a summer resort, and the need for transportation there led to organization of the Shore Line Railroad Company, which opened a line from Bangor to Mt. Desert Ferry on June 23, 1884. This line was subsequently taken over by the Maine Central Railroad. Mt. Desert Ferry was a terminus for small steamships which touched different parts of the island, such as Bar Harbor.

When the Maine Central took over the Shore Railroad, it aimed to avoid building another railroad bridge over the Penobscot at Bangor, necessary to furnish through service to Boston and New York, and so acquired the bridge built by the Eastern Point Railroad, originally chartered in 1871 as the Bucksport and Bangor Railroad and leased to the European and North American Railway Company, which in 1879 relinquished it.

The far east of Maine gained its first complete railway in 1893, when the Washington County Railway was chartered. By 1899 through trains were running into this remote corner of the United States and in 1904 it also was acquired by the Maine Central.

The Canadian Pacific, one of the world's great transcontinental railroads, was seeking a short line between upper Canada and the Maritime Provinces. Accordingly it built a line across Maine to Mattawamkeag, there renting trackage rights over the Maine Central to Vanceboro, on the New Brunswick border. The Canadian Pacific also built branch lines in Maine from Presque Isle and Houlton to the border, so acquiring a total trackage of 233.3 miles in the state, including 56.6 miles of trackage rights over the Maine Central.

Only a few minor lines need to be mentioned to complete the picture of Maine's railways and their development. The Portland and Rochester, for example, chartered as the York and Cumberland, was running to Rochester in 1871, and as soon as connections were made with the Nashua and Worcester it became an important freight line. The entire line between Portland and Worcester was eventually acquired by the Boston and Maine Railroad. The Portland and Ogdensburg Railroad was completed through the White Mountains at Fabyans in 1875 and there made a connection with roads to Montreal and the west. Another line, the Portland and Rumford Falls Railway, first known as the Portland and Oxford Central, was originally managed by F. O. J. Smith, and later was taken over by a syndicate headed by ex-Governor Washburn as president. Still later, it was the property of William L. Putnam. When the paper and pulp industry began booming in the Rumford Falls vicinity, a company formed to purchase the Portland and Rumford Falls Railway pushed it through to the Falls. H. J. Chisholm, a well-known financier of the times, was later its president. A line operated by this same road subsequently went as far as the Rangeley Lakes to bring out logs for the pulp and paper industry.



With projection of the Somerset Railroad, the "war of the gauges" flared anew. The broad-gauge road insisted that the new line be built from Oakland, while the standard-gauge interests wished it to go from Skowhegan. When the Belfast and Moosehead road was chartered, another similar controversy arose over the use of Burnham as the starting-point with a broad-gauge road or Augusta as the starting-point with a standard-gauge road. The broad-gauge



*Transport of Pulpwood to Feed Maine Paper Mills is a Major Industrial Activity of the Maine Railroads*

forces won the day, but both roads had subsequently to be relaid as standard-gauge lines.

When the Somerset was eventually extended to Moosehead Lake, it became a valuable feeder for the Maine Central, which acquired it. The Belfast and Moosehead line projected an extension called the Sebasticook and Moosehead Railroad, which never realized the fond fancies of its sponsors.

Other early Maine railway lines included the standard-gauge Georges Valley between Rockland and Union, the Lime Rock line connecting the quarries around Rockland with that city, the York Harbor and Beach between Kittery and the points mentioned, and the Rangeley Lakes and Megantic, an extension of the Rangeley Lakes Division of the Maine Central.

At Portland, for purposes of more efficient management, portions of the Boston and Maine and the Maine Central tracks, together with the Union Passenger Station and associated buildings, were set



aside from the parent lines and given over to a corporation known as the Portland Terminal Company, which thereafter performed the important function of linking these systems with the Canadian National by means of a belt line, as well as with the shipping facilities at the Portland waterfront.

After the Civil War the Sandy River and the Phillips and Rangeley (later called the Sandy River and Rangeley Lakes line), the Bridgton



(Courtesy Maine Potato Growers, Inc., Presque Isle)

*Bangor & Aroostook Railroad, Largest Potato Carrier in the United States*

and Saco River, the Kennebec Central (between Randolph and Togus) and the Wiscasset, Waterville and Farmington (north from Wiscasset) and other narrow-gauge lines came into being. The first two were absorbed in the Maine Central. There was also a narrow line of three-foot gauge, the Monson, connecting with the Bangor and Aroostook.

The Bangor and Aroostook is probably Maine's most successful railway, serving the state's magnificent "Potato Empire." The other roads faced stiff competition from one another, as well as from waterborne traffic. Even the great rivers were their competitors. Lumber, for example, was loaded upon steamers and schooners tied up at the mills, and they carried the cargoes to Boston and other seaboard cities more cheaply than the railroads could do the job. Jealousy among the roads themselves was another obstacle to their success. Freight that might have traveled in the same cars over several lines, for example, went by ship instead.



Seizure of railroads by the government during World War I accelerated the unification which the roads themselves had neglected to foster. More recent inter-relationships of the Maine Central, the Boston and Maine, the New York, New Haven and Hartford and other lines attest the accomplishments of which co-ordination of effort is capable. The mileage of steam railroad trackage in Maine from 1836 to the present time, as nearly as the State Public Utilities Commission has been able to ascertain, is as follows:

	Miles	Increase		Miles	Increase
1836.....	12.00	.....	1896.....	1,720.41	93.66
1842.....	19.88	7.88	1897.....	1,722.92	2.51
1843.....	72.39	52.51	1898.....	1,748.95	26.03
1847.....	75.39	3.00	1899.....	1,871.85	122.90
1848.....	132.16	56.77	1900.....	1,905.00	33.15
1849.....	211.49	79.33	1901.....	1,918.98	13.98
1850.....	232.59	21.10	1902.....	1,933.35	14.37
1851.....	280.61	48.02	1903.....	2,004.81	71.46
1852.....	319.74	39.13	1904.....	2,018.60	13.79
1853.....	330.74	11.00	1905.....	2,022.63	4.03
1854.....	333.74	3.00	1906.....	2,093.49	70.86
1855.....	352.84	19.10	1907.....	2,144.77	51.28
1856.....	370.75	17.91	1908.....	2,173.91	29.14
1857.....	390.82	20.07	1909.....	2,174.95	1.04
1859.....	411.29	20.47	1910.....	2,259.60	84.65
1861.....	441.99	30.70	1911.....	2,288.36	28.76
1867.....	444.49	2.50	1912.....	2,284.38	*3.98
1868.....	516.45	71.96	1913.....	2,301.03	16.65
1869.....	601.65	85.20	1914.....	2,300.37	*.66
1870.....	650.20	48.55	1915.....	2,301.05	.68
1871.....	772.63	122.43	†1916.....	2,289.61	*11.44
1873.....	814.63	42.00	#1916.....	2,289.04	*.57
1874.....	846.43	31.80	1917.....	2,299.27	10.23
1875.....	865.71	19.28	1918.....	2,286.81	*12.46
1876.....	881.33	15.62	1919.....	2,312.68	25.82
1879.....	911.23	29.90	1920.....	2,313.87	1.19
1880.....	1,023.32	112.09	1921.....	2,315.15	1.28
1881.....	1,036.15	12.83	1922.....	2,290.01	*25.14
1882.....	1,051.64	15.49	1923.....	2,290.67	.66
1883.....	1,063.27	11.63	1924.....	2,379.39	88.72
1884.....	1,132.27	69.00	1925.....	2,371.87	*7.52
1885.....	1,132.27	.....	1926.....	2,354.18	*17.69
1886.....	1,141.43	9.16	1927.....	2,327.64	*26.34
1887.....	1,164.52	23.09	1928.....	2,330.98	3.14
1888.....	1,164.07	*.45	1929.....	2,320.38	*10.60
1889.....	1,322.45	158.38	1930.....	2,316.62	*3.76
1890.....	1,360.26	37.81	1931.....	2,319.81	3.29
1891.....	1,382.92	22.66	1932.....	2,311.53	*8.28
1892.....	1,385.00	2.08	1933.....	2,164.58	*146.95
1893.....	1,399.14	14.14	1934.....	2,120.71	*43.87
1894.....	1,515.99	116.85	1935.....	2,078.00	*40.71
1895.....	1,626.75	110.76	1936.....	2,039.91	*38.09
			1937.....	1,949.21	*90.70
			1938.....	1,932.08	*17.13
			1939.....	1,914.94	*17.14
			1940.....	1,914.80	*.14
			1941.....	1,912.33	*2.47
			1942.....	1,894.85	*17.48
			1943.....	1,882.90	*11.95
			1944.....	1,854.86	*28.04
			1945.....	1,854.90	.04
			1946.....	1,854.93	.03
			1947.....	1,854.65	*.28
			1948.....	1,846.93	*7.72
			1949.....	1,846.98	.05

\*Decrease

†June 30, 1916

#Dec. 31, 1916

Mileage of the separate roads operating in the state was as follows in 1949:

Railroads	Miles of main track	Miles of second main track	Miles of yard track and sidings	Total line operated
Bangor & Aroostook Railroad Co.....	596.32	29.81	239.95	866.08
Belfast & Moosehead Lakes R. R. Co.....	33.07	.06	4.85	37.98
Boston & Maine Railroad Co.....	59.83	39.89	15.27	114.99
Canadian National Railway.....	89.52	.99	56.58	147.09
Canadian Pacific Railway Co.....	177.04	.....	56.71	233.75
Maine Central Railroad Co.....	820.63	56.92	260.83	1,138.38
Portland Terminal Co.....	28.00	12.65	84.62	125.27
Sanford & Eastern R. R. Corp.....	42.57	.....	3.59	46.16
Totals.....	1,846.98	140.32	722.40	2,709.40

Passenger and freight statistics for 1949 follow:

Railroads	Number of Passengers Carried	Number of Passengers Carried One Mile	Tons of Freight Carried	Tons of Freight Carried One Mile
Bangor & Aroostook R. R. Co.....	123,122	11,842,926	3,027,362	389,878,000
Belfast & Moosehead Lakes R. R. Co....	7,580	133,867	122,478	3,377,000
Canadian National Railway.....	43,059	4,351,715	896,681	99,133,000
Canadian Pacific Railway Co.....	101,500	18,493,570	2,282,747	391,853,000
Maine Central Railroad Co.....	671,597	59,344,612	7,332,531	917,477,000
Sanford & Eastern R. R. Corp.....	.....	.....	55,537	963,000
Totals.....	936,858	94,166,690	13,717,326	1,802,681,000

#### ELECTRIC CARS

One means of transportation which came into being quickly, mushroomed into prosperity and faded almost as rapidly is the electric car, made possible by cheap electric power at the beginning of the twentieth century. In Maine, as in the rest of New England, the former horse-car lines had expanded tremendously at the turn of the century. Portland was served by an "omnibus" line as early as 1850. It failed, but in 1862 another such line was chartered—the Portland and Forest Avenue Railroad Company,—which in October, 1863, began operating horsecars in different parts of the city. The company prospered to a degree, and was subsequently reorganized as the Portland Railroad Company. At the introduction of electricity, it branched out extensively, and, by consolidation with the Portland and Yarmouth, the Portland and Cape Elizabeth and other lines, built up an electric car system which reached the front door of almost everyone in that portion of Maine. Service was rapid, frequent and good, and the line extended to Yarmouth, Westbrook, South Windham and Gorham on the north, as well as southward, to Old Orchard, Saco and Cape Elizabeth.

The next street car system developed in Lewiston and Auburn, and further lines were initiated in Biddeford and Saco, as well as in Waterville, Augusta and Winthrop. Still others of lesser importance



followed, and at one time it was possible to ride almost anywhere in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut—even to New York and points beyond—by street car. The lines flourished until after World War I, then began to decline. No inter-urban systems remain today. Most of the rails were pulled up and sold for scrap steel in World War II. Other lines failed as buses took their place.

The street car reached the height of its glory in Maine about 1925. Recent biennial reports of the Maine Public Utilities Commission give little or no space to electric railroads, except perhaps when a line files petition for discontinuance. Many a Maine citizen of tender years has never seen a street car, much less ridden on a summer day in one of those "open cars" through which the wind rushed delightfully, removing the cares of the world. Since 1945-1946 the Public Utilities Commission's biennial reports have not even mentioned electric car lines.

On December 31, 1925, the heyday of these lines in Maine, their total assets were \$73,793,000, including \$60,773,000 in property investments. Profits totaled \$1,893,000 for that year, but five of the fifteen companies reporting showed losses. Combined gross income of the fifteen lines was \$3,657,000, of which \$2,532,000 was railway operating revenue. The total operating revenue was almost \$4,000,000, of which about \$3,400,000 was from passenger fares, about \$10,000 from mail deliveries, and nearly \$450,000 from express and freight shipments. Combined total operating expenses were in excess of \$3,000,000. In that same year, 1925, these electric railways carried almost 20,000,000 passengers in Maine.

The successor to these lines was the automobile, which, operating over better highways, brought about another major transformation in travel methods.

#### HIGHWAYS

The modern highway has, more than any other factor, worked a complete transformation in the life of Maine. The internal combustion motor, applied to private passenger cars, trucks and buses, has provided rapid and adequate transportation to practically every nook and corner of Maine, which has evolved a highway system of great economic and cultural value to the state. Many millions of dollars have gone into the construction of this system, but the state's property values and business operations have been many times multiplied.

Maine's earliest "roads," mentioned at the opening of this Chapter, bad as they were, were nevertheless the start of a primitive "good roads program." Even the Massachusetts General Court ruled at an early stage that each new town must connect itself with the nearest older one by a "road." In 1653 the General Court ordered the two principal towns, Kittery and York, to make "a straight and convenient way along East for man and horse." Shortly thereafter Wells, Saco and Cape Porpoise were also ordered to "lay out a sufficient highway for horse and foot between town and town." If the streams were not fordable, then a ferry was required. This highway, which became known as the "King's Highroad," approximated the present Route

One, and gradually inched its way eastward, linking the towns together as it went. In time, the General Court ordered the towns to construct bridges and make the highway "fitte for foote and cart." Enforcement was difficult, and the towns were lax in their duties in this respect. Selectmen were more ready to listen to grumblings about high taxes than to read letters from Boston—then farther away in time than Europe is now.

The westward flood of migration after independence from Britain led the national government to support east-west roads, such as the Cumberland Road between Maryland and Indiana. But in those days the federal purse was not open for the aid of local roads.

Most smaller cities and towns, particularly in the rural districts, were too poor to finance roadbuilding, which even then cost money, despite the pressure for communication caused by the growing populations and increased business. Private capital, recognizing an opportunity for profit, then offered to build roads between cities in return for the right to charge tolls for their use. The idea proved popular, and large sums of money quickly became available. Good dirt and gravel roads appeared here and there, at first just a few miles in length; but gradually they were joined together until reasonably good stage routes were being operated from city to city. Massachusetts chartered its first turnpike in 1796, and in the next twenty years more than a hundred such turnpike companies were chartered. The famous Newburyport Turnpike, between Boston and Newburyport, is a heritage of this period.

Maine's first turnpike, chartered in 1802, was the Camden Pike, which linked Camden Harbor with Lincolnville. Daniel Barrett, the owner, laid out his road right between the steep cliff of Megunticook Mountain and the Lake, putting three years of labor into the work and spending more than \$6,000—a vast sum in those days. Finally he sold the road to the towns for \$300 in 1834. The road never paid for the effort, but Barrett maintained it through the intervening years as a public service. It is still in use today.

The second turnpike chartered in Maine was the First Maine Turnpike Corporation's project for a road between "Harriman's Ferry," in the town of Prospect, on the Penobscot River, to the Kennebec Bridge in Augusta; but the road was never actually built.

The third turnpike was built by the First Cumberland Turnpike Company, largely the project of Horatio Southgate and his brother-in-law, William King. It extended across the Scarborough marshes, connecting Maine and Massachusetts. Before it was built, travelers had to turn off at the Old Southgate house and make the hard, long and difficult climb up Scottow's hill. After the road was built, travelers paid their toll near the Southgate Mansion, one of Scarborough's showplaces, and rolled into Portland on a smooth and level road. For more than forty years, this little pike paid its owners handsome dividends, but just before the Civil War the towns took it over as a public thoroughfare, paying the heirs \$2,000 from Cumberland County and \$500 from the town of Scarborough.

William King, before he became Governor of Maine, liked the turnpike idea so well that he built another of his very own from Bruns-



wick to Bath, including a bridge over the New Meadows River. The toll house was at the bridge. Some clever travelers played "shun-pike," avoiding the toll house at the bridge by turning aside just before reaching the river and crossing the stream by way of Brown's Ferry. His pike became very popular, however, for, with a ferry across the Kennebec at Bath, it connected with the Woolwich and Wiscasset Turnpike, which in turn connected with the Wiscasset and Augusta Turnpike. This group of roads made traveling easy through that area, and even, for that period, from Boston to Augusta.

The fact that all these turnpikes were chartered by the state, which fixed toll rates and exercised strict control over operations, made the business eventually unprofitable for the privately built roads, most of which sooner or later went bankrupt and lost their property to the counties or towns. But the turnpikes provided the state's first good roads and performed a remarkable educational service, demonstrating the value of good roads.

Between the Civil War and 1900 the roads of Maine did not improve. They increased in number, but ruts, mire and dust made them impracticable for heavy hauling or even comfortable riding in horse-drawn vehicles. There were two main difficulties: the citizens did not have money enough to build roads; and they were not sufficiently convinced of the value of such roads to want to borrow money for their building. The great stimulant to roadbuilding, the automobile, had not arrived.

Probably 1901 marked the turning-point in road development. In that year the Maine Legislature provided for payment of \$100 to any town that would spend \$200 on improvement of a main thoroughfare which the respective county commissioners were willing to designate as a state road. The Legislature fancied that an appropriation of \$15,000 would cover the needs under this law. But only a few towns were interested. At the following two sessions of the Legislature state payments increased to \$200 and \$300 respectively, and interest on the part of some towns grew. But road improvement continued on a somewhat haphazard basis, for all of the sixteen counties' separate sets of commissioners had their own ideas as to how roads should be improved and how a state should be governed. Great variation characterized even what little work was accomplished.

The Legislature of 1905 ordered an investigation into the road situation, and the 1907 Legislature incorporated the resulting study into a new road law which became effective in 1908. That law grouped towns and cities in accordance with their property valuations, and these groupings were used as the basis for allotment of state aid. This arrangement made it possible to provide the largest amount of aid where the need was greatest. Thus, small towns with low valuations received more money for road improvement than did large communities with high valuations and larger numbers of taxpayers to bear the burden. This law also wisely provided for state supervision of construction. The roads must be constructed properly or the state would not pay. For five years, until 1913, the system worked well. More than 500 miles of roads were built. But it still left too much initiative to the towns, and local taxpayers hated to pay out money

to build roads "for the benefit of outsiders." The obvious solution was for the state to take over roadbuilding, and in 1913 the State Highway Commission was established and the basis was laid for Maine's present splendid network of roads and highways.

The act of establishment defined first class state highways, second class or "state aid" highways, third class roads and other types of highway. It directed the State Highway Commission to lay out, construct and maintain a system of state highways. Also, in co-operation with municipal officers of the communities, the State Highway Commission was to lay out, build and maintain a system of state aid highways. This law was afterward amended—for instance, to increase the amount of state aid, and, again, when the Commission assumed third class roads as one of its responsibilities. But except for such changes, the law of 1913 is still in operation.

When first established, the Commission began laying out a system of trunk line highways from Kittery to Fort Kent, by way of Bangor and Houlton, with branches covering southern and central Maine and extending eastward along the coast to Eastport and Calais, westward from Portland to Fryeburg, Bethel and Rumford, and northward to the Rangeley Lakes, Moosehead Lake and Jackman. Work began in 1914 on this system, which now extends over 3,000 miles. State aid for towns and cities has finally taken hold as a policy, with the support of educational efforts and, above all, of actual demonstrations of the economic value of roadbuilding to the rank and file of the citizenry.

Federal funds have also become available for the financing of state highways, and state bond issues have been authorized into the many millions of dollars. As early as 1911 the Legislature proposed a state highway bond issue of \$2,000,000, to be paid for by receipts from motor vehicle fees. Some authorities claim that this method of road financing originated in Maine through the suggestion of Lyman H. Nelson, who became the State Highway Commission's first chairman. A state constitutional amendment was required to make the procedure legal, and the people of Maine, like those of many other states, voted their approval of the idea.

This first bond issue was consumed by 1917, and the Legislature provided for a tax of one mill on all property in the state for roadbuilding. The 1917 tax amounted to \$521,000. In 1919 the Federal Congress made a large appropriation for "federal aid" roads to provide employment for men mustered out of the armed services. For Maine to take advantage of this Federal bounty, \$8,000,000 was needed, and the Legislature proposed another bond issue of that amount. The bonds were approved by the people at a special election in September, 1919. In 1925 a \$6,000,000 bond issue was accepted by the people, half of it to be used for road construction and half for bridge building. Federal aid for highways has been continued, and in the thirteen years between 1913 and 1926 about \$17,300,000 came from Washington. The amounts spent now seem astronomical in comparison with that first meager "state aid" appropriation in 1901 of \$15,000, of which only a very little was spent. While funds for reconstruction now come from one-third of the tax on gasoline, revenues for maintenance are



furnished from one-sixth of the gasoline tax and motor vehicle fees. Automobile fees are used to pay interest on bonds, to retire bonds falling due, to pay salaries and expenses of the State Highway Police, and expenses of the State Highway Commission and its employees, to purchase and distribute registration plates, and to maintain roads. Cities and towns contribute one-half the actual cost of maintenance, within set limits ranging between \$30 and \$60 a mile.

Recent increases in passenger and motor truck traffic have been pronounced, pointing a need for larger and stronger bridges, better roads and continuous rebuilding programs. The older roads are too narrow and curved for safety. Public demand, especially that of passenger traffic, is for high-speed roads, and the demand is being met in part by a redevelopment of the old turnpike idea. Tremendous bridges, like the one between Bath and Woolwich, were built at state expense, and a toll was imposed until the bridge was paid for. Then it became free. The new Maine Turnpike from Kittery to Portland is a modern case in point.

#### THE MAINE TURNPIKE

One of the most interesting developments in highway history in the United States is the Maine Turnpike, whose initial 45-mile stretch from Kittery to Portland portends vast expansion into northern Maine. It is, by enactment of the Legislature, a state highway, but one possessing all the characteristics and advantages of a private enterprise. Financed through the sale of interest-bearing bonds, offered to individual investors, it must, by the terms of the original enactment, wholly pay for itself through tolls levied upon users of its facilities; in other words, if it should fail so to pay for itself over a period of years, only the bondholders, and not the state financial structure, would thereby suffer.

Although the road is naturally the result of co-operative effort in the broadest sense and wide co-ordination of interests, credit for the major inspiration for its establishment goes to Joseph T. Sayward, chairman of the Maine Turnpike Authority, who as a member of the State Legislature introduced the act creating the Authority in the legislative halls at Augusta in 1941. Impingement of World War II prevented the immediate effectuating of the plan, and construction could not actually begin until May 14, 1946. The first section, from Kittery to Portland, was completed and opened to the public on December 13, 1947.

The cost of nineteen months of construction work, totaling \$20,600,000, included not only the materials of actual roadbuilding and the labor involved in it, but every item of expense connected with the entire project, such as the purchase of certain lands and properties, including one big farmhouse and outbuildings, now occupied as headquarters of the Authority. The outstanding obligations incurred to cover this \$20,600,000 total expense figure were on the bonds sold—\$15,000,000 worth of 2½ per cent. bonds, and \$5,600,000 worth of 2¾ per cent bonds,—all maturing February 1, 1976.

According to present indications, the Maine Turnpike will realize the goal set for it and pay for itself by the time the bonds mature. Following are figures for the first three years of the road's operation:

Year	No. of Vehicles	Gross Receipts
1948	1,516,171	\$ 669,795.78
1949	1,683,703	871,654.51
1950*	1,940,000*	1,035,000.00*

\*Estimated (includes approximately \$35,000 revenue from gasoline station and restaurant concessions).

The schedule of tolls for Section 1 of the Turnpike, from Kittery to Portland, follows:

FARE SCHEDULES—Effective May 1, 1949

Interchange to Interchange (either direction)	Class of Vehicle								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Kittery-Wells.....	.25	.40	.20	.25	.30	.40	.60	.40	.60
Kittery-Kennebunk.....	.30	.55	.30	.30	.45	.55	.80	.55	.80
Kittery-Biddeford.....	.40	.70	.35	.40	.55	.70	1.00	.70	1.00
Kittery-Saco.....	.45	.75	.40	.45	.60	.75	1.10	.75	1.10
Kittery-Portland.....	.60	1.00	.50	.60	.80	1.00	1.50	1.00	1.50
Wells-Kennebunk.....	.10	.15	.10	.10	.10	.15	.20	.15	.20
Wells-Biddeford.....	.15	.30	.15	.15	.25	.30	.40	.30	.40
Wells-Saco.....	.20	.35	.20	.20	.30	.35	.50	.35	.50
Wells-Portland.....	.35	.60	.30	.35	.50	.60	.90	.60	.90
Kennebunk-Biddeford.....	.10	.15	.10	.10	.10	.15	.20	.15	.20
Kennebunk-Saco.....	.15	.20	.15	.15	.20	.20	.30	.20	.30
Kennebunk-Portland.....	.30	.50	.25	.30	.35	.50	.70	.50	.70
Biddeford-Saco.....	.10	.10	.10	.10	.10	.10	.10	.10	.10
Biddeford-Portland.....	.20	.35	.20	.20	.25	.35	.50	.35	.50
Saco-Portland.....	.15	.30	.15	.15	.20	.30	.40	.30	.40

Class	Type	Full Length Fare
1	Passenger Car.....	.60
2	Passenger Car with Trailer.....	1.00
3	Motorecycle.....	.50
4	Truck 0- 7000 lbs. GVW.....	.60
5	Truck 7001-16000 lbs. GVW.....	.80
6	Truck 16001-32000 lbs. GVW.....	1.00
7	Truck 32001-50000 lbs. GVW.....	1.50
8	Bus—up to and including 12 passengers.....	1.00
9	Bus—13 passengers or over.....	1.50



A survey is in process as we go to press to determine whether the Portland-Bangor section of the highway should be undertaken at this time, since by terms of the original state enactment the financial feasibility of the enterprise must be established in order to make the bonds marketable. The securities are then sold on the bond market through established investment houses.

Behind widespread acceptance of Maine Turnpike bonds, a public spirit arising out of a community of interests has figured as significantly as anticipation of financial return in attracting investors. Many motorists are drawn to the Turnpike by no incentive except the pleasure of motoring on it; but the vital importance of this motor highway to the state lies in its economic value in the fight for survival of Maine's industry, commerce, agricultural and recreational business in a market teeming with competition from other parts of the United States. Maine, geographically, is "on the end of a limb," as W. B. Getchell, Jr., executive director of the Turnpike Authority, has written.

"Being interdependent with areas and people beyond our boundaries," he says, "quick and convenient accessibility alone can compensate for our relatively remote position. In the important field of highway transportation, the Maine Turnpike has placed a greater area of Maine in closer contact with the rest of the nation, and the highway facilities completed or now contemplated in other states will place Maine, in the near future, at the northeasterly terminus of a great 'super-highway' extending from Portland through the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio to the Ohio-Indiana state line."

Of all the traffic passing over the Maine Turnpike, 60 per cent is "through traffic" covering the entire distance between Kittery and Portland, while only 40 per cent of the cars make use of the intermediate interchanges.

But the outstanding significance of the Turnpike is that it is self-contained and self-supporting. When the now famous Pennsylvania Toll Highway was built, about \$29,000,000 of the approximately \$70,000,000 cost of the enterprise was covered through federal grants. Not so with the Maine Turnpike, which was built entirely from bond sales and must be financed wholly from volume of business done.

#### THE MILITARY ROAD

In 1807, thirteen years before statehood, Joseph Houlton and his family were among pioneers who settled the town of Houlton, then a part of Washington County prior to the creation of Aroostook County in 1839.

At that period, it will be remembered, the international boundary-line between Maine and New Brunswick was still in dispute, a fact of which the United States War Department was well aware. Congress accordingly, on May 24, 1828, authorized a \$15,000 appropriation for building a road from Lincoln to Mars Hill, somewhat north of Houlton and very close to the New Brunswick border. A War

Department Order of July 18, 1828, instructed that this "Military Road" should be built under direction of the Quartermaster General. It was completed in 1832.

Its most important function, militarily, was to serve as a means of approach to Hancock Barracks, a military post at Houlton. In 1838, when the "Aroostook War" was an imminent threat, R. M. Kirby, commander of that post, was doing everything in his power as a military man to avert catastrophe. On February 1, 1839, he wrote to the Ordnance Department that "ten barrels of cannon powder should be constantly in magazine, subject to such exigency as may occur on this frontier, at this isolated station." Actually, in the following spring, twelve companies of State Militia marched up the Military Road to Hancock Barracks. Only an agreement arranged by General Winfield Scott and the Governor of New Brunswick prevented an outright conflict, and the troops of both sides withdrew in time to prevent the "Aroostook War." After the signing of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty in 1842, settling a fifty-nine-year-old boundary dispute, the military post at Houlton was abandoned and the early settlers there watched the soldiers march off back down the Military Road built for American defense.

When the need for a "military road" declined, Congress appropriated \$6,000 for repairs to put the road in good condition before turning it over to Maine. To ascertain the need of the appropriation, the Secretary of War requested a report from the Quartermaster General on the road's importance; and the reply showed that, before the existence of the road, the War Department had been paying from \$80 to \$120 a ton to transport military stores from Bangor to Houlton, whereas the new road had reduced that figure to \$18 a ton.

This road, long economically valuable to Maine, is a 54-mile stretch through the wilderness from Mattawamkeag to Houlton. As soon as it was built, settlements sprang up along the route. At an early period four hotels were established at intervals—"houses of entertainment," as they were called. Sawmills and grist mills appeared. Linneus was incorporated as a town on March 16, 1836. The fact that the Military Road crossed the Mattawamkeag River near the "Forks," about half-way from Mattawamkeag to Houlton, led to the building of a town at that point—Haynesville. Macwahoc and Reed are other communities situated along the present Military Road, which follows almost exactly the course of the original thoroughfare laid by troops almost a century and a quarter ago.

For a considerable stretch the Military Road passes at a distance of about fifty miles from legendary Mount Katahdin, Millinocket being about half-way from Mattawamkeag to that mountain. Commercially it is still important. The virgin timber through which it was originally cut is gone from the roadside, as are the old-time "houses of entertainment." Houses and mills are fewer. But trucks laden with freight for Aroostook County continually pass over the Military Road, as do countless cars of Maine citizens and tourists,



while it continues to be one of the important arteries for delivery of potatoes from Aroostook County to the outside world.

"This road," as the Quartermaster General reported to the Secretary of War more than a century ago, "is not only desirable but necessary to the public service."

#### BUSES

An important development in transportation is the bus, which is of many styles and types. Huge, swift interstate buses make connections between Maine towns and cities and other transportation media covering the United States and Canada. Operating at lower costs than railroads, these buses offer serious competition to the rails through their lower rates. Used in both urban and interurban service, they transport many thousand persons on short hauls for both business and pleasure. Ever increasingly the bus has replaced the electric street car. Its flexibility in service and the low cost of its operation has led to many special uses for it. The school bus takes the children to school in the morning and brings them home in the afternoon. In some areas this means of school transportation enables several communities to unite in a single school district and provide a central school which offers advantages that none of the towns singly could afford. Buses also carry public libraries into remote regions. They transport food and sundries into the back woods, like the peddler of some generations back. More uses of the bus are being found daily.

#### MOTOR TRUCKING

Great fleets of motor trucks also operate over Maine's highways, furnishing quick, flexible, door-to-door service in every community. Other fleets, some of them monster units, connect Maine with markets to the south and west. Maine lobsters, for example, move in refrigerated trucks directly from collecting pools to restaurants in cities thousands of miles away. Practically every product of Maine industry is hauled in part by trucks—sometimes, as in the case of milk, only from farm to farm, to the railhead, or to the creamery. In other instances, a product is factory-loaded onto a truck and wheeled directly to distant destinations.

The Maine Truck Owners' Association has come into being in recent years to enable the operators of these huge truck fleets to attack jointly some of their problems. One great truck company in Portland handles only petroleum products from its own terminal on Forest Avenue. The First National Stores, in the same city, have built their own big new truck terminal.

The Public Utilities Commission of Maine has jurisdiction over the operations of these motor carrier trucks, along with its numerous other responsibilities. Figures published by the Commission disclose developments in the past year:

	1948	1949
New Applications.....	178	224
Renewal Applications.....	593	656
Petitions to Reopen.....	40	34
Transfer Applications.....	34	29
Hearings Ordered.....	124	148
Hearings Held.....	110	126

## AVIATION

As elsewhere, the newest means of transportation in Maine is aviation. One big commercial company, Northeast Airlines, Inc., serves the state from north to south and connects it with Boston and New York, as well as with the west coast, the Orient, South America and Europe.

Construction of Portland Airport began in October, 1926. By the time World War II began, Maine was ready to take full advantage of the tremendous upsurge in air traffic. The army built its great airfields at Bangor and Presque Isle and later a field at Limestone. Northeast Airlines has established regular stops at Portland, Brunswick, Auburn-Lewiston, Rockland, Augusta, Waterville, Bangor, Bar Harbor, Millinocket, Houlton and Presque Isle, and advertises connecting private flights to numerous isolated areas and summer camps by special arrangement at reasonable air rates, as well as a combined plane-auto travel plan which it operates in conjunction with the Hertz Driv-Ur-Self organization.

The state had a total of ninety-four airports at the beginning of 1950, twenty-four of them with hard-surfaced runways. The remaining seventy fields were used primarily for small planes. These figures represented an increase of thirty-eight small fields over a four-year period. Several of them offer charter flights, student instruction and aircraft servicing facilities.

Municipal airports having runways ranging from 5,500 to 6,500 feet have been built at Brunswick, Houlton and Sanford; from 4,500 to 5,500 feet at Auburn, Bar Harbor and Millinocket; from 3,500 to 4,500 feet, at Belfast, Norridgewock, Old Town, Pittsfield, Portland, Princeton, Rockland, Waterville and Winterport; from 2,500 to 3,500 feet, at Caribou, Dexter, Eastport and Greenville; from 1,800 to 2,500 feet, at Biddeford and Jackman; and under 1,800 feet, at Norway and Rangeley. The United States Air Force airport at Presque Isle, which is open to the public, has runways over 6,500 feet in length, while the United States Air Force field at Bangor has runways of similar length and an Air Force field at Limestone boasts runways over 8,500 feet long. Numerous private airfields have excellent facilities. All the municipal airports except those at Biddeford, Jackman, Norway and Rangeley had paved runway surfaces as of the beginning of 1950. In addition, Maine had thirty-six privately





*Portland Municipal Airport*

owned airports of different sizes and facilities, as well as thirty for strictly personal use. A good airfield at Deblois is owned by the Public Roads Administration.

The only state-owned airport in Maine is the one at Augusta, where the State Aeronautics Commission has its headquarters. In his report to the Governor on December 31, 1949, Scott K. Higgins, director of the Commission, urged on its behalf that no further airports be acquired or operated by the state except in an emergency. The Commission believed that municipalities should be responsible for operating and maintaining all airports for which federal, state, county and municipal funds had been allocated. The same report recommended that public interests would be best served if every municipal, state or federal airport in Maine were to be leased to a private operator or operators.

As in the case of roads and highways, federal funds have been made available to states and state funds to counties and municipalities. The Federal Airport Act of 1946 authorized appropriation by Congress of \$500,000,000, to be made available over a period of seven years and not to exceed \$100,000,000 in any one year, for the encouragement of aviation within the states. From these funds, states may receive one-fourth of land acquisition costs, one-half of airport construction or development costs, and three-fourths of high intensity field lighting project costs. Federal funds thus apportioned to Maine in 1947, 1948 and 1949 amounted to \$700,187, of which \$219,931 was obligated by grant to match state and municipal funds, leaving a total of \$480,256 unallotted and subject to withdrawal and redistribution in other states by January 1, 1950.

The first Maine community to take advantage of the 1946 Federal Airport Act was Portage, in the northern part of the state. Funds were allocated for a new municipal seaplane base at Portage Lake, which was completed in 1950 on a basis of funds allocated as follows:

From the Town of Portage.....	\$2,750
From Aroostook County.....	3,000
From the State of Maine.....	4,150
From the United States.....	9,600

The Maine State Aeronautics Commission, of which W. T. Gardiner, of Gardiner, is chairman, reminded the Governor in its report of December 31, 1949, that it hoped the 1951 Legislature would approve a plan to appropriate matching state funds for the improvement of existing facilities throughout the state and for construction of new airports where justified. The Maine Aeronautics Act, which became effective August 6, 1949, approved grants of state funds up to 25 per cent. of total costs of any airport construction, extension or improvement programs undertaken by communities or counties, singly or jointly.

Serving under Mr. Gardiner as chairman on the Aeronautics Commission in 1950 were L. M. Dingley, of Auburn; H. F. Troxel, president of the Maine Aviation Trades Association, of South Portland; H. E. Umphrey, of Presque Isle; and R. Verrill, of Portland. The Commission, as organized in 1949 under the Maine Aeronautics Act, was to consist of five persons appointed by the Governor with advice and consent of Council, one of the members to be a commer-



cial airport operator, one regularly employed in the aviation trades, and three to be in no way connected with the aviation industry. Each member was to serve three years, the members together electing a chairman. Commissioners were to receive \$20 per day and expenses for time actually spent in Commission work. Their duties, described in the law, included the study of aviation needs in the state and the control of state airports and planes. At its pleasure, the Commission was empowered to employ a director as executive officer in charge of the work.

Expenses of the state in aviation also include such items as snow removal from airfields, air marking and accident prevention and investigation. In 1948 low and reckless flying was a major factor in the majority of fatal accidents, but causes of such mishaps in 1949 were found to be inexperience in unfavorable weather conditions and pilot judgment. In 1948 Maine had seven fatal aviation accidents resulting in thirteen deaths, and in 1949 had four fatal accidents involving six deaths. Better aviation education is expected to improve the situation to a further degree, particularly where private fliers and planes are concerned.

Planes have served many notable purposes in this state, aiding in the prevention of forest fires and in the spraying of fields and crop dusting to rid agriculture of a host of pests. The Civil Air Patrol, founded December 1, 1941, had coastal patrol units at Portland and Bar Harbor to keep watch for the approach of marauding submarines during World War II. The organization lagged after the war, but interest increased again late in 1949, notably in connection with the Patrol's cadet training program. The Maine Air National Guard, of which Brigadier General George M. Carter was made adjutant general, was organized February 4, 1947, with air defense as its major purpose; but it early assisted in reporting and controlling fires.

Between 1940 and 1946 five Maine operators represented this state's aviation industry as members of the National Trades Association. In 1946 Guy P. Gannett, Portland newspaper publisher, called a meeting at Augusta to organize the Maine Aviation Trades Association, of which he became president. In 1948 Harold F. Troxel, of Portland, was elected to succeed him. Active membership consisted in 1950 of about twenty-four airport operators and four associate members.

The Eastern Maine Aero Association came into being in 1949. It was organized on September 13 of that year at Bangor, an outgrowth of the seven-member Eastern Maine Aero Club, formed there in the previous month. It had ninety-three members at the close of 1949, and its own members operated sixty-five or seventy planes. Its aim was, through combined participation of pilots, private aircraft owners, fixed base operators and other interested persons, to increase public interest in aviation and to develop a voluntary air search program, which it was believed could be particularly important in Maine, with its vast reaches of wilderness and uninhabited lands. It demonstrated its value, for instance, in a large-scale operation on Labor Day, 1949, involving a search for an airplane missing between Augusta and Millinocket. The possibilities for finding missing persons and planes through broad co-ordination of effort have been well pointed by this organization.

